

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.



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PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
VOLUME LIII.



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A65-
V.53-

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* Presented by Alfred Higgins Esq., F.S.A.

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ERRATUM.

Page 74, line 27, for "CASVLR" read "CASVLE."

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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I.—*Inventories of Plate, Vestments, &c., belonging to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln. Collected and transcribed by the Reverend CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A., Prebendary of Liddington in Lincoln Cathedral Church.*

Read March 13, 1889.

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THE task of transcribing and completing Mr. Wickenden's and Mr. Bradshaw's Inventory of the contents of the Chapter Muniment Room at Lincoln has recently brought under my notice certain original inventories of plate and jewels which formerly belonged to that church.

Three of these with two or three subsidiary documents have already appeared in the *Monasticon*, but not satisfactorily edited.

At the suggestion of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, I now offer them to the Society of Antiquaries, in what I trust is a fuller transcript, together with such additional documents as I have been able to pick up either in a fragmentary or a perfect condition.^a

I. *An Inventory of the Fifteenth Century (a fragment).*

We have here a considerable fragment of a Lincoln inventory consisting of six leaves written on both sides and forming perhaps one gathering of a register measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 9 inches. The centre of the leaves is decayed and in some places the writing has been washed away.

It is written in Latin, but it agrees in point of arrangement so nearly with the English inventory of 1536 that we may conveniently measure its contents by that later document.

The leaf or two lost at the beginning probably contained a list of *calices* and *feretra*, and the commencement of that of the *philatoria* (i.e., phylacteria or reliquaries) of which only the last is found at the top of the first page here preserved. Our fragment proceeds with a list of *ampulle cum reliquiis*, *tabernacula cum reliquiis*, *ymagines*, *ciste cum reliquiis*, *pixides*, *cruces*, *candelabra*, *turribula*, *? crismatorium*, *navicule*, and the list of *pelves* unfinished.

The lost conclusion may have given an account of *baculi pro choro*, *baculi pastores*, *textus evangeliorum*, *ampulle pro oleo*, *casule et cape*, etc., *morsi*, *serta*, and *panni pro altari*. It seems doubtful whether the bishops' mitres had been counted as cathedral property at Lincoln at this time, as they appear as an insertion in the inventory of 1536.

The donors here mentioned are few:

Mr. Roger de Mortival, dean. He was consecrated bishop of Salisbury in 1315.

^a By the kindness of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln the proofs have been collated with the original MSS. by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

John Rouseby, canon of Lincoln, prebendary of Brampton 1370; of Carlton Pagnel, 1379. Died 1388.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, died in 1399.

Mr. Peter Dalton, treasurer of Lincoln, died 1405.

John Shepey, dean of Lincoln 1388—1412.

Philip de Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln from 1405 till 1419, when he resigned. Cardinal 1408—1434.

W. Hampton, canon of Lincoln.

W. Skipwith.

W. Ruphus, *physicus*.

Dame Joan de Wilughby.

Among the Saints whose relics were preserved at Lincoln were Earconwald, bishop of London,^a Remigius,^b Hugh,^c Edmund of Abingdon,^d and Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford.^e Also St. White (probably *St. Candida*).^f

Six leaves of parchment sewed together but apparently wanting one or more outside leaves.

* Pinnaculum super summitatem philacij et continens dentem beati hugonis pondere sine infracontent'. ij vnc.

¶ AMPULLE CUM RELIQUIIS.

* Lf. 2.

Item j ampulla cristallina ornata in fundo pedis et in orificio cum argento deaurato et continens de ligno crucis dominice cum uno knopp . . . et de osse beati laurencij et de barba sancti Petri et de casula ejusdem pondere cum infracontentis iij unc.

Item j ampulla cristallina ornata in pede et in orificio cum argento deaurato et cruce in summitate continens dentem sancti xpofoi martiris et pondere cum infracontentis ij unc. di.

Item j ampulla cristallina stans super unum pedem de argento deaurato habens unum cooperculum de argento deaurato continens dentem sancte Cecilie pondere cum contentis ij unc.

^a 30 April, 696. ^b 7 May, 1092. ^c 17 Nov. 1200. ^d 16 Nov. 1240. ^e 25 Aug. 1282.

^f There are five saints of this name in *Martyrologium Romanum* (Greg. XIII.) Two of these, both martyred at Rome (6 June, 26 Aug.), are noted in the "Martyloge after the use of the Chirche of Salysbury as it is redde in Syon." I owe to Miss C. J. Dorateo Weale the information that relics of St. White rest in the north transept of the parish church of Whitechurch Canonorum, Dorset, and that Sir William Palmer considered them to be those of St. Candida, V.M., of Italy.

Item j ampulla cristallina cum pede et cooperculo de argento deaurato aliquid continens reliquias sancti Edmundi Archiepiscopi pondere cum infracontentis . j unc. dim. j quarteron.

Item j ampulla cristallina cum parvis lapidibus in pede et operculo de argento et continens os de parte capitis [sancti] Johannis Baptiste pondere . j unc. j quarter' et q. dim.

Item j ampulla cristallina parva continens de reliquiis sancte Anastasie pondere . dim. unc.

Item j ampulla cristallina de cupro deaurato cum una cruce in summitate et continens de ossibus sanctorum Gregorij et Eustachij pondere . . . ij unc. dim.

¶ TABERNACULA CUM RELIQUIIS.

† 2 b.

† Item j. tabernaculum de argento deaurato stans super iiij leones enameled cum scutis et alijs ymaginibus diversi coloris et continens ad infra ij Cruces de parte Crucis dominice et plures alias reliquias quas singule scripture supra singulas designant et habet ij botras videlicet ex utroque latere unum de argento deaurato Et in summitate habet quandam Crucem de argento deaurato cum Crucifixo Maria Johanne et vj rubeis lapidibus ante et retro in quatuor angulis crucis divisim infixis et ex posteriore parte dicti tabernaculi est iudicium sive resurreccio novissima designata pondere ^{xx} iiij. vij unc. di j. quarteron.

Item j tabernaculum eburneum cum duabus januis et seruris argenteis co[n]tinens] infra coronacionem beate virginis et plures reliquias diversorum sanctorum.

Item j tabernaculum ligneum cum ij januis pietis continens maxillam sancti Thome de Cantilupo quondam Episcopi Hereford' et alias reliquias designatas per scripturam.

Item j tabernaculum ligneum de veronica quadratum cum xx diversis reliquiis in circumforencia insertis.

Item j tabernaculum parvum cum ij valvis honestum cum pluribus reliquiis habens in una valva ymaginem beate Marie cum filio in ulnis et in alia valva ymaginem crucifixi cum Maria et Johanne.

Item ij tabernacula majora cum ymaginibus eburneis stantibus in altari in Revestuario de diversis historiis et de passione unde nihil deficit nec de ymaginibus nec de passione.

Item j tabernaculum eburneum habens iiij valvas cum ymagine beate Marie in principali et continens salutacionem offertorium magorum in uno folio. et Nativitatem domini et Purificacionem beate Marie in alio folio.

Item j angelus de argento deaurato cum ij alis explanatis stans super vj leones portans in manibus unum feretrum modo mobile continens digitum ("sancti hugonis" interlin.) parvam Catherenam de argento deaurato pondere pauce xxxj unc.

[¶ YMAGINES.]

* Lf. 3.

* Item j ymago xpi de argento deaurato aperta seu vacua in pectore pro sacramento imponendo tempore resurreccionis stans super vj leones et habet unum birellum et unum diadema in posteriore parte capitis et Crucem in manu pondere xxxvij unc.

Item j ymago Marie matris dei de argento deaurato cum corona ornata cum perulis et diamandz ac aliis lapidibus viridibus ejus corone unus flos deficit et habet ymaginem filij in dextra parte et sceptrum cum iij perulis in sinistra parte habet eciam unum scutum mobile cum v gemmis et ij perulis infixis continens Crines beate Marie pondere xxij unc.

Item j capud unius undecimi millium virginum stans super iij^{or} pedes involutum argento deaurato et habet ij philateria ex utraque parte de argento deaurato cum reliquijs Apostolorum et Crucis domini in ij loculis et unam faciem virginis in anteriore parte pondere liv unc. dim. j quarteron.

Item j capud unius undecim millium virginum involutum cum argento deaurato stans super unum pedem de cupro deaurato et habet unum sertum cum lapidibus vitreis diversi coloris infixis et ponderat prout est involutum pede ejusdem non computato lxj unc.

[¶ CISTE CUM RELIQUIIS.]*

Item j cista eburnea rob[. . . .] cum ymaginibus circumquaque sculptis cum manubrio de cupro Data per Willelmum [de] Skipwith continens juncturam sancti Georgij inclusam in puro auro parve et rotunde circumforencie ex legato domine Johanne de Willughby.

In eadem cista est unum birett ornatum in finibus cum argento ad modum manubrij et continens reliquias ignotas et involvitur sindone rubeo cum cordula serica.

In eadem cista est unum birett oblongum ad modum Sigilli impressum in argento cum scriptura infra le birett que designat reliquias in eodem contentas.

* 3b.

* In eadem cista j jocale parvum de argento ad modum quadrifolij in dorso planum sed in anteriore parte habet v. lapides rubei et indij coloris et nescitur quid continet.

In eadem cista j jocale parvum cum v. perulis in circuito et uno (*sic*) cass' parv' de perulis in quo dictum jocale continetur et dictum jocale continet partem crucis domine et in dorso jocalis sculptus est ymago crucifixi et in alia parte habet iij rubeos lapides et unum lapidem viridem.

In eadem cista in una sindone involvuntur reliquie sancti Stephani beati Thome Martyris sancti Sebastiani sancti Cesarij et Valerie virginis.

In eadem cista j jocale de lapide jaspido ornatum in uno fine cum argento et habet parvam catherenam ex dono magistri Willelmi Ruphi Phisici cujus virtus est restringere sanguinem in omni specie.

Item j cista magna et longa cristallina cum pluribus diversis reliquiis sanctorum deaurata et ornata gemmis pluribus infixis continens xvij loculos et fasciculos cum reliquiis involutis et cum cedulis annexis easdem reliquias declarantibus.

Item j cista pulchra honesta et artificiosa in qualibet parte panno aureo et scutis nobilium circumornata cum perulis in coopertorio injuncturis serura et alio apparatu de

* Written in margin.

argento deaurato continens plures reliquias in xiiij loculis et sindonibus cum cedulis declarantibus contenta in eisdem.

Item j cista pulera picta et deaurata cum armis gemmis et nodis vitreis borderata cum corall et picta inferius cum argentea pictura continens diversas reliquias et sine clave.

Item j cista indij coloris circumligata cum cupro cum ymaginibus diversis impressis deauratis continens ij loculos cum reliquiis quorum unus habet cedulam annexam ex dono domine Johanne de Wylughby.

* Lf. 4.

Item j cista longa cum panno serico suta habens ij gemul^r. seruram et clavem de cupro deaurato cum octo volaminibus subtilibus.

* Item j parva cista cooperta panno blodio [. . . .]erius deformis fabrice sive operis non ligata habens juncturas metalleas cum reliquiis infracontentis de osse sancti Erkenwaldi de osse sancte White De vestibus beate margarete.

Item j cista longa picta sine cooperculo cupro ligata cum xiiij cassis bonis continens xv corporalia meliora benedicta de quibus cassis ij sunt in usu. et de quibus corporalibus v liberantur ad serviendum altare.

Item j cista duplex operata cum armis continens ij capsas quadratas et duas capsas longas que omnia continebant xvj corporalia mediocria unde ij corporalia nunc deficient.

Item cista de opere cipro ligata cum cupro et ornata cum peciis eburneis continens reliquias et jocalia.

Item cista parvula eburnea argento ligata continens reliquias sancti Remigij Episcopi Lincoln.

Item cista major eburnea

Item j cista minor eburnea

Item j cista parva eburnea

} cupro ligata et continens plures reliquias.

Item j cista de opere prus^r modici valoris ligata cum ferro continens diversas reliquias.

Item j parva cista panno serico cum cooperta cum j claspe et j anulo de argento deaurato continens reliquias diversas in bursa et cedula declarante ex dono Wilhelmi Hampton Canonici Lincoln.^a

Item j cista alta et rotunda panno serico cum ymaginibus cooperta continens reliquias lavandas in festo reliquiarum.

† 4 b.

† Item capsula quondam dicta cista que tunc die[ebatur] continere reliquias prout in alio libro continetur nunc est una iiij^{or} capsarum in viij^o titulo proximo precedenti pre-scriptarum et continencium corporalia ad hoc signum ⊗^b de qua quidem capsula extrahuntur reliquie nuper in ipsa contente et posite sunt alibi cum alijs reliquijs.

Item j cassa de argento ornata cum perulis continens homines Indie.

^a W. Hampton is not named in the index of prebendaries of Lincoln edited by Duffus Hardy.

^b I have not been able to discover this mark in any other place in this MS. in its present state.

Nota
de
aliis
cassis

(Space left.)

[¶ PIXIDES.]

Item j pixis rotundus cristallinus ornatus cum argento deaurato in fundo et in cooperculo continens reliquias sancti Stephani prothomartiris marcelli et marcelliani ac hugonis et aliorum sanctorum pondere x unc.

Item j pixis rotundus eburneus ligatus cum cupro continens reliquias de sepulcro Domini de mensa cene domini et de cathena qua sancta katerina diabolum ligavit.

Item j pixis eburneus cum uno knopp et uno anulo in summitate habens seruram et conjungitur cum juncturis de argento et non habet titulum vel notam quid continet Sed videbitur ibi unum os parvum odirificum et nescitur cujus sancti sit.

Item j pixis eburneus consimilis non habens seruram continens partem capitis unius undecim millium virginum et diversas alias reliquias cum osse cujusdam sancti ignoti.

Item j pixis ligneus alter continens diversas ampullas vitreas cum oleo diversorum sanctorum.

* l.f. 5.

* Item j pixis eburneus ligatus subtus et [superi]s cum argento deaurato habens in cooperculo summitatem ad modum campanilis de argento deaurato et superius habet unum anulum pro suspensione ejusdem.

Item j pixis magnus de argento deaurato planus pro corpore xpi imponendo habens unum pedem rotundum (sic) cum rosario chaced et similiter est chaced subtus le bolle et in le bolle et super summitatem de le bolle habet unum anulum vertibilem pondere xliij unc.

Item j pixis cristallinus superius habens stilum argenteum et pedem argenteum triangularem curvum et rotundum deauratum cum ymagine beate marie virginis in summitate deaurata ad ferendum corpus domini in processionibus in diebus rogacionum pondere xxj unc. quart. et dim.

Item j pixis pendens super summum altare de argento deaurato exterius sed non interius et est plane fabrice pondere xv. unc. dim. et dim. quart.

Item j corona ibidem de argento deaurato pondere lix. unc. dim.

Item j bolle in summitate canopei de argento deaurato pondere iiij. unc.

[¶ CRUCES.]

Item j crux magna processionalis de argento deaurato plana cum crucifixo in medio Maria et Johanne stantibus in ramis et cum floribus deliciarum in quolibet fine et cum iiij^{or} Evangelistis insculptis pondere lvij. unc. poe.

Et quidam pes de argento planus deaurato solitus stare super altare in Revestiario aptus pro eadem Cruce desuper statuenda pondere xxx. unc.

† 5 b.

† Item j. baculus ornatus cum argento habens unum [. . .] unum Soket de argento longum continens in longitudine ij virgas dim. j quarteron. dim. computat^r ornacione dicti baculi cum argento.

Item ij cruces processionales et feriales unius secte de argento plate cum crucifixo argenteo et iiij evangelistis de plate argenteo deaurato et cum ij baculis involutis argento quarum utraque continet in longitudine computat^r Cruce predicta . . . ij virg. di.

Item crux cum j soket de argento deaurato habens xxij knoppes de argento enameled cum azur et in cruce est Crucifixus coronatus cum viridi corona et in posteriori parte crucis sunt iiij^{or} evangeliste cum agno dei enameled et in le soket et circa je boll hec nomina videlicet jhs xps. sunt enamelata Quam quidem Crucem magister Johannes Shepey nuper Decanus^a dedit ecclesie Lincoln^r pondere cum le Soket . . . xlvj. unc. di.

Item parva crux de auro cum viij gemmis diversi coloris continens partem Crucis dominice que pars continet in longitudine ij. pollices et in alia parte paulominus duobus pollicibus et dicta crux de auro continet in longitudine iiij^{or} pollices et di. et in latitudine ij pollices et di. pondere . . . j unc. dim. quart^r.

Item j crux de argento deaurato cum crucifixo habens iiij^{or} evangelistas in forma hominum in iiij^{or} angulis crucis stantes super iiij^{or} leones in pede et cum ymagine hominis in pede genuflectentis et offerentis calicem in manibus pondere . . . xxxij. unc.

Item j crux de cristallo cum crucifixo de argento deaurato et uno Soket habente unum knopp^r de argento deaurato cum armis Anglie et Francie et Cornubie in diversis (locis *erased*) scutis ac lapidibus diversis in eodem infixis et habet iiij^{or} juncturas ante et iiij^{or} juncturas a retro cum uno agno de argento deaurato et cum diversis lapidibus diversi coloris ac iiij^{or} evangelistis in iiij^{or} partibus ex dono Magistri Rogeri de Mortivall^b pondere . . . xlvij. unc.

* l.f. 6.

* Item j crux pro processione lignea de plate de auro cooperto ad extra cum quadam parva parte Crucis dominice et cum plurimis lapidibus diversi coloris et perulis ultra numerum sexaginta infixis in anteriori parte Que quidem crux stat super unum Soket de eupro deaurato quod quidem Soket nondum ponderatur quia debile et crux predicta ponderat . . . xxx. unc. dim.

Item j crux de argento deaurato masey cum crucifixo et iiij^{or} evangelistis in specie hominum et iiij^{or} rubeis lapidibus in quolibet angulo et super pedem crucifixi est quedam ymago tenens calicem et ex posteriore parte crucis sunt iiij^{or} evangeliste per descriptionem trium animalium et unius hominis formam sacrum dei agnum circumstantes habetque dicta crux unum Soket cum j knopp^r de argento deaurato cum vj armis in vj scutis divisim distinctis et ponderat cum le Soket . . . xvij. unc. dim.

Item j crux parva de auro cum crucifixo de auro cum titulo scripture pilati i. n. r. i. super capud crucifixi habens iiij^{or} evangelistas enamelatas in angulis crucis et continet ad infra de lorica beati Georgij et de ossibus Sanctorum Johannis Baptiste Clementis et Bernardi pondere . . . ? iiij unc. dim. et quartr.

^a John de Shepey was dean from 1388 to 1412.

^b Roger de Mortivallis was dean of Lincoln from 1310 to 1315.

Item j crux minima de argento deaurato continens partem Crucis dominice ad instar unius Crucis fabricat habetque dicta crux iiij^{or} rubeos lapides pondere dim. unc. et iiij. part. j. quart.

Item j crux duplex florey (*sic*) de auro et argento stans super unum pedem planum supportatum per iiij^{or} leones et continet partem ligni Sancte Crucis et reliquias sanctorum Machabei Alexij xpori et Stephani ac de capillis sancti Petri de service sancti Georgij necnon de innocentibus pondere x. unc. dim. quart.

Item j crux parva de argento deaurato rotunda in summitate stans super unum pedem continentem vj lapides rubei et blodij coloris et continet per scripturam in dorso de ligno dominico et sancti Andree et in corde sive medio crucis deficit quedam parva Crux que dudum inserta fuit in alia parte Crucis alterius pondere j. unc. j. quarteron.

† 6b.

Item crux parva argentea cum una cruce infixa in eadem de ligno Crucis dominice pondere viij. di. (*sic*)

† Item Crux de argento deaurato et ornata cum xxviij lapidibus rubeis et blodiis stans super unum pedem ad modum unius folij quadrati et continet crucifixum in medio et ymages marie et sancti Johannis ad pedes crucifixi et ex dextra parte crucifixi est ymago Abrahe offerentis filium suum Isaac et ad dorsum Abrahe est quidam aries et angelus domini quasi impediens pereucientem Et ex sinistra parte crucifixi sunt ymages Abel et Chayin et in summitate sunt duo angeli descendentes de nubibus portantes solem et lunam Et supponitur quod quondam fuit supra capud crucifixi pars ligni sancte Crucis que nunc deficit pondere lxxv. unc.
Et pes ejusdem Crucis stat super iiij^{or} leones xliij. unc. dim. j quarteron.

Item j crux. eburnea florata cum ymagine Crucifixi ejus pes frangitur.

Item j. crux de birell cum j. pys'.

Item j. parva crux de argento deaurato cum uno balyz in medio et in dorso scribitur agnos pondere viij. dim. (*sic*)

† CANDELABRA.

Item ij magna et pulcra candelabra de auro stancia super grossos pedes unius forme xx botras de auro in utroque eorum stantibus super una base pile perforate ad modum fenestrarum cum iiij^{or} vacuis locis aptis pro scutis infigendis et cum iiij^{or} botras majoribus et iiij^{or} botras minoribus in utroque eorum habentibus super quodlibet botras unum pinnaculum et inter iiij^{or} botras majores predictas sunt iiij^{or} fenestre sculpte cavate cum uno stilo habente unum knopp magnum cum diversis botras simili operi sive fabrice ejusdam monasterii vel ecclesie cum viij^o columpnis in utroque candelabro tortis Et in summitate utriusque dictorum candelabrorum est unum bolle castallatum et botraсте cum vno pyk pro cereis superfigendis totum de auro deficit autem unum pinnaculum de majoribus pinnaculis unius de candelabris antedictis quod nunquam venit hic cum eisdem ut dicitur Que quidem candelabra nondum ponderantur ["de dono^a potentissimi principis Johannis filij Regis Edwardi tercii ducis lancastrie" *added in another hand.*]

^a Before 1399.

Lf. 7.

* Item ij candelabra de argento deaurato quorum unum ponderat lxxiiij uncias cui [de]est una columpna et aliud ponderat lxx uncias ij quartera ["de dono domini Johannis Bokyngham quondam episcopi lincolniensis" added in another hand] Summa ponderat. Cxliij unc. ij quart.

Item ij candelabra de argento plana cum lez bolles et swathez deauratis habens scripturam in pede **Ex dono magistri petri Dalton**^a pondere xxxij. unc. iij. quart.

Item ij. candelabra majora de argento plana cum lez bollez et Swathez deauratis habentia scripturam in pede **J. de Rouceby**^b fecit me fieri pondere cum lez plates de laten lxvij. unc.

Item j candelabrum argenteum cum iij Pykes pro iij cereis supponendis habens ymaginem Marie et Gabrielis ac urnam continentem unum lilium et nativitatem domini sub ymagine marie et josephi ac resurrectionem et ascencionem domini necnon ymagine dei et marie ad modum coronacionis in medio stili totaliter fabricat cum uno knopp deaurato et bene inferius supra pedem habet viij angelos de argento deaurato Et solet stare super magnum altare sub custodia Custodis ejusdem altaris et nondum ponderatur.

¶ TURRIBULA.

Item j. turribulum maximum de argento deaurato cum capitibus leopardorum in corpore et cum vj fenestris cui deficit unum folium super fenestram unum pinnaculum et cacumen unius pinnaculi habens iij cathenas de argento non deaurato pondere ^{xx} iiii viij unc. dim. quart.

† 7 b.

Item j turribulum inferioris quantitatis de argento deaurato cum viij capitibus leopardorum in corpore et viij capitibus leopardorum in cooperculo et cum v. cathenis de argento pondere lvij. unc. dim.

*Erat deflatum
ad reficiones . . .
candlebra
cotidiana.*

† Item j turribulum de argento longum deaurato cum corpore perforato et cum viij fenestris in cooperculo cui deficiuntur ij pinnacula et habet v cathenas de argento pondere xlvij [unc.]

Item ij turribula de argento cotidiana quorum unum ponderat xxxiiij uncias et aliud ponderat xxviiij uncias dim. lxj. unc.

Item j turribulum de argento castellatum cum iij Cathenis pondere xxiiij unc.

Item ij turribula de argento deaurato de boced wark ex dono domini Philippi lincolniensis episcopi^c utrumque cum iij cathenis unde j ponderat xxxix uncias j quarteron dim. Et aliud ponderat xxxiiij uncias. Et utrumque eorum habet vj se fenestras et vj pinnacula deficit quod nova sunt Summa utriusque lxxiiij. unc.

*j bonum turri-
bulum.*

Item j bonum turribulum boscub

Item unum crismatorium de argento deaurato enamelet datum ecclesie Lincoln per dominum philippum nuper Episcopum Lincoln^c quod ponderat

^a Prebendary of Lincoln, and treasurer from 1384 to 1405.

^b John de Rouceby was prebendary of Lincoln 1370 to 1388.

^c Philip Repington, cardinal, bishop of Lincoln 1405—19.

[¶ NAVICULE.]

Item j navis de argento deaurato per totum cum ij cooperculis habentibus ij capita
cui deficit unum pinnaculum habens unum coclare de argento deaurato pondere cum
coleari xxxiiij unc. j quarteron dim.

Item j navis de argento habens unum pedem ad modum Rose cum cocliare de
argento pondere cum cocliare xx. unc. dim.

Item j navis de argento cum cocliare de argento quondam habens ij. capita draconis
[sed] nunc j. deficit xj unc. dim.

[¶ PELVES ETC.]

Item ij pelves de argento utraque cum j founz ad modum unius Rose deaurate Et enamelata in
medio cum Babewyns et j habet unum Spowte ad instar capitis leonis pondere
xx
iiij v unc.
iiij quarteron. pte

Leaf 8, etc., wanting.

II. *Caput Sancti Hugonis.*

Among the most famous relics preserved in Lincoln Cathedral Church was the head of her great bishop St. Hugh.

The offerings made there were considerable, though at times (*e.g.* in 1321) there was a falling off. The accounts of receipts and expenditure at St. Hugh's shrine at the half-yearly *aperturæ*, at Pentecost, and on October 9th, are preserved at Lincoln Muniment Room (B. i. 5, 16) for the years 1334 to 1494, 1510 to 1517, and 1520 to 1532.

At one time this precious treasure was stolen, and stripped of its jewels; but being recovered it was mounted in gold and silver with precious stones by John de Welbourne, the treasurer, about 1364.

The Lincoln Chapter Acts of 1520 (A. 3, 5) contain the following account of

* Reliques Jewels and other stuff belonging to seint Hugh head delivered to Sir William
Johnson the xxvijth day of Nouember.

And furst the hede of seint hugh closed in silver gilt and enamelled.

Item the mytre of [seint] Hugh of silver gilt and enamelled.

Item the pontificall of seint Hugh gold w[ith] certeyn stones and relykes.

Item a ring of gold with a stone and written *Ecce lig[num]*.

Item iiij rynges of gold with iiij preciouise stones belonging to the same hede.

Item [. . .] of gold.

Item thre old nobles and two ducates of gold nailed upon the bre[deth of] seint hugh hede.

Item a ryng of gold with one oriant saphir standing [upon the] top of the mytre of seint hugh hede.

Thes two plaites
of gold with vj
stones in them er
putt upon the
shryne.

Item two plaites of gold [. . .]

Item two branches of gold with a brannche of corall [. . . the] shryn.

Item a chales of seint hughes silver and gilt with the paten broken.

Item a toyth of seint hugh closed in byrall with silver and gilt.

Item oyle of seint hugh in birrall closed with silver and gilt.

Item two crewettes of birrall closed in silver gilt with covers, the one lowse.

Item two crewetts of birrall closed in sylver gilt with ij caises for them.

Item ij stones in birrall.

Item a saphir paille.

Item a litill blew stone.

Item ij qwysshyns of silk, one of them of red satten browderd with byrdes and bestes of gold.

Item legenda de temporalis et de Sanctis incompleta.

Item a booke called collectarium.

Item a booke called *cum animadcerterem* cum commento.

Item a Chist [with] one eld cloth upon it, with collers rede blew and grene.

Item one old cloth called seint hugh bede cloth.

Item one alter cloth of yelow silk.

Item ij candilstikes of pewter.

Item (*blank*) candilstikes of wo^o.

Item a bake stoill.

Item a case to carry wax candile in.

Item a booke of seint hugh life cheyned.

Item a book of sermons called * . . .

III. The Treasurer's Inventory (28 Henry VIII.), 1536.

The inventory now before us is similar in its arrangement and contents to so much as remains of the fifteenth century fragment. It is however not in Latin but in the English language. It is less rich in the matter of relics. It contains, on the other hand, a record of several donations of vestments which must have been made at dates subsequent to the fragment No. I.

* This word comes so close to the end of the line, which is fairly perfect in this instance, that it may be doubted whether the name was ever entered, as it would naturally have been written below.

Our English inventory belongs to the period between the visitation of the smaller and the suppression of the larger monasteries, and to the year in which Anne Boleyn was beheaded and the Northern Rebellion broke out. The Lincoln *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was returned to the King's Commissioners 3 Sept. 1536.

This inventory occupies the first half of a quarto paper book of thirty-eight leaves, covered in a piece of vellum taken from an illuminated MS. of Ulpian. The book is not paged, but each leaf of this portion is signed at the bottom with one of the twenty-four letters of the Roman alphabet.

It is the work of the last Treasurer of Lincoln, Henry (or "hary") Lytherland, LL.B. who was admitted 6 July, 1535, and cast down his keys of office 6 June, 1540, when Henry VIII. seized the principal treasures of the cathedral church.

This inventory has been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,* but the copyist has neglected the marginal notes, and has disregarded the spelling of the original, besides omitting some portion of the list of green vestments, so it may not be superfluous to print it here.

I have added the initials "*Ph. & M.*" to as many items as I have been able to recognise as still existing at Lincoln in the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary.

The following signs have been used by way of abbreviation of the notes in the margin :

† = "extrahitur." †† = "Extrahuntur." § = "In manu sacriste."
 || = "In custodia sacriste."

Lf A. * The Registre and Inventarye of all Jewell Westimentes and other ornaementes to the Revestr'
 1536. of the Cathedrall Church of lincoln belongyng mayde by M^r. hary lytherland Thresaurō
 off The same church yⁿ the yere of ow^r lorde god m.cccc.xxxvj.

¶ CALICES.

[Imprimis one chalis of] gold w^t perles & dyverse preciouſe [stones sett] yⁿ the foote & in the knotte. W^t a paten of the same [having] graven *Cena domini* and the figure of ow^r lord w^t the xij Apostelles weying xxxvij unces.

Item one grett chalis sylver and gylte w^t the paten weying lxxiiij unces of the gyft of lord Will^m Wykeh^m busshop of Wynchestre somtyme Archdecon of lincoln^b havyng yⁿ the foote the passion the Resurreccion of ow^r lord and the salutacion of ow^r lady & in the paten the Coronacion of ow^r lady havyng a rolle yⁿ the Circumference written *Memoriale domini Will^{elmi} wikkham*. *extrahitur per capitulum.*

* Vol. vi. pp. 1278—1286.

^b William of Wykeham was archdeacon of Lincoln from 1363 to 1367, when he was made bishop of Winchester.

§ Item a chalis sylver & gylte w^t one playn paten chased yn the foote w^t a wrythen knope w^t one gylted sponne conteynyng a scriptur **blessed be god.** havynge a scriptur yn the bothom **Johannes Gynwell**^a weying xxxiiij unces & a quarter.

(Ph. & M.)

† Item a chalis chased yn the foote sylver and gylte w^t a paten graven w^t a lame and iiij evangelistes weying xxiiij unces.

§ Item a chalis silver and gylte w^t an Image of the Crucifix yn the foote w^t a paten of ow^r savyo^r syttyng upon the Raynbowe weying (*no weight given*),

Item one chalis sylver and gylte havynge wrytten abowte the cuppe **laudabo dominum in ecclesia sanctorum** & on the foote **Totus mundus est ecclesia** and on the paten **Enixa est puerpera** &c. of the gyft of the lord Charlis bothe busshop of herford.^b

(Ph. & M.)

* Lf. B.

¶ * FERETRA.

§ In primis one greatt fert^r silver and gylte w^t one Crose Iles and one steple yn the mydyll and one crose yn the toppe w^t xx pynacles & an ymage of ow^r lady yn one end & an Image of seynt hugh yn the other and havynge yn lenght dim. yard & one ynche and hyt ys sett yn table of wood and a thyng yn the mydle to put yn the sacrament when hyt ys borne weying xviij^{xx} unces & one. of the gyfte of John welborne^c Tresau^r wantyng a pynnaele.

extrahitur per capitulum.

† Item one fert^r silver and gylte standyng upon iiij pyllors w^t one playne fote w^t one steple yn the hyght of the coveryng ornat w^t rede stones & a rownd berall yn the other end contenyng the fynger of saynt Kateryn yn a long purse ornat w^t perles weying xiiij unces wantyng a pyllor.

† Item one other fert^r sylver & gylte w^t iiij pyllors and one steple lyke to the next afore wantyng a pynnaele havynge yn the coveryng w^t owte dyverse Relykes wantyng a stone havynge w^t a purse of sylke part of the tothe of saynt poule weying xij unces & dim. & dim. quarter.

† Item one other hight fert^r of Cristall havynge a rownd fote of silver chased w^t one coveryng gylte and one Joynte of saynt sebastyon and one Joynte of saynt Margaret weying w^t the contentes x unces & di & di quarter.

† Item one other fert^r of Cristall w^t iiij pyllors and a playne fote sylver and gylte contenyng a bone of the fote of saynt laurence weying w^t the contentes x unces wantyng one fynyall.

¶ PHYLATORIA.

† In primis one phylatorye silver and gylte w^t iiij feete and iij rede stones and ij blew stones above yn the toppes contenyng w^t yn a boñ of saynt Stephen fyrst martyr weying w^t the contentes iij unces and di.

† Item one other phylatorye sylver and gylte w^t iiij feete lyke to a byrd w^t v pynacles and the vj wantyng havynge a rownd berall afore contenyng the boñ of saynt Agnes weying w^t the contentes iij unces.

^a John Gynewell was bishop of Lincoln from 1347 to 1362.

^b Charles Bothe was bishop of Hereford from 1516 to 1535. He was a prebendary of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Buckingham from 1505 to 1516.

^c John de Welbourn was treasurer from 1351 to 1381.

† Item one phylatorye long ornat w^t silver and gylte havynge a knop of byrall yn the mydle of the heght stondyng of iiij feete wantyng a knop contenyng a boñ of saynt vincent martyr and weyng w^t the contentes iiij unces wantyng the toes of ij feete.

† Item one other phylatorye of Cristall stondyng opon iiij feete yn playn sole sylver and gylte havynge a pynnaele yn the heght contenyng the toth of saynt hugh weyng w^t the contentes ij unces.

¶ * AMPFULLE CUM RELIQUIIS.

† In primis one Ampulle of Cristall ornat yn the fote & coveryng silver and gylte w^t one crose in the hight contenyng p^e (? one) tothe of saynt xpofer weyng w^t the contentes ij unces & di.

† Item one other Ampulle of Cristall standyng w^t one fote sylver and gylte havynge a tothe of saynt Cecile weyng the contentes ij unces.

† Item one other Ampull of Cristall w^t a fote and a coveryng of silver partely gylte contenyng the relykes of saynt Edmond the Archebushop weyng w^t the contentes j unce and di quarter.

† Item one other Ampull of Cristall w^t a fote sylver and gylte w^t one coveryng havynge lytell stoness yn the fote and yn the coveryng contenyng a boñ of the hede of saynt John Baptiste weyng j unc. j quarter and dim.

† Item one other lytell Ampull of Cristall contenyng the Relikes of saynt Anastase. weyng dim. unc.

† Item one other Ampull of Cristall w^t a fote & one hede of coper and gylte w^t the crose yn the hede contenyng bones of saynt Gregory and saynt Eustach.

¶ TABERNACULA CUM RELIQUIIS.

§ In primis one Tabernacle of Ivery w^t ij leves gymelles and loke of sylver contenyng the coronacion of ow^r lady ["and Relykes of dyverse seyntes" *struck out*].

§ Item one other Tabernacle w^t ij leves all of wood contenyng the chast boñ of saynt Thomas of Cantilupe somtyme the busshop off herdford ^a and many other Relykes.

§ Item one Tabernacle of woode w^t a varnacle quadrate ["w^t xx dyverse Relikes yn borders abowte" *struck out*].

§ Item a Tabernacle of Every stondyng opon iiij feete w^t ij leves w^t one Image of ow^r lady yn the mydle and the salutacion of ow^r lady yn one leve and the Nativitie of ow^r lady yn the other.

§ Item one Tabernacle of wod w^t ij leves w^t an Image of ow^r lady anop^{er} of p^e crucifix w^t mary and John.

§ Item a lytyll Tabernacle of Every lakyng a glasse.

^a Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, died at Monte Fiascone, 25 Aug. 1282. In 1305 Edward I. desired Clement V. to canonize him, but it was not done till about 1320. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 283, 651.

¶ IMAGES.

§ In primis a Image of ow' savyo' sylver and gylte stondyng upon vj lyons voyde yn the breist for the sacrament for Estur day havyng a berall before and a diademe behynde w^t a crose yn hand weyng xxxvij unces. *Extrahitur per Capitulum.*

* Lf. D.

* † Item a grett Image of ow' lady syttyng yn a chaire sylver and gylte w^t iiij polles ij of them havyng armes yn the toppe before havyng upon hir hede a crowne sylver and gylte sett w^t stones and perles and one bee w^t stones and perles abowte hir neke and an owehe dependyng therby havyng yn hir hand a septer w^t one floure sett w^t stones and perles and one bird yn the tope therof and hir chyld syttyng upon hir knee w^t one crown of his hede w^t a diademe sett w^t perles and stones holdyng a ball w^t a crose sylver and gylte yn his lyft hand and at ayther of his fete a scochon of Armes w^t Armes of the gyft off master mason^s Chanto^r.

† Item Relykes of the xj m^t virgyns cloyd yn a hede ["standyng upon iiij feete" *struck out*] of sylver and gylte and standyng upon a fote of copo^r and gylte havyng a garland w^t stones of dyverse colours weyng lxxj unces besydes the foote wantyng xj stones.

¶ CYSTE CUM RELIQUIIS.

§ In primis a grett chyste of Every w^t Images rownd aboute w^t one handle of copo^r havyng ["a Jewell typped at every end w^t sylver contenyng many Relykes unknowen lappyd w^t rede sylke w^t one rede sylk lase Also yn the same another long berall like sealle sett yn sylver w^t one scriptur shewyng the Relikes contened yn the same berall. Item yn the same chyste a lytyll Jewell w^t v perles aboute and one lytyll case full of lytyll perles and the same Jewell hath parte of the holy [cross] lackyng one quarter havyng of the bake syde iiij rede stones and one grene stone. Also yn the same chyste yn a clothe ys lapped the relykes of saynt stephan seynt Thomas saynt Sebast and other seyntes. Also yn the same a Jewell of Jaspar typped w^t sylver havyng a lytyll cheyn of sylver. Item yn the same a bone of gorge closed yn gold w^t a Image of seynt george syttyng of horse covered w^t one case of blew welvett and perles of every syde." 16 lines *struck out*].

§ Item one other long grett chyste of Cristall gylted and ornate w^t precyouse stones ["w^t many diverse Relikes contenyng xvij purses and bundells w^t bylles annexed to the same" *struck out*].

§ Item a nother fayre chyste curyusly and clenly made covered w^t cloth of gold w^t sheldes of noble men sett w^t perles w^t loke gemelles and key sylver and gylte ["contenyng xiiij purses w^t Relikes theryn w^t iij brokyn peeces of hys bondes now put yn to the seyde chyste and dyverse other peeces wantyng of the seyde bondes" *struck out*].

§ Item one fayre Chyste peynted and gylded w^t Armes precyouse stones and knottes of glas bordered w^t Corall many of them wantyng and peyntyd w^t yn lyke sylver ["contenyng dyverse Relikes a loke w^towt key wantyng dyverse coralles" *struck out*. Then] "one spone" (*struck*

* Robert Mason, LL.D., precentor (and afterwards also archdeacon of Northumberland) 1482—1493.

out, but marked "stet") of berall w^t a stert sylver and gylte and a forke sylver the stele marble.

§ Item a blew chyste bounde aboute w^t Copo^r and gylte contenyng ij purses w^t Relikes of the gyft of my lady willughby.^a

§ Item one longe chiste covered w^t sylke loke and key w^t gemelles of copo^r & gylte ["contenyng vj veles & v payre gloves" *struck out*].

§ Item one lityll Chiste covered w^t blew cloth w^towt gemelles and loke ["contenyng dyverse Relikes. a bone of saynt Erkenwold & a boñ of saynt leonarde w^t parte of þ^e vest^r of saynt margarete" *struck out*].

§ Item a long chiste peynted w^t diverse armes contenyng xv corporaxes.

§ Item a Chiste of sypers bound w^t copo^r ornate w^t peeces of Every contenyng dyverse Relykes.

§ Item a lytyll chiste of Every bouñd w^t silver ["contenyng the Relikes of seynt Remyg" *struck out*. Then] "the chiste beyng brokyn" (*struck out likewise, but marked "stet"*).

§ † Item other iij chistes of Every bouñd w^t copo^r ["contenyng Relikes"—"one broken" *struck out*].

§ Item a chiste bouñd w^t Iren of lytyl valo^r ["contenyng Relikes" *struck out*].

* § Item a lytyll chist covered w^t cloth of golde & diverse armes w^t a Ryng of sylver & a broken claspe ["havyng diverse Relikes" *struck out*].

§ Item a duble chiste of nedylwarke full of Armes ["w^t Relikes theryn contenyd" *struck out*].

§ Item a long chiste of nedylwarke w^t knottes ["and Relikes theryn contenyd" *struck out*].

§ Item one hye rownd chiste covered w^t sylke and dyverse Images ["contenyng dyverse Relikes" *struck out*].

§ Item a case of wode covered w^t sylver & a ote of copo^r havyng a man and a woman callyd pygmeis.

§ Item a chiste of Every full of Images havyng a loke & claspes of sylver of the gyft of dame Elisabeth vahons.

† Item a chiste of sypers bouñd w^t claspes and loke of sylver ["contenyng dyverse Relykes" *struck out*].

Item xvij corporaxes Cases iij of them boxys and xvij corporaxes besyde the xv contenyd yn a long peynted chiste w^t Armes afore written.

Item a corporax w^t a case of the gyft of lady Alice fytzhugh.

Item a rede case w^t one corporax w^t perles of the gyft of the wyffe of Robert Eland.

Item a corporax w^t a case w^t the Nativitie of ow^r lord of the one syde w^t the Armes of Sir george Taylboys^b on the other syde.

Item a corporax case and the corporax of gold pyrlled and crymyssyn velvet.

¶ PIXIDES.

† In primis a rownd pyxe of Cristall ornate w^t sylver and gylte bynegh & above contenyng the

^a ? about 1350.

^b After 1500.

Relikes of saynt stepham seynt hugh and other seyntes wantyng a knoppe yn the hight weyng x unces.

§ Item a nother rownd pyxe of Every bound w^t copo^r ["contenyng the relikes of the sepule^r and table of ow^r lord & of p^r cheyn w^t the wyche saynt kateryn bound p^r dewell" *struck out*].

§ Item a pyxe of Every havng a Rynge of sylver & no loke ["contenyng Relikes w^t one (Ph. & M.) claspe of sylver" *struck out*].

§ Item one other pyxe lyke the sonne of Every bound w^t sylver w^t one loke and one broken (Ph. & M.) claspe of sylver ["contenyng parte of the hede of one of the xj m^t virgyns" *struck out*].

† Item a pyxe of Every bound above & be neygh w^t sylver and gylte havng a squared steple yn the topp w^t a ryng & a rose and a scochon yn the bothom havng w^tyn a case of (? Ph. & M.) cloth of gold w^t ~~the~~ of every syde sett w^t perles.

† Item a rownd pyxe of Cristall havng a fote of sylver and gylte w^t one Image of ow^r lady yn the toppe havng a place for the sacrament for the rogacion days weyng xxj unces j quarter & dim.

§ Item a rownd pyxe sylver & gylte w^t the sacrament weyng x unces and dim. and dim. (? Ph. & M.) quarter.

* ¶ CRUCES.

* Lf. F.

§ In primis a Crosse of sylver & gylte w^t a crucifix yn the myddest Mary & John standyng of ij branches & flowredeluce in every of the iiij corners w^t the iiij evangelistes gravyn weyng lvij unces and one staffe ornate w^t sylver havng a bole & a sokett of sylver contenyng ij yardes and dim. and one quarter and dim.

§ Item ij crosses of one suett plated w^t sylver & gylte parcell ether of them havng a crucifix & iiij evangelistes of sylver and gylte both lyke w^t ij staffes lapped w^t sylver wantyng the more parte thereof contenyng the lenght of every of them ij yardes and dim.

§ Item a lytyll crosse of gold w^t viij preciose stones of divers coloures contenyng parte of the holy crosse of ij ynches long the crosse havng in lenght iiij ynches & dim. weyng j. unc. and † *per capitulum* dim. quarter.

|| Item a crosse of Cristall w^t a crucifix sylver & gylte w^t one sokett & one knope sylver and gylte w^t Armes of england and fraunce and other diverse scochons w^t a lame yn the bake & iiij evangelistes sylver & gylte weyng xlv unces wantyng iiij stones sett yn sylver gylte.

|| Item a Crosse sylver and gylte havng iiij evangelistes like men standyng opon iiij Lyons † *per capitulum* yn the fote w^t one man knelyng & a chales yn his hand weyng xxxij unces.

|| Item a crosse of wode plated w^t gold w^towt. w^t one lytyll parte of the holy crosse w^t many stones of diverse coloures & perles havng xxij stones iiij (*corr.* "v") of them wantyng besydes † *per capitulum* perles weyng xxx unces & dim. w^t a fote copo^r and gylte w^t a long berall and other stones.

† Item a lytyll crosse sylver and gylte contenyng parte of the holy crosse lyke a crosse w^t iiij stones yn iiij corners weyng dim. unce and lytyll more.

† Item a duple crosse flory of gold and sylver standing opon a playn fote of iiij Lyons contenyng parte of the holy crosse and Relikes of seyntes Machabei Alex[ander] xpofer and stephan

& of the heyr of saynt petre & the Relikes of saynt george & Innocentes weyng x unces & dim. quarter.

† Item a lytyll crosse sylver and gylte Rownd yn the hede standyng opon a squared fote w^t vj stones rede & blew contenyng the scripture yn the bake *de ligno dominie' & sancti Andree* and yn the mydle of the crosse wantyng a lytyll crosse weyng one unce and one quarter.

|| Item a crosse sylver and gylte like a quaterfold contenyng a crucifix yn the myddest w^t Mary and John at the fote of the crucifix & at the Ryght syde of the crucifix a Image of Abraham offeryng his son Isaac and a lame behynd hym and an Angell wantyng a whyng and of the lyft syde the Image of Abell and Cayn and yn the hight ij Angelles bothe of them havyng but one whyng havyng a xj stones blew & rede weyng lxxij unces & dim. † *per capitulum.*

|| Item a crosse of berall and copo^r w^t a pyke of Iron.

† Item other iij lytyll crosses and one of Every ornate w^t playtes of sylver.

|| Item a greatt Crosse sylver and gylte w^t Imagies of the crucifix mary and John and of the lyft parte of the crosse wantyng ij flowres and of the Ryght parte ij flowres and yn the topp iij flowres havyng iij evangelistes yn the iij corners weyng exxviiij unces of the gyft of Willm Alnewik^a and a fote pertenyng to the same sylver and gylte w^t ij scochons of Armes and a scriptur. *Orate animabus domini Thome beuford^b &c.* and the seyd fote hath a boyse w^t vj Images the coronacion and the salutacion of ow^r lady seynt george & seynt hugh weyng lxxxvj unces of the gyft of the seyd Willm wyche seyd crosse wanthet some lytyll leves and diverse toppes of pynnales and a staffe to the seyd crosse sylver & gylte w^t ij boysses sylver and gylte w^t this scriptur *delectare in domino* weyng lxxxiiij unces.

† Item a lytyll crosse of sylver closed yn sylke and yn the same a pece of the holy crosse.

* L. G.

* ¶ CANDELABRA.

†† Inprimis ij greatt and feyr Candelstykes of gold standyng of grett feete of one fasyon w^t xx botteres of gold yn eyther of them standyng of one base perched thorow like wyndoys w^t iij voyde places for Armes w^t iij grett botteres and iij lesse yn Ichon of them and above every botteres one pynnales one of the grettest pynnales wantyng and betwyxt iij of the grettest botteres of every of them ar iij wyndoys gravyn holow w^t a stile havyng a greatt knopp w^t dyverse botteresses like the making of a monastery w^t viij pyllers of every of them and yn the hight of them ys a bole batelled and botteressed lyke a castyll w^t one pike to putt candelles opon of the gyft of John the son of Edward kyng the duke of lancastre^c weyng xxij^{xx} and x unces.

|| Item ij Candelstykes of sylver and gylte of the wyche the one weyth lxxiiij unces wantyng one pyller and parte of the crest and the other weyth lxx unces & dim. of the gyft of lord John Bukyngham the busshop of lincoln.^d

†† Item ij Candelstykes of sylver parcell gylte standyng off grett feete w^t vj towres gylted havyng one grett knopp yn the myddest and yn the hight vj towres a boutte the boles w^t one

^a William Alnewick was bishop of Norwich from 1426 to 1436, when he was translated to Lincoln. He died in 1449.

^b Thomas Beaufort.

^c John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, died 1399.

^d John de Bokingham was bishop of Lincoln from 1362 to 1397, when he resigned.

pike of sylver of eyther of them of the wyche the one weyth lxxxxiij unces and the other weyth lxxxix unces of the gyft of the lord John Chadworth busshop of lincoln^a wantyng yn the one vij lytyll knoppis and a tower and yn the other one tower and viij knoppes and the quantite of one grote yn þ^e nether parte of the schafte.

|| Item a Candelstike sylver and ["parcell" *struck out*] gylte w^t one knopp yn the myddest w^t dyverse Images the Coronacion and the Salutacion of ow^r lady w^t iij braunches iij boles iij pikes weyng iij^{xx} unces & dim. the hightes (*sic*) bole wantyng two flowres the second bole wantyng iij flowres and the thyrd bole wantyng halfe the crest w^t the flowres. † *per capitulum*

|| Item ij Candelstikes silver veing w^t ij knopes wth j scriptur Orate pro anima Ricardi smythis. [In another hand.]

¶ THURIBULA.

|| Inprimis one payr of greatt sensors sylver and gylte w^t hedes of leopardes w^t vj wyndoys wantyng ij leves and one pynnaele and the hight of iij pynnaeles w^t iij cheyns of sylver ungylte w^t one knop wantyng a leve and havyng ij Rynges one gretter and a lese weyng iij^{xx}vij unces & dim. quarter.

|| Item a payr of sensors sylver and gylte w^t viij leopardes hedes yn the cupp and viij yn the coveryng w^t v cheyns of sylver a knop w^t ij Rynges weyng liij unces dim. ("a peece of a boorder broken and wantyng" *add. 2^{da} manu*).

mult' fract'.

|| Item a payr of sensors sylver and gylte w^t iij leopardes hedes and one scriptur *Soli deo honor et gloria* w^t iij cheyns of sylver ungylte a bose and ij Rynges wantyng the hight of one pynnaele and parte of the knop of one pynnaele and parte of one wyndow weyng xxxvj unces and parte of a cover wantyng. † *per capitulum*

|| Item ij payr sensors sylver and gylte of bosed warke w^t iij cheyns of sylver and every one of them a bose w^t ij Rynges havyng vj wyndowes and vj pynnaeles every of them wantyng one pynnaele. one weyng xxxix unces one quarter & di and the other weyng xxxiij unces. and eyther of them wantyng parte of the foote. † *per capitulum*

v

|| Item a Ship sylver and gylte w^t ij coverynges havyng ij hedes wantyng vj pynnaeles and one flowre havyng a spoñe w^t a crose yn the ["hede" *erased*] end weyng w^t the spoñe xxxiij unces and a quarter.

|| Item ij paire sensor of silver of bosed wark wth vj pynnaeles and vi wyndoes. and every of them havyng iij Chynes of silver / one of the Chynes broken / ij bozes and ij Rynges. (In another hand.) † *per capitulum*

• Lf. II.

¶ Pelves et cet.

In gazophilacio.

Inprimis ij fayr basyns of sylver and gylte chased w^t ix duble roses and yn the circuyt of one gret rose a whit rose of sylver enamelled of the wyche one weyth iij^{xx} unces & one. and the other weyth iij^{xx}xix unces of the gyft of the lord Rauf Crombwell one of them havyng a spowte like a lyons face.

†† Item ij fayr basyns sylver and gylte playn w^t a rose chased yn the myddest of eyther of

^a John Chedworth was bishop of Lincoln from 1452 to 1471.

them havynge the Armes of the bake syde that ys to say one havynge one seccion of azor ij cheverons gylte iij roses sylver^a and the other a seccion of azor a falcon gold syttyng upon a rose w^t one scriptur *verus celum*^b &c.

|| Item ij basyns sylver and gylte w^t ij sternes in the myddest w^t treyfoyles w^tyn pounced of the gyft of philip the busshopp of lineoln^c weyng iij^{xx} xiiij unces & dim.

§ Item ij other playn basyns sylver and gylte w^tyn and w^towte w^t one spowte and one playn Rose yn the myddest of eyther of them weyng liij unces of the gyft of sir Thomas lucas.

§ Item a Fatte of sylver for holy water w^t a strynkell bothe ungylte weyng lxx unces & dim. † *per capitulum.*

|| Item a sawser sylver and gylte w^t a stalk and this [s]criptur *Ehc* wrytten weyng iij unces. † *per capitulum.*

|| Item one other playn sawser gylte w^tyn havynge ij stertes like unto treyfoyles of the wyche stertes one is broken of. † *per capitulum.*

|| Item a Saeryng bell of sylver weyng vij unces.

|| Item a squared seonse of sylver and gylte w^t a handell of sylver yn the bake weyng xvij unces and a quarter.

Item ij fair great basyns silver and gilt chased w^t a whit hert and a paille in the myddest of either of them And one of them hath a bukke lyng in paille of the bake side and the other hath one Egle sytting upon a stok w^t a spowte and one of them weyth iij^{xx} unces and the other weyth iij^{xx} ij unces of the gift of Marmaduk lumley laite busshopp of lineoln^d (in another hand). †† *per capitulum.*

|| Item a seonse of sylver parcell gylte [“w^t a handell of sylver” *struck out*] bordered w^t dyverse stones above and under weyng xvj unces the handyll broken of & in kepyng of the sacriston. † *per capitulum.*

|| Item a Calefactorye sylver and gylte w^t leves graven weyng ix unces and dim.

|| Item ij foles of sylver and gylte one havynge wrytten yn the fote *Orate pro anima magistri Johannis Wlatpote*^e and the other hath wrytten on the one syde *Ehc* and of the other syde *xps*. (“the towers broken,” *in another hand*). *unus eorum extrahitur per capitulum.*

¶ BACULI PRO CHORI REGENTIBUS.

|| Inprimis a staffe covered w^t sylver and gylte w^t one Image of ow^r lady graven yn sylver of one end and an Image of seynt hugh yn the other end havynge a bosc vj squared w^t xij Imagies enamelled havynge vj botteresses wantyng one pyñacle and ij topes of the gyft of M^r Alex prowel^f (*sic*).

^a Azure, two chevrons or between three roses argent were the arms of John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, 1480—1494. The “falcon gold syttyng upon a rose” was probably the eagle of St. John, the whole being a rebus on the bishop’s name. W. H. St. J. H.

^b Or ? “*celui*”. Dagdale has “celui.”

^c Philip Repingdon, consecrated bishop of Lincoln 1405, made a cardinal 1408. Resigned his see 1419, and died in 1434.

^d Marmaduke Lumley was translated from Carlisle to Lincoln in 1450, and died intestate in the same year.

^e Probably of Leicester St. Margarets 1441—1445.

^f Alexander Prowet, LL.B., precentor 1448—1471.

|| Item ij other staffes covered w^t sylver and gylte havng an Image of ow^r lady and a ["scocchon" *erased*] chanon knelyng afore hir at every end w^t this scriptur *pro nobis ora &c.* havng also one knop w^t vj botteres & vj wyndoys yn the myddest one of them wantyng a pynnacl^e and ij lytyll knopes of pyñacles w^t one tope of a wyndow and the other a pyñacle & a tope w^t this scriptur abowte the staffe *benedictus deus in donis suis.*

|| Item other ij staffes covered w^t sylver parcell gylte havng a knop yn the myddest havng vj botteres and wyndoys yn every staffe gylte wantyng the topes of the botteres and the wyndoys of bothe staffes and one rownd sylver plate of one crowches end.

|| Item ij staffes of wode havng opon lytyll playtes of sylver w^t braunches of vynes.

|| Item ij staffes of wode.

* L.f. I.

¶ BACULI PASTORALES.

|| In primis a hede of one busshopes staffe of sylver and gylte w^t one knop and perles & other stoncs havng a Image of ow^r savyow^r of the one syde and a Image of Sent John Baptiste of the other syde wantyng xxj stoncs & perles w^t one bose and one sokett weyng xvij unces.

§ Item one other hede of a staffe copo^r & gylte.

|| Item a staffe ordend for one of the seyd hedes the wyche ys ornate w^t stoncs sylver and gylte and iij circles a bowte the staffe sylver and gylte ["and one pike of sylver" *struck out*] wantyng vij stoncs.

|| Item a staffe of horn and wod for the hede of copo^r.

|| j staff covered w^t sylver wth out heid (in another hand).

¶ TEXTUS EVANGELIORUM.

|| Inprimis a Text after Mathew covered w^t a plate sylver and gylte havng a Image of the Maieste w^t the iiij evangelistes and iiij angelles a boutte the seyd Image havng at every corner an Image of a man w^t dyverse stoncs grett & small begynnyng yn the seconde leffe *Et a transmigratione* wantyng dyverse stoncs & lytyll peeces of the plate.

[Mat. i. 17.]

|| Item one other text after John Covered w^t a plate sylver and gylte w^t an Image of the Crucifix Mary and John havng xxij stoncs of dyverse coloures wantyng iiij written yn the second leffe *Est quia prior me erat.*

[Jo. i. 15.]

|| Item a Nother text after Mathew covered w^t plate of sylver havng a crucifix Mary and John gylte and ij Angelles one of them wantyng bothe wynges and the crucifix wantyng parte of the left hand and John one of his handes written yn the second leffe *quod est interpretatum.*

† *per capitulum*
[Mat. i. 23.]

|| Item a text after Marke covered w^t a plate of sylver havng a crucifix w^t Mary and John w^t ij Images gylte one of them wantyng the crown of the crucifix wantyng all leffes but one yn the second leffe *Nona quia* and the Image of mary wantes bothe hir handes.

† *per capitulum*
[Marc. i. 27.]

|| Item iiij textes for lenton and the passion of the wyche one begynneth yn the second leffe. *as autem* Another yn the second leffe *hos autem* and the thyrd covered w^t lyne cloth w^t a rede crose begynnyng yn the second leffe *in quo vox.*

¶ CRISMATORIA.

In primis a Crismatorye sylver and gylte w^tyn and w^towt havyng xvj Imagies enamelled w^t x botteres w^towt pynnales bateled a boutte yn the coveryng w^t ij crosses and one creste havyng w^tyn iij pottes w^t coveringes for oyle and creme w^towt styces havyng iij letturs a bove the † *per capitulum*. coueryng. *S. C. E.*^a stondyng yn a case of the gift of master Willm Skelton^b sometyme Tresauror of the churche of lincoln weying xxvj unces.

¶ AMPULLE PRO OLEO.

|| In primis A Ampull playn w^t a foote sylver and gylte and a cover chased parcell gylte w^t (*Ph. & M.*) broken gemelles and a spone w^t a Akorn ordeyned for Crem.

|| Item one other Ampull sylver w^t a cover chased w^t a spone w^tyn w^t an Akorn ordeyned (? *Ph. & M.*) for Oleum sanctum.

|| Item A nother Ampull sylver w^t broken gymelles w^t a cover chased and a spone havyng (? *Ph. & M.*) an Akorn of the end ordeyned for Oleum Infirmorum.

[¶ MITRA.

|| Item viij myters wherof iiij be garneshed and iiij ungarneshed.]^c

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¶ CASULE ET CAPE RUBEI COLORIS.

In primis a Chesable of rede cloth of gold w^t orfreys before and behynd sett w^t perles blew white and rede w^t plaites of gold enamelled wantyng xv plaites and ij tunacles of the same suete w^t orfreys of cloth of gold w^towt perles havyng ij albes one stole and ij fanons and one other albe w^t ameys stole the phanand of one other suete w^t orfreys. [In *Ph. & M.* "2 mitres both garnished."]

Item a chesable of Rede bawdkyn w^t orfreys of gold w^t leopardes powdered w^t blake treyfoyles and ij tunacles and iij albes of the same suete w^t all the apparell of the gyft of the duchese of lancast^d.

Item xx fayre Copes of the same suete every of them havyng iij wheils of sylver in the hoodes of the gift of same duchess of lancast^d.

Item ij Rede coopes of the wyche one ys Rede velvett sett w^t white hertes lying in coloers full of thes letturs. *S. S.* w^t pendentis sylver and gylte. the hertes havyng crownes abowte

^a These letters were intended, no doubt, to distinguish the contents of the three vessels: "oleum sanctum catechuminum" for the font, for baptism, consecration of church and altar, ordination of priest or king; the chrisma likewise for the font, for baptism, confirmation, consecration of bishop, paten and chalice, and blessing of bells; and "oleum infirmorum" for extreme unction. See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* 1, p. cclxx. Henderson's *York Pontifical*, pp. 252—264. Also p. 48 n.^c below.

^b William Skelton was treasurer from 1477 to 1501.

^c The mitres are entered in the second hand.

ther nekes w^t cheyns sylver and gylte wantyng ["xij" *erased*] xiiij crounes & cheyns and the other coope ys off cremesyn velvett of precyouse cloth of gold w^t Images yn the orfrey sett w^t (*Ph. & M.*) dyverse perles havynge the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hood havynge a morse chaunged.

Item a chesuble of Rede velvett w^t kateryn wheils of gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t all (*Ph. & M.*) the apparell of the same suete of the gyft of the duches of lancast^r.

Item v coopes of Rede velvett w^t kateryn wheils of gold of the wyche iij hath orfreis of (3 in *Ph. & M.*) blak cloth of gold and other ij hath orfreys w^t Images kateryn wheils and sterres.

* Lf. L.

* Item other iiij coopes of Rede sateñ figuryrs w^t kateryn wheilles of gold w^t orfreys havynge Imagies staffes & kateryn wheilles.^a

Item a Rede coope called the Rutte of Jesse of Rede velvett browdered w^t Imagies of gold sett w^t roses of perles w^t a presyouse orfrey. havynge a morse of clothe of gold w^t vj stones wantyng other vj havynge a hede sett yn gold p^e wyche hede hath now one stoñ.

Item a rede coope w^t byrdes more & lesse havynge yn the hoothe the dome of the gyft of Mr John Waynfleitt^b somtyme chanoñ of this church.

Item a Rede coope of sateñ browdered w^t Imagies of gold ["the orfrey" *erased*] w^t one brode orfrey w^t Imagies & angelles yn the bake havynge ij angelles syngyng in p^e hoothe.

Item a rede chesable of clothe of gold w^t braunches off gold & the orfrey of greñ clothe w^t ij tunacles & iij albes of the gyft of the cowntes of Westmorlond wantyng one parte for the hande.

Item a coope of the same suett of cloth of gold and yn the orfrey one Image of gold w^t an Image of the Trinite yn the hoothe of the gyft of p^e same cowntes.

Item a chesable of Rede sylk browdered w^t falcens & leopardes of gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t p^e apparell of the gyft of Mr John Southam.^c

Item a Rede coope of cloth of baukyn w^t treyse of (*sic*) & ostrige fethers w^t the coronacion of ow^r lady of the gyft of the seyd John.

Item a chesable of Rede velvett w^t roses whyte & leves of gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t the apparell of the gyft of the forseyd Mr John.

Item iiij coopes of the same suett of the wyche one hath a better orfrey then the other w^t the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hoothe the other iij havynge scutes yn the orfreys of the gyft of the seyd Mr John.

Item a Rede coope of cloth of gold ornate w^t perles & Imagies yn the orfrey w^t the Ascencion 1401—1446. yn the hoothe of the gyft of Mr John forest^d prebendarye of banbery.

Item a chesable of Red velvett w^t Angelles of gold & a costely orfrey w^t ij playn tunacles of rede velvett w^t ow^t albes.

^a All these vestments adorned with Katharine wheels were doubtless the gift of Katharine Roet, wife of John of Gaunt, and therefore Duchess of Lancaster. Her arms were *Gules, three Katharine wheels or.* W. H. St. J. H.

^b John Waynflete was prebendary of Louth, 1455—1481.

^c John Southam, LL.D. was prebendary of Asgarby, 1389; of Dunham, 1401; Archd. of Oxon. 1404; preb. of North Kelsey, 1408; of Welton Beckhall, 1416; and of Sanctae Crucis, 1420. He died in 1440.

^d He held also the deanery of Wells from 1425 till his death in 1446.

Item a chesable of Rede baukyn w^t fawcons of gold^a w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t ther apparell. of the gyft of lord John Duke of lancast^r.

Item iij coopes of the same colour & of the same suett of the gyft of the same duke.

Item a chesable of rede velvett playn w^t a good orfrey w^t ij tunacles and iij albes w^t dyverse stoles & fanandes wantyng iij amuces.

Item a chesable of rede sylk playn w^t ij tunacles w^towt albes for feriall days.

Item a rede coope browdered w^t Imagies of gold & histories of Apostylles & martirs & yn the morse beyng the Image of peter and kateryn.

L.F.M.

* Item a rede coope w^t braunches & leues of whyte w^t a vernacle yn the morse & the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hooide of p^r gyft of wakevyng^b (*sic*) sumtyme p^r prebendarye of tame.

Item a Rede coope of rede velvett browdered w^t Archaungelles & sterres of gold havyng yn the hode an Image of the crucifix of the gyft of busshop gynwell.^c

Item a coope of Rede velvett w^t Rolles & clowdes ordenyd for the barne busshop^d w^t this scriptur *the hye wey ys best*.

Item a coope of Rede cloth of gold w^t Swannes of gold havyng an orfrey of blew velvett w^t many sterres of the gyft of master John Shepey dene^e of the church.

Item a cope of cloth of gold w^t a orfrey yn the bake w^t knottes and clowdes of the gyft of Mr Rye. beverley.^f

Item a rede coope browdered w^t seyntes & Archaungelles havyng yn the morse a kyng syttyng yn hys seitt w^t his scept^r yn hys hand of the gyft of William Thorneton.^g

Item one other coope browdered w^t Imagies & Archaungelles havyng yn the morse a busshop syttyng w^t his staffe.

Item a Rede coope browdered w^t kynges & prophettes w^t dyverse scriptures havyng orfreis w^t dyverse armes & ij angelles yn the hode Incensyng. of the gyft of gilbert Ivell^h Thresau^r.

Item a Rede coope browdered w^t rowne (*sic*) circles & roses of gold contenyng this scriptur yn the hode *Ricūs de graveshend*.ⁱ

Item a rede coope browdered with Imagies roses & flowredeluces of the gyft of Thomas Northwode Archedecon of lincoln^k havyng yn the hooide an Image of the mageste.

^a A falcon holding a fetterlock in his beak was one of the badges of John of Gaunt.—W. H. St. J. H.

^b From 1406 to 1416. John Wakering was also bishop of Norwich from 1416 to 1425.

^c John Gynwell, bishop of Lincoln, 1347—1362.

^d So among *capae rubeae* at York (in 1509?) is "una capa de tissue pro episcopo puerorum." Dugd. *Monast.* vi. 1208.

^e John de Shepey was dean from 1388 to 1411 or 1412.

^f Richard Beverley, prebendary of Liddington, 1371—1390.

^g William Thornton, prebendary of Stow Longa, d. 1312.

^h Gilbert de Eyvill or Ivell was treasurer from 1301 to 1307.

ⁱ Richard de Gravesend was bishop of Lincoln from 1258 to 1280.

^k Thomas Northwode was made treasurer in 1329 and archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1331. He died 1349.

Item vij Coopes of Rede Velvett of the wyche v hath popynjeys yn the morse w^t tryfoyles & p^r o^rer hath dyverse verses.

Item a coop of Rede damaske w^t ostreyg fethurs of sylver havynge an orfrey of blake damaske of the gyft of master Robert forste.^a

Item ij old Rede coopes w^t ostreys (*sic*) of grēn sylk. w^t dyverse armes havynge ij morses of rede bustyan.

Item ij Rede old coopes of the wyche one hath a rede orfrey powdered w^t lyōns & p^r other hath a blew orfrey sett w^t sterres and moynes.

* Item ij old coopes of Rede saten havynge orfreys of cloth of gold w^t dragonis & mulletes of gold yn the orfrey.

Item a old coope of Rede saten havynge yn the hooe one scutte^b yn the left parte of the hooe & yn the morse an Image of ow^r lady w^t hir soñ.

Item a chesable of Rede cloth of gold sett w^t byrdes & braunches of gold w^t a orfrey browdered w^t dyverse Imagies behynd and before w^t ij tunacles iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a coope Rede cloth of gold of the same suett w^t a orfrey sett w^t Imagies havynge yn the hooe p^r maiestye.

Item a coope of Rede cloth of tusshe w^t costely orfreys w^t Images & Armes & a scriptur yn the morse **rx dono Johis Colynson^c** havynge yn the hood the coronacion of ow^r lady.

Item a coope of Rede cloth of gold w^t costely orfreys havynge yn the hooe the scriptur of saynt katern the tombe spryngynge oyle havynge in the morse an Angell beryng a crowne of the gyft of Mr John morton Archebushop off Canturbery^d & Cardinall of seynt Anastasie.

* Item one other coope of Rede velvett sett w^t stoures^e of gold & sylver w^t precyouse orfreys contenyng the holy lame w^t ij angelles beryng the hede of saynt John baptist havynge yn the morse the armes of Mr John Rudyng^f archedecon of lyncoln w^t this scriptur. **all may god amend.**

Item vj coopes of Rede velvett of one suett browdered w^t angelles havynge this scriptur **da gloriam deo** w^t orfreis of nedyll wark of the wyche iiij hath iiij evangelistes yn the morses & p^r v a lame yn the morse of the gyft of Mr Philip lepyate^g & the vj havynge a whyte rose and a Image yn the morse of the gyft of sir John Waltham Custodis Sancti petri.^h

Item a chesable of rede called pease w^t one smale orfrey of cloth of gold w^t iij albes iij ammeses w^t owt tunacles.

Lf. N.

^a Probably Robert Forth, prebendary of Bedford Minor and of Decem Librarum in 1526.

^b "Stud." Dugdale.

^c John Colynson became prebendary of Louth in 1455, archdeacon of Stow 1460, of Bedford in 1468, and of Northampton 1471. He died in 1481.

^d Morton died in 1500.

^e "Stars." Dugdale.

^f John Rudyng was archdeacon of Lincoln 1471 to 1481.

^g Philip Lepeyate was subdean, 1478—1488.

^h Circa 1484.

Item a coope of Rede velvett browdered w^t flowres & angelles of gold & ij of them havynge this scriptur *Ecce & yn the morse a toure & yn the hooode the salutacion of ow^r lady.*

Item a chesable w^t ij tunacles of the same suett w^t iij albes & the apparell of the gyft of master Thomas Alford Chanoyn lincoln.^a

Item a chesable of rede velvett w^t ij tunacles of p^r same w^t orfreys of cloth of gold w^t this scriptur yn the bake *orate pro anima magistri Willielmi Skelton^b w^t iij albes & all the apparell of the same suett of the gyft of M^r Willm Tresauror.*

(Ph. & M.)

Item a chesable of cloth of tyshe w^t ij tunacles & iij coopes of the same suett w^t costely orfreys of gold & Imagies of nedyll warke & iij albes w^t the apparell of the same off the gyft of lord Willm Smyth^c busshop of lincoln.

Item xij coopes of Rede cloth of gold of one suett w^t rede roses & ostreyge fethers of the gyft of the seyde lord Willm Smyth busshop w^t his armes yn the morses.

(10 in Ph. & M.)

Item xvij coopes of Rede tynsell satten w^t orfreys of gold & Imagies of one suett w^t armes yn the morses of the gyft of the seyde lord Willm busshop of lincoln.

(14 in Ph. & M.)

Item a coope of crymesayn velvett w^t one good orfrey of gold & Imagies w^t iij belles yn the bake & the assumpcion of ow^r lady of the gyft of M^r Cranebull.^d

Item x coopes of one suett of rede color of cloth of gold havynge good orfreys of the gyft of M^r Jeffray Symeon dene^e & yn the morse Armes w^t p^r scriptur *gracia dei sum &c.*

Item a chesable w^t ij tunacles of Rede for good fryday.

(Ph. & M.)

Item ij dalmatykes of rede lynnede w^t whyte.

(Ph. & M.)

* ¶ CASULE ET CAPE ALBI COLORIS.

Inprimis a chesable of whyte cloth browdered w^t Images & angelles of gold w^t costely orfreys of gold havynge the Trinite yn the bake the holy gost beyng of perle and also dyverse perles yn other Imagies w^t ij tunacles of the same suett w^towt perles & iij albes & iij amesses w^t ther apparell the stoles dyfferyng of the gyft of M^r John Welborn somtyme Tresauror.^f

(Ph. & M.)

Item a coope of whyte of the same suett w^t perles & stones yn the orfreys behynd & before many lytell stones wantyng. of the gyft of the sayde John.

(Ph. & M.)

Item one other chesable of whyte cloth of gold w^t crosses off golde yn the borders & ij tunacles & ij albs of the same suett w^t all the apparell the chesable havynge a Image of ow^r lady before & a nother behynde.

^a Thomas Alford was installed prebendary of St. Mary Crackpole in 1466. He exchanged it for Carlton Paynel in 1471 and died in 1485.

^b William Skelton was treasurer, 1477—1501.

^c William Smith was bishop of Lincoln 1496 to 1514. His arms, *three roses*, appear on his seal of dignity.

^d Probably Henry Cranebull, prebendary of Southwell 1499—1507.

^e Geoffry Simeon was dean from 1506 to 1508.

^f 1351—1381.

Item vj coopes of the same suett one of them havyng a brode orfrey w^t Imagies & tabernacles the other v havyng orfreys of red velvett w^t crose buttons of gold of the gyft of John bukyngham somtyme busshop of lincoln.^a

Item a coop of whyte velvett w^t griffones and Crownes of gold havyng good orfrey w^t dyverse Imagies havyng yn þ^e morse þ^e vernacle yn the hood ij Imagies of ow^r lord and ow^r lady of the gyft of Sir Willm Nocton^b chanoñ.

Item a coope of whyte cloth of gold of bawdekyn w^t one good orfrey of blew velvett browdered w^t Imagies & tabernacles of gold havyng yn the morse a lame of sylver & yn the hoode the Image of ow^r savyo^r.

Item a nother whyte coope of cloth of gold havyng yn the orfrey lytell Imagies byrdes & roses sett w^t perles and yn the morse the salutacion of ow^r lady of the gyft of M^r John Worstep chanon of lincoln.^c

Item a coope of whyte cloth of gold of bawdekyn havyng yn the orfrey Imagies & tabernacles & yn the morse *℥. & ℥.* of gold covered w^t perle *ex dono Magistri Thome Southam Archidiaconi Oxon.*^d

Item a chesable of whyte bawdekyn w^t leves & hartes off gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t all the apparell *ex dono domini Thome Arundell Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*^e

Item ij coopes of the same suett w^t costely orfreys *Ex dono dicti domini Thome.*

Item a chesable of whyte damaske browdered w^t flowres of gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t the apparell havyng yn the bake a Image of ow^r lady w^t hir chyld of the gyft of M^r John Makworth dene of Lincoln.^f

Item xij coopes of the same suett w^t orfreys of blew ("saten" *erased*) velvyt figuryd w^t flowres of gold of the seyd Johnes gyft.

Item a chesable of whyte bawdekyn w^t braunches & dragon^s of gold w^t ij tunacles of the same suett iij albes w^t there apparell of dyverse warkes.

Item on coope of the same suett ("one" *struck out*) havyng yn the hood ("Isaye the prophett & the other" *struck out*) a busshop w^t his staffe of the gyft of John Stratley dene.^g

Item a coop of whyte satten w^t Imagies & rede roses havyng the Coronacion of ow^r lady yn the bake *ex dono magistri Rogeri Mortyvall.*^h

Item a chesable of whyte tartaron browdered w^t treyfoyles of gold w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t all ther apparell *Ex dono Ricardi Chesturfeld.*ⁱ

^a 1362—1397.

^b *Query* William Norton, prebendary of Bedford Minor, 1402—1404.

^c *Query* John Warsopp, prebendary of Louth, 1361—1386.

^d 1404—1440.

^e Died 1414.

^f John Mackworth was dean of Lincoln from 1412 to 1451.

^g John de Stretely, dean in 1316 and until after 1366.

^h Roger de Mortivallis was archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1288 and until 1295, when he became archdeacon of Leicester. He was dean of Lincoln from 1310 to 1315, and bishop of Salisbury from 1315 to 1330.

ⁱ Richard de Chesterfield was prebendary of Norton Episcopi from 1363 to 1404.

Lf. P.

Item a coop of the same suett browdered w^t treyfoyles of gold.

* Item a coop of whyte cloth of gold havng yn the morse ij roses rede & whyte of perles
ex dono Ravenser Archidiaconi Lincoln.^a

Item one other whyte coop of cloth of gold w^t orfreys of grēn velvett w^t Imagies yn tabernacles
havng a sheld paled yn the hood. *Ex dono Johannis graunson Archidiaconi oxon.*^b

Item a coop of whyte damaske embrowderes (*sic*) w^t flowres of gold w^t a orfrey of blew
velvett w^t flowres of gold havng yn the morse a Image of ow^r lady w^t hir soñ w^t this scriptur **ex**
dono Johannis Crosby Treasuro^c & yn þ^e hood the apostelles beryng the body of ow^r lady. (Ph. & M.)

Item a coope of whyte damaske browdered w^t flowres havng yn the hood the Image of ow^r
savyo^r hangyng opon the crose w^t mary & John *ex dono Magistri Georgij Fitzhugh decani.*^d

Item iiij coopes of whyte damaske enbrodered w^t flowres w^t orfreys of rede velvett & flowres.
of the wyche iiij hath yn ther morses this scriptur **ex dono Johannis Reed**^e **Capellani Cantar'**
quondam cantarie Ricardi Whitwell & the iiij hath this scriptur **orate pro anima Willelmi**
spenser capellani.

Item a coop of damaske browdered w^t flowres of gold w^t a costely orfrey havng yn the
morse the vernacle and yn the hood the coronacion of ow^r lady w^t this scriptur **ex dono Willelmi**
Gisburn.^f

Item a coop of whyte damaske browdered w^t flowres of gold w^t a rede orfrey havng yn the
morse this scriptur **Memoriale domini Willelmi fendyke**^g **quondam vicecancellarij hujus ecclesie**
& yn the hood a byrde of gold called a Fenyshe.

Item a chesable of whyte damaske browdered w^t flowres of gold w^t ij tunacles & iiij albes w^t
ther apparell *ex dono domini Roberti Markham.*

Item a coop of the same suett w^t a orfrey of Rede cloth of gold.

Item a coop of whyte damaske w^t a orfrey of Rede velvett & flowres of gold havng yn the hood
an Image of ow^r lady of pytte & yn the morse a Image of ow^r lady w^t hir son & mary magdaleñ.

Item a chesable of whyte cloth of gold browdered aboute w^t whyte roses & rede havng a
costely orfrey and yn the mydte of the crose an Image of ow^r lady. of the left parte iiij kynges &
of the Ryght syde ij Shepardes & one angell w^t this scriptur **gloria in excelsis** & ij tunacles
& iiij albes and all the apparell. (Ph. & M.)

^a Richard de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, 1368—1386.

^b John de Grandison, prebendary of Stoke 1322; bishop of Exeter 1327. John de Grandison, prebendary of Heydour 1317, died 1328. Duffus Hardy however gives no archdeacon of this name and makes Cardinal Gailhardus de Mota, archdeacon of Oxon. from 1313 to 1345. William Grandison, the bishop's brother, was archdeacon of Exon. for a few months in 1330. The "sheld paled" of Grandison was *paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules three eaglets* (or some such difference) *or.*

^c John Crosby, LL.D. was treasurer, 1448—1477.

^d George Fitzhugh held the deanery from 1483 to 1505.

^e John Reed was vicar in 1462, and subchanter from 1480 to 1484.

^f William Gisburne, prebendary of Crackpole St. Mary, 1483—1489, and of Decem Librarium, 1489—1493.

^g 1484—1499.

Item ij Coopes of the same suett of whyte cloth of gold w^t costely orfreys sett w^t Imagies & tabernacles & perles eyther of them havyng yn the morse a lame sett w^t perles w^t yn a knotte & iiij myters yn the ("morse" struck out) hoothe the coronacion of ow^r lady *ex dono magistri Wymbyssh.*^a

(Ph. & M.)

Item a costely coop of blew velvett w^t costely orfreys of gold w^t Imagies sett w^t perle. & yn the morse a Image of ow^r lady w^t hir soñ & iiij Angelles. yn the hood the Trinite sett w^t perle & stone & yn the bake a large Image of the Assumpeion garnyshed w^t perle & stoñ w^t many Angelles of gold sett w^t perle *ex dono Willelmi Alnewike Episcopi.*^b

(nota: blodii.)

Item ij coopes of whyte damaske w^t ow^r lady yn flowres yn bothe the hoodes & a Image of seynt John baptist & yn the morses theys lett^{res} **I** & **C.** *ex dono Magistri Johannis cutler Tresaurarij.*^c

(Ph. & M.)

Item another coop of whyte damaske of the same suett havyng yn the hood the salutation of ow^r lady & yn the morse theys lett^{res} **V** & **T.** *ex dono dñi Thome Wryzte sacriste.*^d

(Ph. & M.)

Item one other coop of the same suett havyng yn the hood the assumpeion of ow^r lady & yn the morse theys lett^{res} **O** & **L.** *ex dono dñi ormundi langwith vicarij choralis.*^e

(Ph. & M.)

* Lt. Q.

* Item a chesable of whyte damaske w^t orfreys of red velvett w^t ij tunacles & ij albes w^t all the apparell.

Item ij coopes of whyte damaske w^t costely orfreys w^t Imagies of nedyll warke one of them havyng [in the] morse an angell w^t a harpe yn his hande & the other ij kynges crownyd.

Item ij other coopes of whyte damaske the one havyng yn the morse a busshop & the other the orfrey of gold havyng yn the morse ij knottes sett w^t perle.

Item ij lytell old coopes of bawdekyn w^t orfreys of parttye sylke browdered w^t seutes of Armes greñ & rede.

Item ij lytell old coopes of bawdekyn w^t orfreys of gold havyng hedes & feet of gold of the bake *pro choristis.*

Item ij oþ^{er} old coppes of whyte bawdekyn w^t orfreys havyng lett^{res} yn them.

Item one other coop of cloth of gold havyng a vyne yn the orfrey & yn the morse an owlle.

Item a nother old whyte coop of cloth of gold w^t ostryge Fethurs w^t a blew orfrey contenyng dyverse bestes & flowres

¶ CASULE ET CAPE PURPUREI COLORIS.

In primis a chesable of purpur velvett w^t hartes of gold w^t a good orfrey w^t perles & stones behynd & before w^t ij tunacles & ij albes of the same suett.

^a Nicholas Wymbyssh was prebendary of Welton Ryval about 1425; of Ketton, 1427. He was archdeacon of Nottingham and canon of York, and died in 1460. Robert Wymbyssh, prebendary of Bedford Minor 1449; nominated to Scamelsby 1467. Carlton Paynel, 1471. Promoted to Welton Westhall, with the subdeanery, the same year. Died 1478.

^b 1436—1449.

^c John Cutler was treasurer, 1501—1508.

^d In 1498.

^e In 1494.

Item a coope of the same suett browdered w^t hartes of gold havng a good orfrey sett w^t Swannes roses & lammes of perle havng the Image of ow^r lord w^t a crose yn his hand & saynt Barthelmew.

Item a coop of purpur colo^r of gold w^t dyverse colors chekyrd w^t the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hood & yn the morse havng this scriptur *Southam ex dono Johannis Southam*.^a (Ph. & M.)

Item a chesable of damaske of purpur colo^r w^t a good orfrey browdered w^t braunches & flowres of gold w^t ij tunacles of the same suett & iij albes w^t all the apparell *ex dono Johannis Spenser custodis Altaris sancti petri*. (lacking albes, Ph. & M.)

Item iij coopes of the same suett & of the same colour havng yn ther morses p^r vernacle w^t a good orfrey *ex dono dicti Johannis*. (Ph. & M.)

Item a chesable of purpur satten lynyd w^t blew bukerham havng dyverse scripturs w^towt tunacles & iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a coop of saten of purpur colo^r browdered w^t Imagies of kynges knottes & Roses & circles of gold *ex dono Johannis Carkall* & hyt hath yn the hood ij kynges stondyng. (Ph. & M.)

Item a coop for chyldren of purpur colo^r w^t a orfrey of cloth of gold *valde debiles*.

Li. R.

✠ CASULE ET CAPE BLODEI COLORIS.

In primis a chesable of blew damaske w^t a good orfrey ornate w^t myters & crownes yn the orfrey w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t ther apparell. (lacking apparel, Ph. & M.)

Item a coop of the same colo^r & the same suett w^t a blake egle yn the hood & yn the morse iij mytres.

Item a chesable of blew velvett w^t a orfrey of Imagies and tabernacles and dyverse byrdes yn the orfrey w^t ij tunacles havng iij bendes behynde & before w^t iij albes w^t ther apparell *ex dono Johannis Welborn Tresau^r*.^b

Item ij coopes of the same suett & of the same colo^r havng good orfreys of cloth of gold browdered w^t dyverse Imagies of the wyche one ys herode sleynge the chyldren of Israell & the other browdered w^t the historye of seynt John Baptist *Ex dono Johannis Welborn*.

Item a coop of blew w^t byrdes of gold standyng upon cagies w^t one good orfrey of cloth of gold browdered w^t the historye of saynt Thomas & also yn the hood & yn the morse a busshop w^t his staffe & ij lett^{res} p & d. sett w^t perle *Ex dono petri Dalton*.^c

Item one other coop of blew w^t dolphynes of gold havng yn the morse the vernacle & yn the hood the salutacion of ow^r lady.

Item a coop of cloth of gold of bawdekyn of blew colo^r w^t fethurs of pecokes & estryges or whyte sylke w^t chynes & losynges lyke a nett w^t a good orfrey of Imagies & tabernacles w^t orfreys aboute the border sett w^t moyⁿs & sterres : *morsus mutatur*.

^a See note ^e page 24.

^b 1351—1381.

^c Peter Dalton was treasurer 1384—1405.

Item vj coopes of blew of one suett browdered w^t byrdes of gold w^t braunches of lyghter color havynge a red orfrey w^t byrdes of gold *Ex dono philippi Remyngdon episcopi lincoln.*^a

Item a coop of blew w^t sterrys of gold w^t a morse havynge p^e Crucifix w^t Imagies of ow^r lady & seynt John.

Item ij coopes of blew of the wyche one ys browdered w^t keys of gold and the other w^t lyonnes sterres and moynes of gold *et sunt valde debiles.*

Item a coop of cloth of gold of blew tusshey havynge a brode orfrey w^t dyverse Imagies havynge the coronacion off ow^r lady yn the hood & yn the morse the Armes of lord.

Item a chesable ij tunacles and iij albes of the same suett w^t all ther apparell.

Item v coopes of blew velvet w^t orfreys of Rede cloth of gold the warke leves & braunches of gold *ex dono Magistri Johannis breton canonici.*^b

Item a chesable of the same suett w^t ij tunacles iij albes and ther apparell *Ex dono dicti Johannis.*

Item iiij good coopes of blew tyshew w^t orfreys of Rede cloth of gold wrought w^t braunches & leves of velvett of the gyft of John Chedworth the busshop of lincoln.^c

Item a chesable of the same suett w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t ther apparell *Ex dono dicti Johannis Chedworth.* (2 in Ph. & M. (lacking apparell Ph. & M.))

Item a chesable w^t ij tunacles of blew tyshew havynge a preevous orfrey of cloth of gold w^t all the apparell *Ex dono dñi Johannis Russell Episcopi lincoln.*^d

Item a chesable wth ij tunacles & iij albes wth ther apparell of blew tyshew wth good orfreys of nedyll warke *ex dono magistri Johannis Cooke Archidiaconi lincoln.*^e

(Ph. & M.)

Item v coopes of the same suett w^t orfreys of nedyll warke havynge yn the morses thes letters **F & C.** *ex dono dicti Johannis.*

(4 in Ph & M.)

* Lf. S.

* Item a coop of cloth of gold paled w^t blew velvett & cloth off gold sett w^t mansers w^t Imagies tabernacles yn the orfreys of nedyll warke havynge the Armes of M^r Thomas burgh knyght & yn the hood the resurreccion of ow^r lord *ex dono M^r Thome burgh militis nuper de gaynesburgh.*

Item a chesable of the same suett w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t ther apparell *Ex dono dicti M^r Thome Burgh.*

Item a chesable of blew velvett browdered w^t flowres of gold havynge a rede orfrey sett w^t flowres of gold w^t ij tunacles iij albes and the Apparell.

Item a coop of blew velvett browdered w^t flowres of gold w^t a orfrey of rede velvett browdered w^t flowres of gold of the same suett.

Item a chesable of cloth of tyshew w^t orfreys of nedyll warke w^t ij tunacles iij albes of p^e same suett w^t all p^e apparell.

(Ph. & M.)

Item a coop of the same suett w^t scriptur yn the hood **orate pro anima Magistri Ricardi Smyth^f vicarii de worseworth.** *Ex dono M^r Ricardi Smyth quondam vicarii de worseworth.*

(Ph. & M.)

^a See note ^c page 21.

^b John Breton was prebendary of Sutton cum Buckingham 1448—1465.

^c 1452—1471.

^d 1480—1494.

^e John Coke, LL.D., was archdeacon of Lincoln from 1481 to 1494.

^f Richard Smyth was vicar of Wirksworth, Derbyshire, from 1487 to 1504. He founded a chantry of St. Helen in his parish church in 1504.

Item one chesable and ij tunacles of blew tyshew velvett w^t ij albes and all the Apparell.

(wanting apparel,
Ph. S. M.)

Item ij coopes of the same suett havyng yn the morse *box domini super aquas.*^a

(Ph. S. M.)

¶ CASULE ET CAPE VIRIDIS COLORIS.

Inprimis a chesable of greñ bawdekyn w^t ij tunacles w^t a good orfrey of nedyll warke w^t a Crucifix mary and John & the father above w^t ij albes & ther apparell *ex dono dñi Johannis waltham Episcopi Sar.*^b

(Ph. S. M. but ?
tunacles.)

Item a coop off the same suett w^t a precyous orfrey w^t Imagies yn tabernacles yn the morse behynd the Image of seynt John Baptist & mary magdaleñ & yn the hood þe trinite *ex dono dicti Johannis.*

Item one other coope by hyt selfe of greñ cloth of gold w^t Imagies & angelles of Jesse havyng yn the morse a face of mother of perle sett yn gold w^t ix stones w^t the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hood.

Item a coop *per se* of greñ cloth of gold & the orfrey of red velvett w^t Imagies & tabernacles of gold havyng the coronacion of ow^r lady yn the hood *Ex dono M^{ri} Petri Dalton.*^c

(Ph. S. Mary)

Item a chesable of greñ bawdekyn w^t ij tunacles of one suett w^t trees and byrdes of gold w^t ij albes of dyverse suettes w^t ther apparell *ex dono dñi* [The donor's name not entered.]

Item a chesable of sundon browdered w^t mones & sterres lyned w^t blew bukerham w^t ij tunacles w^t ow^t albes.

Item ij coopes of the same color & the same suett havyng yn ther orfreys dyverse Armes & mores of cloth of gold and yn ther hoodes havyng Armes *et sunt debiles.*

Item a coop of greñ cloth of gold w^t pecokes & grifones ther hedes & ther fyett of gold w^t brode orfres beryng Armes w^t Imagies *et debiles.*

Item a coop of greñ sylke w^t lyoñs dragonñs of darke gold havyng a orfrey w^t Imagies of kynges of gold and pecys of sylke.

* Item a cooppe browdered w^t gold upon hemp w^t dyverse storyes w^t a morse of grene sylke *ex dono Ade lymberges^d prout scriptura testatur.*

Item ij coopes of cloth of gold browdered upon hemp w^t dyvers storyes of the passyon of dyverse seyntes one havyng an orfrey of yelow and rede velvett & lyons of sylver & þ^e other havyng blew velvett and yelow sett w^t myllettes *Ex dono M^{ri} Roberti Cadenay^e precentoris ecclesie lincoln.*

^a Probably given by Bishop Atwater, see next page.

^b John de Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, 1388—1395.

^c See note ^e on page 31.

^d Adam de Lymburgh, prebendary of Sexaginta Solidorum and perhaps of Leicester St. Margaret about 1339—50.

^e "Robert de Kadeney," omitted in the list of precentors by Le Neve and Hardy, is duly noted by J. F. Wickenden. He was prebendary of Nassington and precentor about 1248.

Item a coope of greñ velvett browdered w^t lyllyes w^t orfrey of nedyll wark w^t a morse w^t a tonne & a braunch of hawthorn havng this scriptur yn the morse *Orate pro anima Roberti Thornton*^a and in the hood this scriptur *pater de celis* &c. w^t the trinite.

Item ij coopes of greñ saten figured browdered w^t lyllyes w^t costly orfreys of nedyll warke of the wyche one hath yn the morse the Armes of lord John Chadworth^b and yn the hood *Cena dñi* and the other hath yn the morse the salutacion of ow^r lady & the same yn the hooode.

Item a chesable and ij tunacles & iij albes w^t all ther apparell of the same suete *Ex dono dñi Johannis Chadworth*.

Item a coope of greñ velvett browdered w^t lyllyes w^t a orfrey of blew cloth of gold w^t this scriptur yn the morse *Orate pro anima Roberti Darcy ex dono ejusdem quondam custodis Altaris sancti petri*.^c

Item ij other coopes of greñ velvett w^towt flowres w^t orfreys of blew cloth of gold of the wyche one hath yn the morse the Armes of M^r Rob^t Astoygh^d (sic) *ex dono ejusdem* and the other hath a morse of blew cloth of gold *ex dono dñi Croseby Capellani*.

Item a chesable of greñ velvett browdered w^t lyllyes w^t a orfrey of nedyll warke w^t this scriptur opun the bake *Orate pro anima Willelmi kyrcke* w^t ij tunacles iij albes w^t the apparell.

Item a coope of greñ vellvett browdered w^t lyllyes havng a good orfrey of nedyll wark w^t a morse havng this scriptur *memoriale Willelmi Marshall olim birgarij hujus ecclesie* and yn the hood an Image of ow^r lady and the seyd Willm knelyng beryng a wand of sylver yn his hand.

Item a coop of greñ cloth of gold w^t a goodly orfrey of nedyll warke havng [yn] the morse an Image of ow^r savio^r and yn the hood the Trinite of the gyft of master willm skelton^e *Tresauor*.^f

(Ph. & M.)

Item a coop of gren cloth of gold w^t a goodly orfrey havng yn the morse a varnacle havng wrytten yn the hood *ex dono m^{ri} Willelmi Smyth Archidiaconi lincoln*.^g

(Ph. & M.)

Item a coop of greñ damaske golde wrytton yn the morse *vox domini super Aquas ex dono dñi Willelmi Atwater episcopi lincoln*.^h

(Ph. & M.)

Item a chesable of the same w^t ij tunacles & iij albes w^t all other apparell *ex dono dicti Willelmi Atwater episcopi lincoln*.

(Ph. & M.)

• Lf. V.

* ¶ CASULE ET CAPE NIGRI COLORIS.

In primis a chesable of blake cloth of gold of bawdkyn w^t a rede orfrey havng Imagies and

^a Robert Thornton, LL.D., was archdeacon of Bedford, 1439—1450. The morse of the cope given by him bore his rebus, a thorn on a tun.

^b John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, 1452—1471.

^c About 1460.

^d Robert Ayscough was prebendary of Sutton cum Buckingham, 1436—1438, and subdean, 1458—1470.

^e 1477—1501.

^f 1506—1528.

^g 1514—1521.

|| Item one other morse of sylver & gylte lyke a quaterfoyle havng an Image of the magesty yn the myddestes w^t Armes in iiij partes ornat w^t stones of dyverse colours weyng xiiij unces wantyng vj stones.

|| Item a morse w^t gemelles of sylver and gylt w^t ij blake stoñes lyke men of every syde havng many voyd places for stones weyng xj unces & dim. quarter.

|| Item a morse sylver & gylte w^t viij corners havng ij hole treyfoyles & ij broken & iiij wantyng w^t the magesty yn the myddestes havng v grett stones of dyverse colours iiij grett stones wantyng havng also the iiij evangelistes weyng xij unces and dim. quarter.

|| Item a morse sylver & gylte w^t gymelles w^t brauñches of vynes w^t a large stoñ like a mañs ee yn the one leyfe & Eve ettyng of the tree yn the other leyfe havng lxiiij stones of dyverse colours weyng xvj unces & dim. quarter. ("wantyng j. ston." add. manu 2^{da}.)

|| Item a morse sylver & gylte like a quaterfoyle w^t a Image of the magesty yn the myddestes an Image of ow^r lady yn the toop paule of the Ryght hand & peter of the lyfte hand paule wantyng the sword w^t iiij evangelist and a man knelyng yn the foote weyng x unces.

|| Item a morse sylver & gylte w^t a kyng yn the myddest w^t iiij evangelistes & iiij angelles weyng xj unces & dim.

|| Item a rownd morse sett w^t perle rownd abowte w^t the face of a woman of gold & a lyon of gold bownd w^t a cheyne.

|| Item a morse sylver and gylte plated opoñ w^t like a quaterfoyle w^t stones of dyverse colours a ston yn the myddest like a saphire weyng iiij unces & dim.

|| Item iiij morses of coppo^r & gylte enamelled w^t Imagies & flowre deluces enamelled.

|| Item a morse of coppo^r w^t a blew ston yn the myddest.

|| Item a morse of blew velvett w^t a lame yn the myddest of perle w^t a saphire ynfixd opoñ w^t.

†† per capitulum.

¶ SERTA.

|| In primis a garlond of sylver and gylte w^t xj pee' with dyverse stones and perles w^t x gemeyes *Ec dono dñe Elysabeth darcy*^a weyng x unces & dim. wantyng xvij perles and iiij stones.

|| Item a garlond of sylver w^t dyverse preciouise stones & perles sett opoñ blake velvett wantyng ij poyntes.

|| Item a garlond of sylver sett w^t stones of dyverse colours havng a layce w^t ij knopes sett w^t perles wantyng dyverse stoñes.

|| Item vj garlondes brokyn of lytyll valo^r w^t dyverse stoñes estymate to xl s.

†† per capitulum.

• Lf. Y.

* ¶ PANNI DE SERICO PRO SUMMO ALTARI.

In primis a costely cloth of gold for the high Alter for pryncipall festes havng yn the myddest Imagies of the Trinite of ow^r lady iiij evangelistes iiij Angelles aboute the trinite w^t

^a The will of dame Elizabeth Darcy, proved 16 Aug. 1412, is printed in Mr. Gibbons' volume, p. 118.

patriarches prophetes Apostelles & virgyns w^t many other Imagies havynge a frontlett of cloth of gold w^t scriptures and a lyn cloth ynfixed to the same *Ex dono ducis lancastr^a.*^a (Ph. & M.)

Item a cloth of gold havynge yn the myddest the coronacion of ow^r lady w^t many Angelles of every syde w^t organes and trumpetes and apostilles & many other dyverse Imagies w^t a frontlett powdered w^t crosses of gold *Ex dono dicti ducis.* (Ph. & M.)

Item a rede cloth of gold w^t falcoñes of gold & a frontlett of the same suett w^t ij Alter clothes ("on" *interlin.*) of diapo^r.

Item a purpure cloth w^t a Image of the Crucifix mary & John & many other Imagies of gold w^t a dyverse frontlett havynge yn every end ij whyte leopardes w^t ij Alter clothes.

Item a cloth of gold partly rede & partly whyte w^t an Image of ow^r lady yn the myddest w^t hir soñ yn a circle w^t viiiij Angelles & of the Ryght hand an Archebusshop stondynge yn a circle w^t viij angelles & of hir left hand a busshop stondynge yn a circle w^t viij Angelles w^t a frontlett of the same suett and a Canopye of the same suett havynge yn the myddest the Trinite w^t ij angelles Incensynge of every syde *Ex dono dñi ducis lancastr^a.*

Item one other cloth of the same suett havynge yn the myddest an Image of a virgyn yn a circle w^t a Image of seynt John Baptiste of one syde & seynt John the evangelistes of the other syde *Ex dono prefati ducis.*

Item a cloth of whyte w^t treyfoyles of gold havynge the salutacion of ow^r lady yn a rede circle w^t a frontlett of the same w^t ij clothes of diapo^r.

Item a cloth of blew w^t flowres gryffones of gold w^t an old clothe of diapo^r.

Item a duble cloth whyte & rede for lentyñ w^t a playne Alter cloth w^t a frontlett of the same suett.

Item a whyte cloth of damaske browdered w^t flowres off gold havynge an Image of the Assumpeion of ow^r lady yn the myddest w^t this scriptur at hir fote. *Ex dono Johannis Crosby^b* Thesauro^r of lincoln w^t an Image of seynt John baptiste of the Ryght hand & a Image of seynt Kateryne of the lefte hand w^t one lyn cloth. (Ph. & M.)

Item a Canopye of the same suett w^t flowres of gold & freynges yelow rede blew & greñ.

Item ij other lesse clothes of the same suett w^t flowres of gold and Freynges.

Item a rede cloth of gold w^t cookes of gold contenyng yn breyd one ellñe yn lenght iiij yardes & dim. *Ex dono magistri Willelmi Waltham.^c*

Item ij clothes of Rede cloth w^t kenelles of gold every of them contenyng yn breyd a ellñe and iiij yardes & dim yn lenght.

Item a rede cloth of gold w^t brauñches and flowres of gold contenyng a ellñe yn breyd and yn lenght vj yardes & dim. & p^e nayle *Ex dono philippi Repyngdon^d episcopi.^d*

Item ij clothes of purpur coloure w^t dyverse beestes & byrdes every of them contenyng yn breyd one ellñe and yn lenght iiij yardes and a quarter.

^a John of Gaunt died in 1399.

^b John Crosby was treasurer, 1448—1477.

^c William de Waltham held various prebendaries in Lincoln and York Minsters from about 1382, and died in 1418.

^d 1405—1419.

Item ij clothes of Rede cloth of gold powdered w^t pyes of dyverse colours every of them contenyng one elne yn brede and yn lengh iij yardes and a quarter.

* Lf. Z.

*Item ij blew clothes of gold w^t braunches and leves swanes of gold every one of them contenyng yn breyd one elne and yn lengh iij yardes & the nayle.

Item ij greñ clothes w^t byrdes of gold & whyte lyons every of them contenyng yn breyd one elne and yn lengh iij yardes and dim.

Item ij old clothes of Rede w^t beistes & byrdes havynge heedes of gold every of them beyng yn breyd a elne and yn lengh iij yardes & the nayle.

Item ij old clothes of blew powdered w^t cockes & mulletes of gold.

Item ij clothes of whyte cloth of bawdekyn beyng yn breid one elne & yn lengh iij yardes.

Item ij clothes of rede bawdekyn yether of them yn breyd a elne & yn lengh iij yardes.

Item ij clothes of Rede velvett browdered w^t kateryne whylles of gold of dyverse lengh & dyverse bredyd w^t a frontlett of the same warke pertenyng to one of the clothes.

Item a whyte steneyd cloth of damaske sylke for the sepullecour w^t the passyon and the Resurreccion of ow^r lord.

(Ph. & M.)

At the bottom of this page and over the other side of leaf Z the following letter is squeezed in by dint of writing in a small hand :

IV. *A Copie of the Kinges Lettres, 6 June, 1540.*

A COPIE OF THE KINGES LETTRES BY FORCE WHEREOF THE SHRYNES & OTHER JEWELS WERE TAKEN.

HENRY the VIIIth by the grace of god kynge of England and off Fraunce [defender] of the faythe Lord of Ireland and in earth immediatlye under Chryste Heade of the church of England.

To owr trustye and welbeloved Do[ctor] George Heñage clarcke Archdeacon of Tawnton. John Heñage and owr welbeloved servañtes John Hallyley and Robt. Draper greting.

For as moch as we understand that there ys a certayn shryne and di[verse] fayned Reliquyes and Juels in the Cathedrall church of Lyncoln with [which] all the symple people be moch deceaved and broughte in to greate su[per]sticion and Idolatrye to the dyshonor of god and greate slander of th[is] realme and peryll of theire own soules,

We Let you wýt that [we] beinge mynded to bringe o^r lovinge subiectes to y^e righte knowledge of y^e truth [?] by takynge away all occasions of Idolatrye and supersticion. For y^e especiaall trust [and] confidence we have in yowr fydelytyes, wysdoms and discreçõs, have [and] by theis presentes doe authorise name assign [& appointe ' *interlin.*] yow fowre or three of yow that immediatlye uppon the sighte here of repairenge to y^e sayd Cathedrall church and declaringe unto y^e Deane Recydeneyaryes and other mynisters there[of] the cause of yowr comynge ys to

take downe as well y^e sayd shryne and supersticious reliquyes as superfluouse Jueles, plate copes & other suche like as yow shall thinke by yowr wysdoms not mete to contynew [and] remayne there. unto the wych we dowbte not but for y^e consideracons rehersed the sayde Deane and Resydenaryes wth other wyll be conformable and wyllinge thereunto, and so yow to procede accordingly. And to see the sayd reliquyes. Juels and plate safely and surely to be conveyde to owr towre of Londoñ in to owr Jewyll house there chargeing the m^r of owr Jewyls wth the same.

And further we wyll that you charge and comāde in owr name the sayd Deane there to take downe such monumentes as may geve any occasiō of memorye of such [^{‘idolatrye’ struck out}] supersticion and Idolatrye hereafter Streightly chargeinge and comādinge all mayers, sheryffes, Baylyffes, constables and all other officers mynysters and subjectes unto whoñ in this case yt shall appertayn that unto yow and everye of yow as they shall be by yow requyred, they be aydinge helpinge favouringe and assistinge as they wyll answer unto us for y^e contrarye in their perylles.

Yeven under owr pryvye seale at o^r pallace of westm̄ the vjth daye of June in the xxxij^{tye} yeaere of owr reigne,

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Exhibita et executa fuit | } Thomas Essex. |
| superscripta comissio xj ^{mo} Junij | |
| Anno dñi millesimo quingen ^{imo} | |
| Quadragesimo | |

Below this is written the following:

V. Note on the Shrines.

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| Memorandum that by force of the above wrytten comysсион there was taken owt of y ^e sayd Cathedral church of Lincoln at that tyme in gold | ij ^m . vj ^e . xxj oz. | [2621 oz.] |
| In sylver | iiij ^m . ij ^e iiij ^{xx} . v oz. | [4285 oz.] |

Besyde a greate nombre of Pearles and precieuse stones wych were of greate valewe, as Dyamondes Saphires Rubyes turkyes Carbuncles etc.

There were at that tyme twoe shrynes in the sayd Cath. churche the one of pure gold called S^t Hughes Shryne standinge on the backe syde of the highe aulter neare unto Dalysons tombe/ the place wyll easlye be knowen by the Irons yet fastned in the pavement stones ther.

The other called S^t John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver standinge in y^e south ende of the greate crosse Ile, not farre from the dore where y^e Gallyley courte ys used to be kepte.

Next follow three leaves which remained blank till the Restoration when they were used for entering a list of Bishops of Lincoln from "Remigius 1058" to "Rob: Sanderson, consecrated Octob: 28. 1660. & installed & enthroned Nov:

16. 1660. Obijt. 20 Jan: 1662." This list was subsequently continued down to the translation of bishop Reynolds in 1722.

After a fragment of a sermon a small quarto leaf is stitched in with the following schedule in a very neat hand.

VI. *Jewels in my Lord of Lincoln's mitre.*

¶ THESE BE THE JUELLS LONGYNG TO MY LORDE OF LYNKCOLLS MYTER :

It. to the fore parte of the myter In the nether bonde vij stons blue and Rede and viij clousters of perells w^t iiij In a clouster.

It. ij lynkys in Every syde ij clousters of perells and the ton iij and ye tother never a won.

It. ij angells holdyng viij stons and xvij perells.

It. In the lesse of won of the syds iij stons & viij perells.

It. In the mydell of the myter viij stons and vij clousters of perells w^t iiij perells In a pese.

It. In the fore parte of the myter a bowyfe be the eggys xij stons and xij clousters of perells w^t iiij In a clouster lakyng ij perells.

Item In tother leffe of the myter iij stons and viij perells.

It. iiij pyllers of sylver.

It. In the nether parte of the myter behynde viij stons and vij clousters of perells w^t iiij In a clouster lakyng ij perells.

It. In the mydell bonde viij stons and vij clousters of perells w^t iiij In a clouster.

It. In xij stons a bowyfe be the eggys and xij clousters w^t iiij in a clouster lakyng ij perells.

It. ij angells holdyng viij stons and xxij perells.

It. ij pyns of sylver to make the ["labell" *struck out*] fast ye labells.

It. iiij bars of sylver.

It. a flower to stond In the tope of the myter.

Endorsed, apparently in bishop Longland's writing :

the stonys and
perlis in my
myter.

The next ten leaves of the book are occupied by "The Inventory of all Jewellys, Plate, Vestimentes, Copes, and other ornamentes to the Revestry of the cath. church of Lincoln belongyng, made the .xjth. day of May In the yere of our

lorde god a Thowsand fyve hundrethe fyvetye and seven." "4 & 5 Phil: & Mariæ" says a later hand, but it should be 3° and 4°.

It will not be necessary to print this here at length, as it has been given by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*.^a It will have been observed that I have attempted to identify in the list of 1535 those items which survived till 1557. The new acquisitions only will be noted hereafter.

But for the present we must leave the paper book which contains the aforesaid documents and transcribe a parchment roll which belongs to the intermediate reign of Edward VI.

VII. *Inventory of 1548.*

We come now to a list of "jewels," etc., which belongs to one of the most important years of the Reformation period, the second year of Edward VI.

This is not found, so far as I am aware, among those Lincoln documents which are now in the charge of the bishop, or of the dean and chapter; but a seventeenth century transcript is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. (207 D.) Plut. lxxiv. B. in the British Museum (fo. 325—345), in the collections of Gervase Holles.

A note at the end informs us that it was copied by John "Asfordfy," gent., a kinsman of Dean Heneage, and that the dean left a certain "Note" behind him. This note I understand to be, not the whole of this inventory of 1548 (though very possibly the statement might have applied with equal truth to that also), but simply the brief memorandum on the last page concerning the gold and silver and gems taken from Lincoln by Dr. Heneage under the Commission of 6th June 1540 to Henry VIII. "shortly after his returne from Bulloigne." For this timely replenishment of the royal exchequer, and "in consideration" of his "paynes and service" in executing this rapacious and sacrilegious commission, and in "conveighing" (as he wisely calls it) to London the plunder of the Church which Heneage had sworn to defend, the king gave him the golden prebend. Heneage was not new to the work of spoliation. While visiting Louth on the 2nd October, 1536, on such an errand, he had been dragged by Captain Cobler's mob from the church to the market-place, and had been compelled to swear fealty to the Commons with a drawn sword at his breast.

Although the name of George Heneage or Henneage appears in each of the

^a Vol. vi. 1289—92.

three volumes of *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Le Neve-Hardy), and no less than twelve times in all, I cannot find there any preferment to which he was appointed just at the time in question. Corringham and Thame were, I believe, the richest stalls at Lincoln, but I do not know that either of these went by the name of "golden," and Heneage had already enjoyed these stalls before 1540, which was the year when the commission at Lincoln was issued and executed. It was not till the 1st October, 1544, that the king landed at Dover from the siege of Boulogne. Possibly "Norton Episcopi" at Lincoln was their golden prebend, as the "Prebenda Episcopi" (attached formerly to the penitentiary, and latterly to the lecturer,) is at Hereford. "Mathry" is the golden stall at St. David's, and there was one also at St. Paul's. Heneage is said to have held the prebend of Charminster and Beere, then in Salisbury cathedral church, and to have surrendered it in 1545. Possibly this was the golden prebend. About 1534 he was rector of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire and warden of the college of Holy Trinity at Tatteshall, Lincolnshire, which he held at the time of the dissolution in 1545.

The transcript of the inventory of 1548 is so careless in its spelling that one is tempted even to question the scribe's own name, which he writes in large letters "Asfordfy." There was one Charles Asfordly or Asfordby presented by the Crown 6th August, 1660, to the prebend of Leighton Ecclesia which had been held by George Herbert and then by Herbert Thorndike, among others, in the interval since the death of Dean Henneage in 1548, or as Cooper says September, 1549. Mr. Fallow suggests that the Lansdowne MS. is not Asfordby's autograph, but a careless transcript.

Mr. Heneage (or Henneage) had himself held Leighton Ecclesia, as his earliest preferment at Lincoln, for a few months, *i.e.*, from 12th February, 1517-18, till 9th June, 1518, when he was transferred to the prebend of Gretton. Three years later he was advanced to the stall of Corringham and to the dignity of treasurer of Lincoln (June 1521); but in less than a year he resigned the latter office^a for that of archdeacon of Oxon. (then in the diocese of Lincoln), which preferment he held till he became Dean of Lincoln in 1528. He held during part at least of the time that he was dean the archdeaconry of Taunton, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, and it was under the title of that archdeaconry that he is named in the Royal Commission to plunder in June 1540.^b In the year of his accession to the deanery he was

^a After Heneage there were four other treasurers of Lincoln in his lifetime, Dr. London, Ri. Parker, Dr. Prynn, and Harry Lytherland. The last threw down his keys when the treasury was plundered in 1540, and has had no successor since.

^b See Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. 1286.

also installed as prebendary of Biggleswade (27th May, 1528), but he exchanged this stall for that of Thame, 19th November, 1536. In 1536 we find him holding preferment also in the northern province, for since 1532-3 he had held the stall of Dunningford in York Minster, and now he exchanged it for Ampleford, which he appears to have held till his death. In 1542 he became archdeacon of Lincoln, and about two years later he resigned the deanery for a pension. He died in 1548, having in the previous year resigned the prebend of Thame into the hands of Sir J. Thynne, knight, and Robert Kelway, Esq., and thus after his tenure that prebend became extinct.

The brief and imperfect "note" or concluding memorandum of the spoil taken in 1540 has been already printed from a more complete copy in the *Monasticon*, and I have already given a transcript from the document at Lincoln.

The principal inventory, that of 1548, has never hitherto been fully printed. The late Mr. Justin Simpson began to edit it in *Old Lincolnshire* * in 1883-84, but his undertaking was interrupted by his death.

For a copy of the portion which Mr. Simpson had not completed, and for a careful collation of the whole inventory, we are indebted to T. M. Fallow, Esq. M.A., F.S.A., editor of the *Reliquary*, who has thus enabled us to compare the entire document with the other Lincoln lists of earlier and later date.

The inventory of 1548 was made, at a time when there was no longer any treasurer of Lincoln, under an Act of the first year of Edward VI. George Heneage, the ex-dean, was also an ex-treasurer, so he may very probably have made this list for his successor. It will be found to be based entirely upon what we know as the inventory of 1536, and the variations are worthy of notice. Heneage was still archdeacon of Lincoln (though Dr. J. Taylour had succeeded him in the deanery), and according to Cooper's *Athenae* he survived till about September 1549. He took the degree of bachelor of canon law at Cambridge in 1510, and was subsequently incorporated at Oxford. The brothers Sir Thomas and Michael Heneage, sons of Robert Heneage, Esq., belonged to Lincoln, and were appointed keepers of the records in the Tower. The elder of them was also royal auditor of the duchy of Lancaster.

* Vol. i. pp. 52—56, 101—106, 138—141, 147—149.

* Lf. 325.
Lansd. 207, D.

* EX MANUSCRIPTO OLIM PERTINENTI
ECCLESIE CATHEDRALI LINCOLN
CUIUS^a TITULUS
INVENTARIUM REVEST[1]ARII ECCLESIE
CATHEDRALIS BEATE MARIE
LINCOLN, ANNO 1548.

[CALICES.]

In primis one great chalice silver and guilt
wth y^e paten
weighing lxxxij unces, haveing in foot the Passion y^e Resurrection of our Lord and y^e Saluta-
tion of our Lady And in y^e Paten the Coronacōn of our Lady, haveing a Rolle in y^e Circum-
ference written *Memoriale Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham.*

In Manu Sacrist.

Item a chalice silver and guilt
wth one plaine Paten
chased in y^e foot wth a writhen knoppe
wth one gilded spoone
conteing a Scripture *Blessed be God*, haveing a scripture in y^e bottome *Johannes*
Opndwell, weighing xxxij unces and a quarter.

In Man: Sacrist.

Item a chalice silver and guilt wth an Image of y^e Crucifix in the foot
wth a Paten of our Saviour sitting uppon y^e Rainbowe Weighing [. . .].

* Lf. 325^b.
[In M]an:
Sacrist.

*Item a chalice silver and guilt haveing written about y^e Cupp *Ea[u]dabo Dominum in*
Ecclesia Sanctorum. And on y^e foot *Totus Mundus est Ecclesia.*
And on y^e Paten *Entra est Purpura*, &c.^b

FERETRUM.

Item one great Fertur silver and guilt wth one crosse Iles and one Stepell in y^e Middle and
one Crosse in y^e toppe wth twentye Pinnacles and an Image of our Lady in one end and an
Image of St. Hugh in y^e other end haveing in length half a yard and one ynche, and it is sett in
a Table of Wood and athing in y^e middle to put in y^e Sacrament when it is borne weighing
{^{x^{xx} . . . vij}} unces and one † wanting a Pinnacle.

† Ex Dono. J.
Welborne
thesaurarij qui
ob. a^o. 1381.

A space here in
the MS.

TABERNACULA.

In primis one Tabernacle of Ivorye wth two leaves gimells and lock of silver conteining the
coronacōn of our Lady.

^a 'cuis' MS.

^b It appears from the Inventory of 1536 that this chalice and paten was given by Charles Booth
bishop of Hereford, ob. 1535.

Item one other Tabernacle with two leaves all of wood.^a

Item one Tabernacle of wood with a Vernacle quadrate.

Item a Tabernacle of Ivorye standing vppon 4 feet wth two leaves wth one Image of ow^r Lady in y^e middle & ye Salut^on of our Lady in one leafe* and y^e Nativitye of our Lady in the other.

Item one Tabernacle of wood wth two leaves, one with an Image our Lady, another of y^e Crucifix wth Marye & John.

Item a little Tabernacle of Ivirye lacking a glasse.

IMAGO.

Item an Image of our Saviour silver and guilt standing uppon 6 Lions void in y^e brest for ye Sacrament for Easter day, haveing a berall before, and a Diademe behind wth a Crosse in hand, weighing xxxvij unces.

PIXIDES.

In primis a round pixe silver and guilt for ye Sacrament weighing x unces and halfe and halfe a quarter.

Item an other round pixe of Ivorye bound with copper.

Item an other round pixe of Ivorye haveing a ring of silver and noe lock.

Item one other pixe like y^e same of Ivorye bound wth silver, wth one lock and one broken claspe of silver.

CRUCES.

In primis a crosse of silver and guilt wth a crucifix in y^e midst Marye & John standing of two Branches and a flowerdeluce in every of* the 4 corners wth y^e foure Evangelists graven, weighing lviij unces and one staffe ornate wth silver haveing a Bole and a Sockett of silver Conteyning two yards and halfe and one quarter and halfe.

Item two crosses of one sewte plated with silver and guilt parcell, either of them having a Crucifix and 4 Evangelists of silver & guilt both alike

wth two Staves wrapt wth silver wanting y^e more parte thereof, conteyning y^e length of every of them two yards & halfe.

Item a litle crosse of goulde wth eight stones of divers Coulours conteining in length iiij ynches and halfe weighing one unce and halfe quarter.

Item a crosse of cristall wth a crucifix silver and guilt wth one sokett and one Knoppe silver and guilt, wth Armes of England and France and other divers scochens, with a L[ambe] in y^e back, and iiij Evangelists silver and guilt, weighing xlv unces, wanting three stones sett in silver guilt.

Item a Crosse silver & guilt haveing foure Evangelists like men standing uppon iiij Lyons in ye foot, wth one man kneeleing and a chalice in his hand, weighing xxxiij unces.

^a This had contained relics of St. Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford and others.

Lf. 326.

Ex p rep[ar]ac:
scie.

In Manu Sacrist.

Lf. 326^b.

In Man. Sacrist.
ex & ven. pro
reparacione.

Item a crosse of wood plated wth gould w^{thout}, wth many stones of divers Coulours & Pearles, haveing xxij stones of them wanting besides Pearles weighing xxx unces & halfe wth a foote copper and guilt wth a long berrall & other stones.

* Lf. 327.

* Item a crosse silver and guilt like a quarterfold, continning a Crucifix in y^e midst, wth Marye & John at y^e foot of y^e Crucifix, & at y^e right side of y^e Crucifix an Image, *Abraham* [a word erased] offering his sonne *Isaak*, and a Lamb behind him, and an Angell, wanting a wing, and of y^e left side y^e Image of Abell and Cain, and in y^e hight two Angells, both of them haveing but one wing; haveing eleaven stones blew and redd; weighing lxxiiij unces and halfe.

Item a great Crosse silver and guilt, wth Images of y^e Crucifix Marye & John, and of y^e left parte of y^e Crucifix wanting two flowers, and of ye right parte two flowers, haveing iiij Evange- lists in y^e iiij Corners, weighing cxxviiij unces,

And a foote pertaining to y^e same, silver and guilt, wth two Scochens of Armes and a Scripture, *Orate pro animabus Domini Tho. Bewford, &c.* And y^e said foot hath a boyse wth vj Images the coronacion and y^e Salutacion of our Lady, St. George & St. Hugh, weighing lxxxvj unces,

wth said Crosse wanteth some little leaves and divers topps of pinacles;

& a Staffe to y^e said Crosse silver & guilt wth two boysses silver & guilt wth this Scripture *Delectare in Domino* weighing lxxxiiij unces.

CANDELABRA.

In primis Two Candlesticks of silver and guilt of y^e w^{ch} the one weigheth lxxiiij unces, want- ing one Piller and parte of y^e Crest; and the other weigheth lxix unces and halfe.

* Lf. 327^b.

Item a candlestick silver & peell guilt wth one *knoppe in y^e midst wth divers Images, y^e coronaçon & y^e Salutaçon of our Lady, wth three branches, three boles three Pik, weighing xxiiij unces & halfe; the highest bole wanting two flowers, the second bole iiij flowers & y^e third bole wanting halfe y^e crest wth y^e flowers.

Item two Candlesticks silver weighing [. . .] wth two knopps and one Scripture *Orate pro anima Ricardi Smith, &c.*

TURIBULA.

In primis one paire of great Censors silver & guilt wth heads of Leopards wth vj Windowes, wanting two leaves & one Pinnacle and y^e highest of three Pinnacles, wth iiij Chaines of silver unguilt wth one knoppe, wanting a leafe, and haveing two Rings, one greater and a lesse, weighing lxxviiij ounces & halfe a quarter.

Item a paire of Censors silver & guilt wth viij Leopards heads in y^e Cupp & viij in y^e covering wth v cheanes^a of silver a knopp wth two Rings weighing liij unces & halfe; a peice of a border broken & wanting.

Item a paire of Censors silver & guilt, wth iiij Leopards heads & one Scripture *Soli Deo Honor et Gloria*, wth iiij Cheanes of silver unguilt, a base & two Rings, wanting the hight of one Pinnacle, & parte of y^e knopp of one Pinnacle & parte of one windowe, weighing xxxvj unce, & par[t]^b of a cover wanting.

^a 'cheanes,' MS.

^b 'pare,' MS.

Lf. 328.

* Item two paire of Censors Silver & guilt of bosed work wth iiij Chaines of Silver & every one of them a bosc wth two Rings, haveing vj windowes & vj Pinacles every of them wanting one Pinaele, one weighing xxxix unce one quarter and ha[lf] ve; ^a And y^e other weighing xxxiiij, and either of them wanting parte of y^e foot.

Item two paire of Censors of silver of bosed worke, with six Pinacles, xvj windowes, & every of them haveing iiij Cheanes of silver, one of y^e Cheanes broken, two boses and two Rings.

Item a shipp silver & guilt wth two Coverings, haveing two heads, wanting vj Pinacles and one flower,

haveing a Spooone wth a Crosse in y^e end,
weighing wth y^e Spooone xxxiiij unces and a quarter.

PELVES.

Item two faire great Basons silver and guilt wth a white heart & a payle in y^e middle of either of them; and one of them hath a Buck lyeing in payle of y^e backside, And y^e other hath one Eagle sitting uppon a Stock; wth a spowte, and one of them weigheth lxxx unces, & y^e other weigheth lxxxij unces.

Item two faire Basons silver & guilt chased wth ix dooble roses, and in the Circuit of one great Rose a white rose of silver Enamilled: of y^e which one weigheth lxxxj unces and the other weigheth lxxix unces; one of them haveing a Spowte like a Lyons face.

Lf. 328^b.

* BACULI PASTORALES.

In primis a head of one Bishoppes Staff of silver and guilt wth one knopp, & Pearles & other stones, haveing an Image of our Savior on y^e one side, and an Image of St John Baptist on y^e other side, wanting xxj stones & pearles, wth one bosc & one Sockett, weighing xvijj unces.

Item one other head of a staffe Copper & guilt.

Item a staffe ordeined for one of y^e said heads y^e w^{ch} is ornate wth stones, silver & guilt, & iiij circles about the Staffe silver & guilt; wanting vij stones.

Item a staffe of horne & wood for y^e head of copper.

One staffe covered wth silver, w^{thout} a head.

TEXTUS EVANGELIOR[UM].

In primis A text after Matthew covered wth a plate silver & guilt, wth one Image of y^e [Maiestie] wth y^e foure Evangelists & foure Angells about y^e said Image, haveing at every Corner an Image of a man, wth divers stones great & small: begining in y^e second leafe *Et a transmigracione*: ^b wanting divers stones & little peices of y^e plate.

Item one other text after Iohn, Covered with a plate silver & guilt wth one Image of y^e Crucifix, Marye, & Iohn; haveing xxij stones of divers Colours wanting iiij.; written in y^e second leafe *Est qui prior me erat*.^c

^a 'have,' MS.^b Matt. i. 17.^c John. i. 30.

* Lf. 329.

Item another text after Mathew Covered wth plate of silver, haveing a Crucifix Marye & Iohn guilt, & two Angells, one of them wanting both wings; and y^e Crucifix wanting part of y^e left *hand, & Iohn one of his hands: written in y^e second leafe *Quod est inter precatum*.^a

Item a text after Marke, Covered wth a plate of silver, haveing a Crucifix wth Marye & Iohn, with two Images guilt, one of them wanting ye Crowne of the Crucifix, wanting all leaves but one; in y^e second leafe *Nova Quia*,^b and y^e Image of Marye wants both her hands.

Item three texts for Lenten and ye passion; of ye which one beginneth in y^e second leafe as *Autem*;

another in ye second leafe *hos autem*;

and the third covered wth linnen Clouts wth a redd crosse, beginning in y^e second leafe in *quo ros* &c.

CHRISMATORIA.

Imprimis A chrismatory silver & guilt wthin & wthout, haveing xvj Images enamelled wth a botteres wthout Pinacles, battelled about in y^e Covering, wth two Crosses & one Crest haveing wth in three potts wth Coverings for oyle & Creame, wthout slices, haveing three letters about y^e covering B.^e C. F., standing in a Case: of y^e gift of Mr. William Skelton sometime Treasurer of y^e Church of Lincolne, weighing xxvj unces.

AMPULLÆ PRO OLEO.

Imprimis An Ampull plaine, wth a foote and a Cover chased, parcell guilt, wth broken Gemells,

And a Spooone wth an Akerne; ordeined for Creame.

Item another Ampull silver wth a Cover chased, wth a Spooone wthin, wth an Akerne: ordeined for *Oleum Sanctum*.

* Lf. 329^b.

*Item Another Ampull Silver wth broken Gemells, wth a Cover chased, and a Spooone, haveing an Akerne of y^e end: ordeined for *Oleum* [Infirmorum].

^a 'interpretatum,' Matt. i. 23.

^b Marc. i. 27.

^c These three "pottes" in the inventory of 1536 are said to be marked with the letters "S. C. I." standing I suppose for *Sanctum chrisma*, *oleum Catechumenorum*, and *oleum Infirmorum*, respectively. The expression used to distinguish the three oils in *Oculus Sacerdotis* are "Crisma, et oleum pro Baptizandis et Infirmis," which would suit Asfordfy's three letters. (*De crismate*.)

William of Wykeham's chrismatory at New College has the letters O. C. V. which Mr. Micklethwaite, on consideration, has interpreted *O*[leum Sanctum], *C*[hrisma], and *V*[unctio pro Infirmis]. See *Proceedings of Soc. Antiq.* viii. 505, *et alibi*.

Oil, Cream, and Ointment are mentioned as the three oils in the Edwardian return from Beverley Minster (*Reliquary*, iii. 163), whence we may infer, as Mr. Fallow observes, that *Oleum*, *Crisma*, *Vunctio* (or *Vnguentum*) are the words intended by the three letters on the New College vessels. The initials S. C. I. used at Lincoln, correspond with the terms used by Ælfric. See *Rock's Church of our Fathers*, iii. 2, 79. Holy oil (of exorcism), chrism, and sick men's oil.

MITRA.^a

Item Eight Myters, whereof foure bee garnished & foure ungarnished.

CASULE^b & CAPE RUBEI COLORIS.

Imprimis A Chesable of redd Cloth of gould wth Orfres before & behind sett wth Pearles, bleu, white and redd wth three plates of Silver Enamelled, and two Tunacles of y^e same suite wth Orfreys of cloth of gould wthout Pearles, haveing two Albes, one stole, and two fannons, and one other wth Annyss stole; the fannon of one other suite wth Orfreys.

Item a Chesable of redd Bawdkin with Orfreys of gould wth Leopards powdered wth black Treifoyle

& two tunnacles

& three Albes, of y^e guift of y^e DUCHES OF LANCASTER.

Item xij faire Copes of y^e same suite every of them haveing three wheiles of Silver in y^e hoods of y^e guift of y^e same Duches of Lancaster.

Item two redd Copes of y^e w^{ch} one is red Velvett sett wth white hearts lying in Coulors full of these letters Ξ , with Pendants Silver and guilt y^e hearts haveing Crownes about * their Necks wth Cheynes; wanting xiiij Crownes and Cheynes. And y^e other Cope is of Crimson Velvet of precious Cloth of gould wth Images in y^e Orfrey sett wth divers Pearles, haveing y^e coronation of our Lady in y^e hood, haveing a Morse.

Item a Chesable of redd Velvett wth Katerine wheeles of gould, wth two tunacles,

and three Albes, wth all y^e Apparrell, of y^e same suite, of y^e guift of the Duches of Lancaster.

Item five Copes of redd velvett wth Katerine wheeles of gould, of y^e w^{ch} three hath Orfreys of black cloth of gould & other hath Orfreys wth Images of Katerine wheeles & of Starrs.

Item other foure Copes of red Satten figured wth Katerne wheeles of gould wth Orfreys, haveing Images staves and Kateren wheeles.

Item a Redd Cope called y^e Robe of Iesse of redd Velvett brodered wth Images of gould sett wth Roses of Pearles wth a precious Orfrey haveing a Morse of Cloth of gould wth vj stones, wanting other six, haveing a head sett in gould y^e w^{ch} head hath now one stone.

Item a Redd Cope wth birds more & lesse, haveing in y^e hood y^e Dome, of y^e gift of M^r John Wainfleet sometyme Chanon of this Church.

Item a Redd Cope of Satten brodered with Images of gould wth one broad Orfrey with Images and Angells in y^e back, haveing two Angells singing in the hood.

* Item a Redd Chesable of Cloth of gould with branches of gould, and y^e Orfrey of greene Cloth;

wth two tunacles,

& three Albes; of y^e guift of y^e Countes of Westmerland: wanting one parte for y^e hand.

^a 'Aptra' MS.

^b 'Caane' MS.

Item a Cope of y^e same suite of Cloth of gould, and in y^e Orfrey one Image of gould, wth an Image of y^e Trinitie in y^e hood: of y^e guift of the same Countes.

Item a Chesable of redd silk broudered wth faulcons & Leopards of gould
wth two tunnacles

& three Albes wth y^e Apparell: of y^e guift of M^r Iohn Sowtham.

Item a Redd Cope of Bawdkin wth treyse of Ostridge feathers wth y^e Coronation of our lady;
of y^e guift of y^e said Iohn.

Item a Chesable of redd Velvet, wth roses white and leaves of gould;

wth two tunnacles, & three Albes, wth y^e Apparrell: of y^e gift of y^e aforesaid M^r Iohn.

Item foure Copes of y^e same suite; of y^e w^{ch} y^e one hath a better Orfrey then y^e other with y^e Coronacion of our Lady in y^e hood: the other three haveing Stuttis in y^e Orfreys:—of y^e guift of y^e said Iohn.

Item a redd Cope of Cloth of gould Ornate wth Pearles & Images in y^e Orfrey, wth y^e Ascension in y^e hood: of ye gift of M^r John Forrest Prebendarye of Banbury.

Item a Chesable of redd Velvett wth Angells of gould and a costly Orfrey;

wth two plaine tunnacles of redd velvett w^{thout} Albes.

* Lf. 331.

* Item a Chesable of redd Bawdkin wth faulcons of gould;

wth two tunnacles;

and three Albes; with y^e Apparrell: of y^e gift of y^e Lord John Duke of Lancaster.

Item three Copes of y^e same coulour and of y^e same Suite of y^e gift of y^e same Duke.

Item a Chesable of redd Silke, plaine;

wth two tunacles, w^{thout} Albes: for feriall dayes.

Item a red Cope brodered wth Images of gould and Historyes of Apostles & Martyrs, and in y^e Morse being y^e Images of Peter & Katherine.

Item a redd Cope wth braunches & leaves of white wth a Vernacle in y^e Morse & ye Coronacion of our Lady in y^e Hood: of y^e gift of Wakering sometyme Prebendarye of Thame.

Item a redd Cope of redd Velvett brodered with Arch Angells & Starrs of gould haveing^a in y^e hood foure Images of y^e Crucifix: of the gift of Bishopp Gynwell.

Item a Cope of velvet wth Roles and Clouds erdeynd for the barne Bishopp, wth this scripture,
The highway is best.

Item a Cope of redd Cloth of gould wth Swaⁿs of gould haveing an Orfrey of blew Velvett wth many Starrs of y^e gift of M^r John Shepey Deane of y^e Church.

Item a Cope of Cloth of gould wth an Orfrey in y^e Back wth knotts & Clouds of y^e gift of M^r Rich. Beverley.

Item a redd Cope brodered wth S^ts & Arch Angells haveing in y^e Morse a King sitting in his seat & his Scepter in his hand of y^e gift of William Thornton.

Item one other Cope brodered wth Images and Arch Angells haveing in y^e Morse a Bishop sitting wth his staffe.

* Lf. 331^b.

* Item a redd Cope brodered wth Kings and Prophets wth divers Scriptures haveing Orfreys wth divers Armes and two Angells in y^e hood Incenseing of y^e gift of Gilbert Juell Thresaurer.

^a 'saueing' MS.

Item a redd Cope broder'd wth round Circles & roses of gould Conteyning this scripture of y^e hood (viz) **Richardus de Graueshend.**

Item a redd Cope broder'd wth Images Roses and flower deluces of y^e gift of Thomas Northwood Arch Deacon of Lincolne haveing in y^e hood an Image of y^e Maiestie.

Item seaven Copes of redd velvett, of y^e which five have Popinjays in y^e Morse, wth trefoyles; and y^e other two hath divers Morses.

Item a Cope of redd Damaske wth Oystreis feathers of silver, haveing an Orfrey of black Damaske : of y^e gift of M^r Robert Forst.

Item Two old redd Copes, of y^e w^{ch} one hath a redd Orfrey powdered wth Lyons, and y^e other hath a blew Orfrey sett wth starrs & Moynes.

Item Two old redd Copes wth Oystreis of greene silke wth divers Armes, haveng two Morses of redd Bustion.

Item Two old Copes of red satten having Orfreys of Cloth of gould wth Dragoons and Mulletts of gould in y^e Orfrey.

Item an old Cope of redd satten haveing in y^e hood one stutte in y^e left parte of y^e hood, and in the Morse an Image of our Lady wth her Sonne.

Lf. 332. * Item a Chesable of redd cloth of gould sett wth birds and branches of gould, wth an Orfrey brodered wth divers Images behind and before;

iiij Albes, wth their apparrell.

Item a Cope of redd cloth of gould of y^e same suite wth an Orfrey sett wth Images, haveing in y^e hood y^e Maiestie.

Item a Cope of redd cloth of Tyshue wth costleye Orfreys wth Images and Armes of scripture in y^e Morse **Er dono Johannis Collinson**, haveing in y^e hood ye Coronacon of our Lady.

Item a Cope of redd cloth of gould wth costley Orfreys haveing in y^e hood y^e scripture of S^t Katharine; the tome springing oyle: ^a haveing in y^e Morse an Angell beareing a crowne: of y^e gift of M^r Iohn Morton Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinall of Anastasiē.

Item one other Cope of redd velvett sett wth stones of gould & silver wth precious orfreys conteyning the holy lamb, wth two Angells bearing y^e head of Saint John Baptist: haveing in y^e Morse y^e Armes of M^r John Ruding Arch Deacon of Lincolne, with this scripture, **All May God Amend.**

Item six copes of redd velvett of one suite brodered wth Angels haveing this Scripture, **Da gloriam Deo**: wth orfreys of Needlework, of y^e w^{ch} foure have foure Evangelists in y^e Morse, and y^e fift a lamb in y^e Morse: of y^e gift of M^r Philip Lepyate, and y^e sixt, haveing a white rose and an Image in y^e Morse, of y^e gift of S^r John Waleham Custodius S^t Petri.^b

Lf. 332^b. * Item a Chesable of redd, called Peace, wth one small Orfrey of cloth of gould;

wth two Albes;

three Amisses^c; wthout tunacles.

Item a Cope of redd vellvett brodered wth flowers & Angelles of gould; & two of them haveing this scripture **Sanctus**; and in y^e Morse a Towre, & in y^e hood y^e salutacon of our Lady.

^a See the legend of her sepulchre in Mandeville.

^b Leg. 'Custodia altaris.'

^c 'Anniasses' MS.

Item a Chesable ;
 wth two tunacles of y^e same suite ;
 wth three Albes, & their Apparrell : of y^e gift of M^r Thom: Alford Cannon of Lincolne.
 Item a red velvett Chesable ;
 wth two tunacles of y^e same, wth Orfreys of Cloth of gould, wth this scripture in y^e back,
orate pro Anima Magistri Wilhelmi Skelton ;
 wth three Albes, & all the Apparrell : of y^e same suite : of ye gift of M^r Will^m Thesaurer.
 Item a Chesable of cloth of Tyshue ;
 wth two tunacles ;
 & three Copes of y^e same suite, wth costly Orfreys of gould & Images of needleworke ;
 & three Albes, wth y^e Apparrell, of y^e same : of y^e gift of Lord William Smith Bp. of
 Lincolne.
 Item eight Copes of red cloth of gould of one suite, wth redd roses & Oystrige feathers : of y^e
 gift of y^e said Lord William Smith Byshop, wth his Armes in y^e Morses.
 Item [^a] Copes of redd Tynsell wth Orfreys of gould & Images of one suite, wth Armes
 in y^e Morses ; of y^e gift of y^e said Lord William, Bishop of Lincolne.
 * Item a Cope of Crimson velvett wth one good Orfrey of gould & Images wth three Bells in
 y^e back, and y^e Assumption of our Lady : of the gift of M^r Cranebull.
 Item Six Copes of one Suite of redd colour, of cloth of gould, haveing good Orfreys : of y^e gift
 of M^r Jeffrye Symeon Deane ; & in y^e Morse Armes with Scripture, *Oratia Dei sum* : &c.
 Item a Chesable of redd ;
 wth two tunacles for good friday.
 Item two Dalmaticks of redd lined wth white.

CASULE ET CAPE ALBI COLORIS.

Imprimis a Chesable of white cloth brodered wth Images & Angells of gould haveing y^e
 Trinitye in y^e back : y^e Holy Ghost beeing of Pearle, & alsoe divers Pearles in y^e other Images ;
 wth two tunacles of y^e same suite w^{thout} Pearles ;
 & three Albes ;
 & three Amisses^b wth their Apparrell, y^e stoles^b differing : of y^e gift of one Iohn Welburne.
 Item a Cope of white of y^e same suite wth Pearles & stones in the Orfreys behind & before :
 many little stones wanting : of y^e gift of the said Iohn.
 Item one other Chesable of white cloth of gould wth Crosses of gould in y^e borders ;
 & two tunacles ;
 & two Albes, of y^e same suite wth all the Apparrell : y^e Chesable haveing an Image of o^r
 lady before and another behind.
 Item six Copes of y^e same suite, one of them haveing a broad Orfrey wth Images and taber-
 nacles ; y^e other five haveing Orfreys of redd velvett wth Crosse Buttons of gould of y^e gift of
 Iohn Buckingham sometime Bi^p of Lincolne.

^a There were xviii in 1536.^b 'Annisses' . . . 'steles,' MS.

Item a Cope of white Velvett wth Griffons & Crownes of gould, haveing a good Orfrey wth divers Images, haveing in y^e Morse y^e Vernacle, in y^e hood two Images of ou^r lord & ou^r lady : of y^e gift of S^r Will^m Nocton Canon.

Item a Cope of white cloth of gould Bawdkin wth one good Orfrey of bleu Velvett brodered with Images & Tabernacles of gould, haveing in y^e morse a lamb of silver & in y^e hood y^e Image of our Saviour.

Lf. 333^b.

* Item another white Cope of cloth of gould haveing in y^e Orfreys little Images birds & Roses sett wth Pearles, & in the Morse y^e Salutacon of ou^r lady : of y^e gift of M^r Iohn Worseepe Cannon of Lincolne.

Item a Cope of white cloth of gould of Bawdkin haveing in y^e Orfreys Images & Tabernacles & in y^e morse C et S of gould covered wth Pearle : *Ex Dono magistri Thomæ Southam Arch Deacon Oxon.*

Item a Chesable of white Bawdkin wth Leaves & hearts of gould ; wth two tunacles ; & three Albes, wth all y^e Apparrell. *Ex Dono Thomæ Arundell ArchEpis^t : Cant^r.*

Item two Copes of y^e same suite with costly Orfreys *Ex Dono dicti Domini Thomæ.*

Item a Chesable of white Damaske brodered wth flowers of gould ; wth two tunacles ;

& three Albes wth y^e Apparrell, haveing in y^e back an Image of our Lady wth her child : of y^e gift of M^r Iohn Mackworth Deane of Lincolne.

Item xij Copes of y^e same suite, wth Orfreys of bleu vellvett fugured with flowers of gould ; wth two tunacles of y^e same suite.

[Here comes a blank space for nearly half a page to the bottom. The folio now numbered 334 and formerly 346 begins]

Lf. 334.

* Item one Cope of y^e same suite haveing in y^e hood a Bishop wth his staffe of y^e gift of John Stratley Deane.

Item a cope of white satten wth Images & redd Roses haveing y^e Coronacon of our Lady in y^e back. *Ex Dono m^r Rogeri Mortyvall.*

Item a chesable of white Tartaron brodered wth Treifoyles of gould wth two Tunacles & three Albes wth all their Apparrell *Ex Dono Richardi Chesterfeild.*

Item a Cope of y^e same suite brodered wth Treyfoyles of gould.

Item a Cope of white cloth of gould haveing in y^e Morse two Roses redd & white wth Pearles *Ex Dono Ravenser Arch-Deacon Lincoln.*

Item one other white Cope of cloth of gould wth orfreys of greene velvett wth Images in y^e Tabernacles haveing a sheild Payld in y^e hood *Ex Dono Johannis Graunson Arch-Deaco Oxon.*[†]

[†] John de Grandison, bishop of Exeter 1327, was archdeacon of Notts (Ebor.) in 1310, held the prebend of Stoke in 1322, also Masham (Ebor) about 1309. A namesake was prebendary of Heydour in 1317 and died 1327-8. But neither of these is named by Hardy as archdeacon of Oxon.

Item a Cope of white Damaske embroderd wth flowers of gould haveing in y^e Morse an Image of our Lady wth her Sonne wth this scripture *Ex dono Johannis Crosbys Thesaurer* and in the hood y^e Apostles beareing y^e body of our Lord.

Item a Cope of white Damaske brodered wth flowers haveing in y^e hood y^e Image of our Savio^r hanging uppon y^e Crosse wth Marye & John *Ex dono M^r Georgij Fitzhugh Decani^a &c.*

* Lf. 334^v.

* Item foure Copes of white Damaske broderd wth flowers wth orfres of redd velvett and flowers, of the wth three have in y^e Morses this scripture, *Ex dono Johannis Redd Capellani Cantar. Richardi Whitwell*, and y^e fourth hath this scripture *Orate pro Anima Wilhelmi Spenser Capellani &c.*

Item a Cope of Damaske brodered wth flowers of gould wth a redd Orfey haveing in y^e Morse this scripture, *Memorial Domini Wilhelmi Jfendike quond^m Vice-Cancellar huius Ecclesiar*, and in y^e hood a bird called a Finch.

Item a Chesable of white Damaske borderd wth flowers of gould
wth two tunnales

and three Albes, wth their Apparell *Ex dono M^r Robti Maskham.*

Item a Cope of y^e same suite wth an Orfey of redd cloth of gould.

Item a Cope of white Damaske wth an Orfey of redd velvett and flowers of gould haveing in the hood an Image of our Lady of pittye and in y^e Morse an Image of our lady wth her sonne and Mary Magdalen.

Item a Chesable of white cloth of gould broderd wth white Roses and redd haveing a costly Orfey and in middle of y^e crosse an Image of our Lady, of y^e left parte three Kings, and of y^e right side two shepherds and one Angell wth this scripture, *Gloria in excelsis*;

and two tunnales;

and three Albes, and all the Apparell.

* Lf. 335.

* Item two Copes of y^e same suite of white cloth of gould wth costly Orfres sett wth Images and Tabernacles and Pearles, either of them haveing in y^e Morse a Lambe sett wth Pearles wth in a knott and foure Myters in y^e hood y^e Coronaçon of our Lady *Ex dono M^r Winbishe*

Item a costly Cope of blew velvett wth costlye Orfres of gould wth Images sett wth Pearle, and in y^e Morse an Image of our lady wth her sonne and foure Angells, in y^e hood y^e Trinitye sett wth Pearle and Stone, and in y^e back a large Image of y^e Assumption garnished wth Pearle and stone, with many Angells of gould sett wth Pearle *Ex dono Wilhelmi Alnewick Epⁱ &c.*

Item two Copes of white Damaske wth or Lady in flowers in both y^e hoods and an Image of St John Baptist, and in y^e Morses theise letters *V et T*, *Ex dono M^r Johannis Cuiler Thesaurarij.*

Item an other Cope of white Damaske of y^e same suite haveing in y^e hood y^e salutaçon of our lady, and in y^e Morse theise letters *V et T*. *Ex dono Domini Thomæ Wright Sacrist.*

Item one other Cope of y^e same suite haveing in y^e hood y^e Assumption of our Lady, and in y^e Morse theise letters *O. I.* *Ex dono Domini Or[m]undi Langue[a]th Vicarij Choralis.*

Item a Chesable of white Damaske wth Orfres of redd velvett;
wth two tunnales;

and three Albes wth all y^e Apparrell.

* Item two Copes of white Damaske wth costlye Orfreys wth Images of needleworke, one of them haveing in y^e Morse an Angell wth a Harpe in his hand, and y^e other two Kings crowned.

Item two other Copes of white Damaske wth [‘costly Orfreys’ *struck out*] the one haveing in y^e Morse a Bish^p, and y^e other y^e Orfrey of gould, haveing in y^e Morse ij Knotts sett wth Pearle.

Item two little old Copes of Bawdkin wth Orfreys of parte silke bordered wth stutes and Armins greene and redd.

Item two little old Copes of Bawdkin wth orfreys of gould haveing heads and feet of gould, and y^e Back *pro Choristis*.

Item two other old Copes of white Bawdkin wth Orfreys haveing letters in them.

Item one other Cope of cloth of gould haveing a Vine in y^e Orfrey, and in y^e Morse an Owle.

Item an other old white Cope of cloth of gould wth Oystridg feathers, wth a blew Orfrey conteyning divers Beasts and flowres.

CASULE ET CAPE PURPUREI COLORIS.

Imprimis a Chesable of Purple Velvett wth harts of gold, wth a good Orfrey, wth Pearles and stones behind and before,

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes of y^e same suite.

Item a Cope of y^e same suite brodered with harts of gould, haveing a good Orfrey sett wth Swaⁿs Roses and Lambes of Pearle, haveing y^e Image of our Lord wth a Crosse in his hand and St Bartholomew.

* Item a Cope of Purple colour of gould with diverse colours chequered, wth y^e Corona^coⁿ of ou^r lady in y^e hood and in y^e Morse, haveing this scripture, *Southam Ex dono Johannis Southam*.

Item a Chesable of Damaske of Purple colo^r wth a good Orfrey brodered wth branches and flowers of gould;

wth two tunacles of y^e same suite;

and three Albes, wth all y^e Apparell, *Ex dono Johannis Spencer Custodis Altaris S^ci Petri*.

Item three Copes of y^e same suite, and of the same colour haveing in y^e Morses y^e Vernacle, with a good Orfrey, *Ex dono dicti Johannis*.

Item a Chesable of Purple Satten lyned wth blew Buckerham, haveing divers scripture, wthout tunacles;

and three Albes wth their Apparrell.

Item a Cope of satten of Purple colour brodered wth Images of Kings, knotts and roses and Circles of gould, *Ex dono Johannis Carkhall*, and it hath in y^e hood two kings standing.

Item a Cope of Purple Colour for children, with an Orfrey of cloth of gould.—*Valde Debilis*.

CASULE ET CAPE [BLODEI] COLORIS.

In primis a Chesable of blew Damaske wth a good Orfrey ornat wth Myters and Crownes in y^e Orfrey; wth two tunacles, and three Albes wth their Apparrell.

* Lf. 336^b.

* Item a Cope of y^e same Colour and y^e same suite wth a Black Eagle in y^e hood, and in y^e Morse three Myters.

Item a Chesable of blew velvett wth an Orfrey of Images and Tabernacles and divers Byrds in y^e Orfrey;

wth two tunacles, haveing three Bends behind and before;

wth three Albes wth their Apparrell, *Ex dono Johannis Welburne Thesaurarij.*

Item two Copes of y^e same suite and of y^e same colour haveing good Orfreys of cloth of gould brodered with divers Images, of y^e wth one is Herod slaying y^e children of Israel, y^e other brodered wth y^e storye of St. John Baptist, *Ex dono Johannis Welburne.*

Item a Cope of Blew wth byrds of gould brodered wth y^e historie of St. Thomas, and alsoe in y^e hood and in y^e Morse a Bishop wth his staffe, and two letters **P** et **D**, sett wth Pearle, *Ex dono Petri Dalton.*

Item one other Cope of blew wth Dolphins of gould, haveing in y^e Morse y^e vernacle, and in y^e hood y^e salutaçõn of our lady.

Item a Cope of cloth of gould of Bawdkin of blew Colour, wth fethers of Peacocks and Oystridge of white silke wth Chines and Losinges like a Nett, wth a good Orfrey of Images and Tabernacles, wth Orfreys about y^e borders sett with Moyns and starrs.—*Morsus Mutat.*

* Lf. 337.

* Item six Copes of blew of one suite brodered wth Birds of gould wth Branches of light colo^r, haveing a redd orfrey wth Birds of gould, *Ex dono Phillipi Repington Episcopi Lincoln.*

Item a Cope of blew wth starrs of gould wth a Morse haveing y^e Crucifix wth Images of our lady and St John.

Item two Copes of blew, of y^e wth one is brodered wth Keys of gould, and y^e other wth Lyons stars and Moyns of gould,—*et sunt valde debiles.*

Item a Cope of blew cloth of gold of blew Tyshue haveing a broad Orfrey wth divers Images haveing y^e Coronaçõn of our Lady in y^e hood, and in y^e Morse y^e Armes of our lord.

Item a Chesable;

two tunacles;

and three Albes of y^e same suite, wth all y^e Apparrell.

Item five Copes of blew velvett wth Orfreys of redd cloth of gould, y^e worke leaves and branches of gould, *Ex dono M^{ri} Johannis Britton Canonici.*

Item a Chesable of y^e same suite;

wth two tunacles,

three Albes wth their Apparrell. *Ex dono dicti Johannis.*

Item two good Copes of blew Tyshue wth Orfreys of redd cloth of gould wrought wth Branches and leaves of Velvett, of y^e gift of John Chedworth B^p of Linç.

Item a chesable of y^e same suite;

wth ij tunacles;

iiij Albes wth their Apparrell, *Ex dono dicti Johannis Chedworth.*

* Lf. 337^b.

* Item a Chesable; wth two tunacles of blew Tyshue, haveing a precious Orfrey of cloth of gould wth all y^e Apparrell, *Ex Dono Johannis Russell Episcopi Lincoln.*

Item a Chesable;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes wth their Apparrell of blew Tyshue, with good Orfreys of needleworke, *Ex Dono Johannis Cooke Archd. Lincoln.*

Item foure copes of y^e same suite wth Orfreys of Needleworke, haveing in y^e Morses theis lett^r, *I et C*, *Ex Dono dicti Johannis.*

Item a Cope of cloth of gould paled wth blew velvett and cloth of gould sett wth Maufers^a wth Inages and Tabernacles in y^e Orfreys of Needleworke haveing y^e Armes S^t Thomas Burgh kn^t. and in y^e hood y^e Resurrecc^on of our Lord, *Ex Dono Thomae Burgh Milit. nuper de Gaynesburgh.*

Item a Chesable of [blew velvett, *struck out*] the same suite;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes wth their Apparrell, *Ex Dono [praefati] Thomae Burgh.*

Item a Chesable of blew velvett brodered wth flowers of gould haveing a redd Orfrey sett wth flowers of gould;

wth ij tunacles;

iiij Albes and y^e Apparrell.

Item a Cope of blew velvett brodered wth flowers of gould of y^e same suite wth an Orfrey of redd velvett brodered wth flowers of gould.

Item a chesable of cloth of Tyshue wth Orfreys of Needleworke;

wth two tunacles;

three Albes of y^e same suite wth y^e Apparrell.

* Lf. 338.

* Item a Cope of y^e same suite wth scripture in y^e hood, *Orate pro Anima m^{ri} Richardi Smith Vicar. de Worsworth.* *Ex Dono m^{ri} Richi Smith Vicar. de Worsworth.*

Item one Chesable;

and two Tunacles, of blew tishue Velvett;

wth three Albes, and all y^e Apparrell.

Item one Cope of y^e same suite haveing in y^e Morse, *Vox Domini super Aquas.*^b

CASULE ET CAPE VIRIDIS COLORIS.

Inprimis a Chesable of green Bawdkin; wth two tunacles, wth a good Orfrey of Needlework wth a Crucifix Mary and Iohn, and y^e father above;

wth two Albes, and their Apparrell, *Ex Dono Domini Johannis Waltham Episcopi Sar'.*

Item a Cope of y^e same suite wth a precious Orfrey wth Images in Tabernacles in y^e Morse behind y^e Image of St John Baptist and Mary Magdalen, and in y^e hood y^e Trinite, *Ex Dono dicti Johannis.*

Item one other Cope by it selfe of greene cloth of gould wth Images and Angells of Jesse

^a 'Mansers' 1536.

^b 'Agnas,' MS.

having in y^e Morse a face of Mother of Pearle sett in goulde wth ix stones wth y^e Coronaçón of our Lad^y in y^e hood.

Item a Cope per se of green cloth of gould and the Orfrey of redd velvett wth Images and Tabernacles of gould haveing y^e Coronaçón of ou^r Lady in y^e hood, *Ex Dono M^ri Petri Dalton.*

* Lf. 338^b.

* Item a Chesable of greene Bawdkin;

wth two tunacles of one suite wth trees and Birds of gould:

wth three Albes of divers suites wth their Apparrell.

Item a Chesable of Si[ndon] brodered wth Mones and Starrs lyned wth blew Buckerham;

wth two tunacles w^{thout} Albes.

Item two Copes of y^e same Colour and y^e same suite haveing in y^e Orfreys divers Armys and Moyses^a of cloth of gould. and in their hoods haveing Armys,—*Et sunt Debiles.*

Item a Cope of greene cloth of gould wth Peycocks and Grifons, their Heads and their feet of gould, wth Orfreys beareing Armes wth Images—*et sunt Debiles.*

Item an old Cope of greene silke wth Lyons and Dragons of darke gould haveing an Orfrey wth Images of Kings of gould and peices of silke.

Item a Cope brodered wth gould uppon Hempe, wth divers stories, wth a morse of greene silke, *Ex Dono Ade Lynebergs,—prout scriptura testatur.*

Item two Copes of cloth of gould brodered uppon Hempe wth divers stories of y^e Passions of divers Saints, one haveing an Orfrey of yellow and redd vellvett and Lyons of silver; and y^e other haveing blew velvett and yellow, sett wth Mulletts,^b *Ex Dono m^ri Rob^ti Cadney precent^r Ecclesie Linc.*

* Lf. 339.

* Item a Cope of greene velvett brodered* wth Lillyes, wth an Orfrey of Needleworke, wth a morse wth a tonne and a branch of Hawthorne, haveing this scripture, in y^e morse, *Orate pro Anima Roberti Thornteton*, and in y^e Hood this Scripture, *Pater de Carlis &c.*, wth y^e trinite.

Item two Copes of greene Satten figured, brodered wth Lillies wth costly Orfreys of Needlework, of y^e w^{ch} one hath in y^e Morse y^e Armes of Lord Iohn Chadworth, and in y^e hood *Caena Domini*, and the other hath in y^e Morse y^e Salutaçón of ou^r Lady, and y^e same in y^e hood.

Item a Chesable;

and two tunacles;

and three Albes wth all y^e Apparrells, of y^e same suite, *Ex Dono Domini Johannis Chadworth.*

Item a Cope of Greene Vellvett brodered wth Lillies wth an orfrey of blew cloth of gould wth this Scriptur in y^e Morse, *Orate pro Anima Roberti Darcy. Ex Dono ejusdem quondam Custodis Altaris S^ci Petri.*

Item two other of greene velvett w^{thout} flowers [with orfreys] of blew cloth of gould, of y^e w^{ch} one hath in y^e Morse y^e Armes of m^r Robt Ascoygh *Ex dono ejusdem*; And y^e other hath a Morse of blew cloth of gould, *Ex dono Domini Crossby Capellani.*

* Lf. 339^b.

Item a Chesable of greene velvett brodered wth Lillies wth an Orfrey of needlework wth this scripture* uppon y^e back, *Orate pro Anima Wilhelmi Kirk*;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes, wth y^e Apparrell.

* 'Mosses,' 1536.

^b 'Milletts,' MS.

Item a Cope of greene Veluett brodered wth Lillies, haveing a good Orfrey of Needlework wth a Morse haveing this scripture, *Memorialle Willelmi Marshall olim [virgarij] huius Ecclesie*, and in y^e hood an Image of our Lady and ye said William kneeling beareing a wand of silver in his hand.

Item a Cope of greene cloth of gould wth a goodly Orfrey of Needlework haveing in y^e Morse an Image of ou^r Saviour and in y^e hood y^e Trinitye, of y^e gift of m^r Will^m Skelton Tresaur^r.

Item a Cope of greene cloth of gould with a goodly Orfrey haveing in y^e Morse a Vernacle haveing written in y^e hood, *Ex dono M^{ri} Willelmi Smith Archd. Lincoln.*

Item a Cope of greene Damaske gould written in y^e Morse *Vox Domini Super Aquas.*^a *Ex Dono Domini Willelmi Attwater Episcopi Lincoln.*

Item a Chesable of y^e same;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes, wth all other Apparrell, *Ex Dono dicti Willelmi Attwater Episcopi Lincoln.*

CASULE ET CAPE NIGRI COLORIS.

* In primis a Chesable of black cloth of gould of Bawdkin wth a redd Orfrey haveing Images and starrs of gould, haveing in y^e back Armes of Lord Rose;

wth two tunacles;

three Albes of y^e same suite—*Valde Debiles.*

Item a black Cope wth starrs and Lyons Scallopes and Images of gould, *Ex Dono Willelmi de Thornaco.*

Item two black Copes of satten figurd wth gould; Orfreys of gould; Images and Tabernacles of Needlework; haveing in y^e hood foure Angells beareing y^e Armes of S^t Thomas Greene.

Item a black Cope of cloth of silver wth an Orfrey of redd Velvett brodered wth flowres haveing in y^e hood y^e Assumption of our Lady.

Item a black Cope of Chamlett brodered wth flowers of woodbynd wth an Orfrey of redd cloth of gould wth faulcons beareing C[rownes] of gould in their mouthes.

Item a Chesable of y^e same suite;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes wth all y^e Apparrell of y^e same.

Item a Tunacle^b of black satten wth starrs* of gould, haveing Orfreys of redd silk wth Images before and behind of y^e same suite.

Item a Chesable of black Velvett wth a good Orfrey of Needlework wth Images of y^e holy ghost, y^e Crucifix, our Lady wth other Images;

wth two tunacles;

and three Albes, wth y^e Apparrell of y^e gift of y^e Lady Dame *Alice Fitzhugh.*

Item two Copes of black satten wth Orfreys of redd Damask brodered wth flowers of gould

^a "Agnus," MS.

^b "Chesable," 1536.

haveing in y^e back soules riseing to y^e Doome, either of y^m haveing in y^e hood an Image of ou^r Savio^r sitting uppon y^e Rainebow, *Ex Dono Domini Willelmi Gaske.*

Item a Cope of black Damask haveing an Orfrey of redd Velvett [wth two tunacles and three Albes, *struck out*] haveing in y^e hood this Scripture, *Orate Quareso, &c.*

Item a Chesable of black Velvett wth Orfreys of redd Velvett ;
wth two tunacles ;

and three Albes, wth all y^e Apparrell—wanting a fañell.

Item a Cope of black velvett of y^e same suite wth a goodly Orfrey of Images wth an Image of ou^r Lady uppon y^e hood.

Item a Chesable of yellow silk wth an Orfrey, small, wth a Crucifix of gould in redd in y^e back ;
and two tunacles ;

wth three Albes, and y^e whole Apparrell, wth two Copes of y^e same suite and Colo^r for Lent.

* L.f. 341.

* Item a Chesable of redd white and black of diverse silks needlework and gould ;
wth two tunacles ;

three Albes, and all y^e Apparrell of y^e same ; and two Copes of y^e same suite, of y^e gift of S^r Thomas Comerworth.

MORSE.

In primis ix Morses silver and guilt as hereafter followeth, of y^e w^{ch} one hath an Image of y^e Ma^{tie} in y^e middle, and of every hand a Queene ; the [Eyes] of one covered wth ye tayle of a Serpent garnished wth Pearle and stones and one stone and one Pearle wanting ; the Gymells broken, weighing xvij unces.

Item one other Morse of silver and guilt like a Quater foyle, haveing an Image of the Ma^{tie} in y^e midst wth Armes in foure partes Ornate wth stones of divers colours, weighing xiiij unces wanting six stones.

Item a Morse wth Gymells of silver and guilt wth two black stones like men of every side, haveing many void places for stones, weighing xj unces and halfe quarter.

* L.f. 341^b.

Item a Morse of silver and guilt wth viij corners, haveing two whole treyfoyles and two broken and iiij wanting wth y^e Ma^{tie} in midst haveing five great stones of divers* colo^r, three great stones wanting, haveing alsoe y^e foure Evangelists, weighing xij unces and a halfe quarter.

Item a Morse silver and guilt wth Gymells, wth branches of Vynes, wth a large stone like a mans [eye] in y^e one leafe, And Eve eating of y^e tree in y^e other leafe, haveing lxij stones of diverse colou^r, weighing xvj unces and half a quarter.

Item a Morse silver and guilt like a Quaterfoyle wth an Image of y^e Ma^{tie} in y^e midst, an Image of our Lady in y^e topp, *Paull* of y^e right hand and *Peter* of y^e left hand, Paull wanting y^e sword ; wth four Evangelists and a man kneeling in y^e foot, weighing x unces.

Item a Morse silver and guilt wth a king in y^e midst, wth foure Evangelists and foure Angells weighing xj unces and halfe.

Item a round Morse sett wth Pearle round about, wth a face of a woman of gould and a Lyon of gould bound wth a Chaine.

Item a Morse silver and guilt plated uppon wood like a Quaterfoyle, wth stones of divers Colours, a stone in the midst like a Saphire, weighing iiij unces.

* Lf. 342.

* Item iiij Morses of Copper and guilt Enamelled wth Images and flower Deluces Enamelled.

Item a Morse of Copper wth a blew stone in y^e midst.

Item a Morse of blew velvett wth a Lam in y^e midst of Pearle wth a Saphire infixed uppon wood.

SERTA.

In primis a Garland of Silver and guilt wth xj pec. wth divers stones and Pearles, wth x Gimoyes,^a weighing x unces and halfe wanting xvj Pearles and three stones.

Item a Garland of Silver wth divers stones and Pearles sett uppon black velvett, wanting two points.

Item a Garland of silver sett wth stones of divers colors, haveing a Lace wth ij knops, sett wth Pearles, wanting divers stones.

Item vj Garlands broken, of little value, wth divers stones. Estimate to xl. s.

PANNI DE SERICO PRO SUMO ALTARI.

* Lf. 342^b.

* In primis a costly cloth of gould for y^e high Altar for principall feasts, haveing in y^e midst Images of y^e trinitye, of our Lady, foure Evangelists, foure Angells about the Trinitye, wth Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Virgins, wth many other Images,

haveing a frontlett of cloth of gould wth scriptures,

and a Linnen cloth in fixed in y^e same,

Item a cloth of gould haveing in y^e midst y^e Coronaçõn of our Lady wth many Angells of every side, wth Organs and Trumpetts, and Apostles, and many other divers Images,

wth a frontlett powdered wth Crosses of gould.

Item a redd cloth of gould, wth faulcons of gould,

and a frontlett of ye same suite,

wth two Altar clothes, one of Dyaper.

Item a Purpure cloth wth an Image of the Crucifix, Mary and John, and Many other Images of gould,

wth a divers frontlett, haveing in every end two white Leopards,

wth two Altar clothes.

Item a cloth of gould partly redd and partly white, wth an Image of our Lady in y^e midst, wth her sonne, in a Circle wth viij Angells. And of y^e right hand an Arch B^p standing in a Circle wth eight Angells, and of her left hand a Bish^p standing in *[a] Circle wth eight Angells,

* Lf. 343.

wth a frontlett of y^e same suite, and a canopy of y^e same suite, haveing in the midst y^e Trinitye wth two Angells incensing of every side.

^a "Ex don. dñæ Eliz. Dercy," MS. 1536.

Item one other cloth of y^e same suite, haveing in y^e midst an Image of a Virgin in a Circle wth an Image of St. John Baptist of one side, And St. John y^e Evangellist on y^e other side.

Item a cloth of white of treyfoyles of gould, haveing y^e Salutacon of our lady in a redd Circle,

wth a frontlett of ye same,

wth two clothes of Dyaper.

Item a cloth of blew wth flowers Griffons of gould, wth one old cloth of Dyaper.

Item a Double cloth white and redd for Lenten,

wth a plaine Altar cloth,

wth a frontlett of y^e same suite.

Item a white cloth of Damaske Brodered wth flowers of gould, haveing an Image of y^e Assumption of our lady in y^e midst, wth this scripture, **Ex dono Johannis Crosby** Thesaurer of Lineolne, wth an Image of St John Baptist of ye right hand, and an Image of St Katharine of y^e left hand,

wth one linnen cloth.

Item a Canopye of y^e same suite, wth flowers of gould and fringes yellow, redd, blew and Greene.

* Lf. 343^v.

*Item two other lesse clothes of y^e same suite wth flowers of gould and fringes.

Item a redd cloth of gould wth Cocks of gould, conteining in breadth one Elne, in length iiij yards & Di.

Item two clothes of redd cloth wth Kinnelts of gould, every of them Conteyning in breadth an Elne, and iiij yards and halfe in length.

Item a redd cloth of gould wth branches and flowers of gould conteyning a Elne in breadth, and in length vj yards and halfe and y^e nayle.

Item two clothes of Purpure Colo^r wth divers beasts and birds, every of them Conteyning in breadth one Elne in breadth, and in length iij yards and qu^{tr}.

Item two clothes of redd cloth of gould Powdered wth Pyes of divers Colours, every of them Conteyning one Elne in breadth, and in length three yards and a quart^r.

Item two blew clothes of gould wth branches and leaves Swaⁿs of gould, every one of them Conteyning one Elne in breadth, and in length three yards and Nayle.

Item two greene clothes wth birds of gould and white lyons, every of them conteyning in breadth one Elne, and in length iiij yards and halfe.

* Lf. 344.

Item two old clothes of redd, wth beasts and birds, haveing heads of gould, every of* them beeing in breadth an Elne, and in length three yards and y^e Nayle.

Item one old cloth of blew Powdered wth Cocks and Mulletts of gould.

Item two clothes of white cloth of Bawdkinn, beeing in breadth one Elne, and in length iiij yards.

Item two clothes of redd Bawdkin, either of them in breadth an Elne, and in length foure yards.

Item two clothes of redd Velvett brodered wth Katharine wheelles of gould of divers lengths and divers breadths,

wth a frontlett of y^e same worke perteyning to one of y^e clothes.

Item a white stayned cloth of Damaske silk for y^e Sepulcher, wth y^e Passion and the Ressur-
reçôn of ou^r Lord.

PARCELLE SUBSEQUENTES NON SPECIFICANTUR IN LIBRO SACRISTE.

The great Cupp that did hang over y^e high Altar wth three knops and other peeces,
all guilt, weighing liij unces xiiij l. xiiij s. ix d.
Item a Crosse of wood plated wth gould, weighing xxx unces and halfe viij l.
Item a Cross bought of old M^r Allenson, weighing cv unces [blank]
Item two paire of censors, lxvij unces xvij l. vj s. vj d.
* Item one little Bason wth y^e chaines and other apurtances, lxviij unces, at
iiij^s viij^d y^e unce [xviij l. ix s. iiij d.]
Item two other Basons, lxvj unces at iiij s. viij d. y^e unce [xv l. viij s.]
Item a Challice [weighing] lj. unce at v^s the unce [xij l. xv s.]

CERTEINE GOULD AND SILVER TAKEN OUT OF LINCOLNE MINSTER BY HEN. Y^e 8th SHORTLY
AFTER HIS RETURNE FROM BULLOYNE, AS FOLLOWETH :

| | | |
|----------------|-----------|---|
| First in gould | | [mm d cxxj. uncj.] |
| Item in Silver | | [iiij ^m cclxxxv. uncj.] |
| Sum : | | [vj ^m . viiiij ^e . vj. uncj.] |

Item Besides this he had a great Number of Pearles and precious stones w^{ch} were of great
Value, as Dyamond Saphirs Rubies Turkesies Karbuncles &c. whereof some were aboute y^e
Images of our Lady of Lincolne, and many aboute y^e high Altar, but most of all aboute St Hugh
Shyrene.

This Note did Deane Heneage leave behind him, who as then was one of y^e cheife Comis-
sion^{rs}, and had y^e cheife charge of Con^{*veighing} of y^e said treasure to London, in consideraçôn
of whose paynes and service y^e king at y^t time gave unto him y^e golden prebent.

Besides y^e Crosses and Candlesticks whereof some were ^a cleane gould, some silver and guilt,
some cleane silver, Censors shipps for to putt in frankincense, Challices, Basons, Copes and
divers other Ornaments taken away by King Edward y^e vith Anno Regni sui septimo.^b

Teste Meipso Joanne Asfordfy gener[oso],
p^rfati Decani Heneage consanguine.

^a "where," MS.

^b i. e., 1553.

VIII. *The Roll of Plate and Vestments, 18 May, 1553.*

A roll of parchment ten feet in length consisting of five membranes endorsed in a seventeenth-century hand :

An Inv^t of all the Plate Jewells &c. belonginge to Lincoln minster tempore Edw. 6th.

This inventory is printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*,^a but the spelling there, though it appears to aim at singularity, has little or no reference to that of the original of this present document. This, however, is only a minor matter; but it is more important to mention that the items struck out when the inventory was fresh under revision are perfectly legible, and they ought to have been recorded as one of the most interesting points of the document whether considered from an historical or from an ecclesiological point of view.

18 May, 1553.

A trewe Inventory Indentyd of all the plate . Jewellys . vestmentes . copes . altare clothes & other ornamentes apperteyning to the Cathedrall church of Lincoln, made and wrytten [vpon .v.] peceys of parchmente here to gether sewyd . the xvijth [day] of May In the vijth yere of the Raigne of our sovereign lorde Edwarde the Sexte by the grace of god kyng off Englande fraunce and Irelande defender of the faith and of the church of England and also of Ireland in earthe the supreme headde.

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Calices. | { In primis one chalice silver and gilte w ^t one playn patene chased in the foote w ^t a wrythen knoppe . haveing a scripture in the botom, Johannes Gynwell , weying xxxij. uncj. Item a chalice silver and gilte with an Image of the crucifixe in the foote with a patene and our Saviour sitting ['the rim in the same' <i>interlin.</i>] uppon the Raynbow xxvj uncj. Item a nother chalice silver and gilt haveyng wrytten abowt the cup Laudate Dominum in ecclesia sanctorum. And in the patene Enixa est puerpera. |
| Pixides. | { Imprimis a Rounde pixe silver and gilte for the sacramento. [Item a nother rounde pyxe of Ivory bound w ^t copper. Item a pyx of Ivory havynge a Rynge of silver and no locke. Item one other pyx like the same of Ivory bound w ^t silver w ^t one locke and one broken cuspe of silver] [<i>The three last items struck through with a pen.</i>] |
| Tabernacula. | { [In primis one tabernacle of Ivory w ^t ij leaves gymellys and locke of sylver conteynyng the coronacion of our Lady. Item a nother tabernacle w ^t ij leaves all of woode. Item one tabernacle of woode w ^t a vernacle quadrate. |

^a Vol. vi. pp. 1287-89.

Item one tabernacle of woode w^t ij leaves and an ymage of our Lady a nother of the crucifixe w^t Mary and John.

Item a litul tabernacle of Ivery lackyng a glasse.]

[All five tabernacles are struck out.]

Baculi pastorales.

[In primis one head of a bishops staffe sylver and gilte.

Item one other heade of a staffe copper and gilte.

Item a staffe of horne and woode for the same.]

[All three pastoral staves struck out.]

Ampulle pro
co.

[In primis one ampull playne of sylver and gilte w^t a cover chased parcell gilte w^t broken gemelles and a spone w^t an acorne. struck out.]

Item a [‘nother’ struck out] ampull of sylver w^t a cover [chased w^t a spone w^t an acorne.]
(Only the spoon is here struck out, the ampull to remain.)

Item a nother ampull sylver [w^t broken gemelles w^t a cover chased and a spone havyng an acorne of thende.] (This item was first entirely struck out, but as an after thought ‘stet’ was written over each of the first words, and ‘w^tout a cover’ added.)

Crux.

[Item one fair large cross of Burall. struck out.]

Morsi.

[In primis iij. morses of copper and gilte enameled w^t ymages and flowredelices.

Item a morse of blew velvet w^t a lambe in the myddeste off pearle w^t a saphyre infixed uppon woode. Both these items are struck out; but some morses were left attached to the copes.]

Mitra.

[In primis iij Myters wrought w^t sylke and golde whereof ij ar garnyshed and ij ungarnyshed. These mitres are all struck out.]

Cope Rubei
coloris.

In primis viij Copes whereof vij ar of Redde silke w^t ymages of golde of diverse sortes, and the viijth of Redde dammaske w^t an orphrey of grene velvet w^t flowres and an angell in the hooe.

Item iij Copes of the whiche one is a Redde cope w^t birdes haveyng in the hooe the dome. *Es dono m^{ri} Johannis waynflete* Item a nother cope broderyd w^t kynges, prophetes and martyrs. Item a nother cope of redde silke w^t birdes of golde, and leaves of golde wrought therin. Item the iijth cope of bawdkyn w^t white flowres havyng in the hooe the Coronacion of our Lady w^t a blynde scripture.

Item vij copes of Redde velvet w^t angellys and flowres in their backes.

Item iij Copes of Redde velvet one of them haveyng bellys w^t angellys and flowres. Item a nother w^t Flowres and a lambe in the hooe. Item the thirde clowdes and Rowlyls of the backe. Item the iijth Angellys and Sterres.

Item Fyve copes one of them of redde velvet furnished w^t white hartes in collers. Item a nother of redde dammaske w^t greate ostrige fethers. Item the thirde of redde clothe of golde ornat w^t pearles and ymages in the orphray. and thascencion in the hooe. Item the iijth cope of redde clothe of golde haveyng an orphrey sette w^t ymages and in the hooe the Trinite. Item the vth cope of crymysyn velvet wrought of clothe of golde. w^t ymages in the orphrey sette w^t diverse pearles. and haveyng the coronacion of our Lady in the hooe.

Item ij copes of redde velvet garnyshed w^t Roses and flowres of golde one of them haveyng in the hooe. the Salutacion of our Lady of one side, the Nativite of christe in the myddeste

and ij angellys of the other side of the hooode. And the other haveyng the Coronacion of our lady in the hooode.

Item vj copes of one sewte of redde color haveyng goode orphres, and in the morses armes, w^t this scripture *Gracia dei sum id quod sum.*

Item iiij copes of redde clothe of golde of one sewte w^t Roses and oystrege fethers, w^t the armes of Bishop Smyth in ther morses.

* piece ij.
[Cape purpurei
coloris.]

* Item Fyve copes of purpur color whereof one is of velvet w^t . . . of golde. Item other ij of them of damaske haveyng in [the] morses the vernacle. Item the vth cope of clothe of Tissue [wth this] scripture in the hooode *Orate pro anima Ricardi Smyth bicarij de Wikesworth.*

Cape viridis
coloris.

In primis Fyve copes of grene velvet brodered w^t lillyes.

Item ij copes one of grene velvet sette w^t rosys of golde haveyng the Coronacion of our Lady in the hooode . and Mary Magdalene in the morse. Item a nother of grene damaske golde wrytten in the morse, *Vox domini super aquas.* Item the thirde of grene bawdkyn w^t St James shell in the morse.

Cape blodej
coloris.

In primis iiij copes ij of them of blewe tissue wth orphres of redde clothe of golde wrought w^t braunches and leaves of velvet. Item a nother of blewe tissue velvet haveyng in the hooode *Vox domini super aquas.* Item the iiijth of bawdkyn blew color w^t fethers of pecocks and oystrages of white silke w^t cheynes and loysynges like a nette w^t a good orphrey.

Item fyve copes iiij of them of blewe tissue w^t orphres of nedill worke haveyng in ther morses thes lettres .*J.C.* Item the vth cope of clothe of golde purled w^t blewe velvet and clothe of golde sette w^t maynsers. and haveyng the armes of S^r Tho^{as} Burgh knyght.

Item viij copes wherof ij ar of blewe velvet haveyng goode orphres of clothe of golde broderyd w^t diverse ymages, of the w^{ch} one is herode sleyng the children of Israel . The other broderyd w^t the story of St John baptiste. Item iiij other of blewe velvet w^t orphres of redde clothe of golde haveyng the worke, leaves and braunches of golde. Item a nother cope of blewe velvet w^t dolphyns of golde haveyng in the morse a vernacle. Item the viijth of blewe velvet w^t flowres of silke and golde, and the orphrey of redde velvet w^t flowres of silke and gold.

Item viij copes wherof fyve are of blew bawdkyn of one sewte broderyd w^t byrdes of golde and braunches of lightter color haveyng redde orphres w^t birdes of golde. Item a nother cope of the sayd viij of blew haveyng a good orphray and birdes of golde standyng uppon white cages. Item a nother cope of blewe tissue haveyng a brode orphrey w^t diverse ymages and the coronacion of our Lady in the hooode. And in the Morse a lyon. Item a nother cope of blew bawdkyn haveyng a braunche of white Roseys Ronneyng in redde velvet in myddeste of the orphrey. and a spleyd Egle in the hooode.

Cape nigri
coloris.

In primis fyve copes wherof one is of blacke w^t sterres, lions, scalloppes and ymages of golde. Item ij other of Sattyn w^t good orphres of golde ymages and tabernacles of nedyll worke haveyng in the hooode an angell bearyng the armes of S^r Thomas grene. Item a nother blak cope of cloth of sylver w^t an orphrey of redde velvet broderyd w^t flowres haveyng in the hooode the assumption of our Lady. Item a blacke cope of chamlet brodryd w^t Flowres of woodbynde w^t an orphrey of redde w^t Fawkons bearyng crownes in ther mowthes.

Item ij copes wherof ij ar of blacke sattyn w^t orphres of redde damaske broderyd w^t flowres

of golde haveyng in the backe soules rysyng to ther dome, others of them haveyng in ther hoode an ymage of our savior sitting upon the Raynbowe. Item the third cope of blacke damaske haveyng soules of the backe and christe sitting upon the Raynbowe.

In primis vij copes of white damaske haveyng orphres of blewe velvet w^t Flowres of golde.

Item vij other white copes of the same sorte.

Item vj copes, iiij of them of white damaske Inbroderyd w^t Flowres, haveyng orphres of redde velvet, and iij of them have in ther Morses this scripture, *Ex dono Johannis Rede cap[ella]ni.* and the iiijth hath *Orate pro aia Willmi Spens[er] ca[pella]ni.* Item the other ij of the like sorte, and one of them of the gifte of S^r William Fendyke.

Item vj copes of white flowred damaske w^t flowres of gold and silke haveyng diverse orphres.

Item vij copes wherof vj ar of olde clothe of golde and one of them hath a brode orphrey w^t ymages and Tabernacles. And the other v copes hath orphres of redde velvet w^t crosse buttons of golde. Item the vijth is moche like unto the same.

Item vj copes, one of white velvet w^t griffons and crownes of golde haveyng a good orphrey w^t diverse ymages and a vernacle in the Morse and in the hoode ij ymages one of our lorde, and a nother of our Lady. Item a cope of white clothe of golde of bawdkyn w^t a good orphrey of blew velvet broderyd w^t ymages and tabernacles of golde haveyng in the morse a ambe off sylver. Item a nother white cope of clothe of golde haveyng in the orphrey lityll ymages, birdes, and Roseys sette w^t pearles, and in the Morse the Salutation of our Lady. Item a nother cope of white clothe of golde of bawdkyn haveyng in the orphrey ymages and tabernacles, And in the Morse *T. S.* of golde coveyrd w^t pearles. Item ij other copes of white bawdkyn w^t leaves and hartes of golde haveyng good orphres.

*Item iiij copes, one of them of white tartaron broderyd w^t trafolles of golde. Item a nother of white damaske w^t an orphrey of redde velvet and flowres of golde haveyng in the hoode an ymage of our lady of pety, and in the Morse an ymage of our lady w^t her sonne, and Mary Magdalene. Item ij other copes payned w^t blacke, white, and redde, haveyng written in the redde paynes in golde, *A boyn droit.*

Item fyve olde copes wherof ij ar of yellow taffatay. Item one of white damaske. Item the others ij of white silke w^t golde wrought uppon.

Item vj olde copes of Redde velvet of the whiche iiij ar w^t popynJays in ther Morses w^t trafolles, and the other ij have diverse Morses.

Item vj other olde copes wherof iij ar of redde silke w^t birdes of golde and in the orphres ymages. Item other ij of blewe sylke w^t sterres and Roses in the orphres. Item the other of Redde silke w^t Swannes and beastes of golde wrought uppon.

Item xiiij olde copes of diverse sortes for pore clerkes.

Item xviiij olde copes of sundry sortes for choristers.

In primis a chesable of clothe of golde of blewe tissue w^t ij tunacles and iij albes w^t all thapparell.

Item a nother chesable of blew tissue velvet w^t Flowres and braunches of golde and in the orphray a picture of the passion of Christe and of ether syde hym an Angell w^t chalices in ther handes, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Cope albi
coloris.

* piece 3.

Casule ex varijs
coloribus cum
suis tuniculis et
albis.

Item a chesable of blew tissue velvet w^t braunches and flowres of blew velvet wrought uppon golde w^t a fare orphrey haveyng a picture of Christe of the crosse and Angellys w^t challices and Sensers w^t ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of clothe of golde wrought uppon w^t flowres and trees of blew velvet haveyng an orphrey of redde velvet wrought uppon golde w^t ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of clothe of golde purled with blewe velvet of cloth of golde sette w^t mansers, w^t ij tunacles and iij albes.

It[em a] chesable of clothe of tissue haveyng flowres and br[aun]ches of [pu]rpur velvet wrought uppon haveyng this [scriptu]re in the backe, *Orate pro anima m^{ri} Ricardi Smyth quondam vic[ar]ii de Wicksworthe*, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t thapparell.

Item a chesable of blew velvet wrought uppon w^t flowres [of golde] and silke and a redde crosse sette w^t Flowres of golde [and gr]ene silke, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of blew velvet w^t a crosse of golde haveyng redde velvet wrought uppon golde in braunches, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a chesable of fare light grene velvet broderyd w^t trees of golde w^t a goodly orphrey of nedill worke havynge a picture of the passion of Christe and under the same picture a bishop standyng and St John evangeliste, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of grene velvet broderyd w^t lillys, and an orphrey of nedill worke w^t this scripture upon the backe *Orate pro anima Willelmi Kirke*, w^t ij tunacles and iij albes.

(1514—21.)

Item a goodly chesable of grene damaske golde of the gifte of Bishop atwater w^t an orphrey of nedill worke, haveyng the birthe of Christe in a shelde, w^t other ymages in the orphrey w^t ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of damaske purpur' color broderyd w^t braunches and flowres of golde w^t a good orphrey, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of purpur' velvet w^t hartes of golde haveyng a good orphrey w^t pearles behynde and before ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t white Roses and leaves of golde, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t Catheryne wheles of golde, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t Rosys and flowres of golde w^t a goodly orphrey, haveyng behynde the birthe of christe, and the salutacion of our lady, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t angellys and flowres of golde, and a good orphrey, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a redde chesable w^t braunches of golde, and the orphrey of grene silke w^t flowres of golde, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of white bawdkyn w^t leaves and hartes of golde w^t ij tunacles and iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a chesable of white damaske broderyd w^t flowres of golde haveyng in the backe an Image of our Lady w^t her childe, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t ther apparell.

piece 4.

*Item a chesable payned w^t white blacke and redde silke haveyng wrytten in the redde paynes in golde **A Bopn droit**, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t all ther apparell.

Item a chesable of white damaske w^t orphres of redde velvet, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of white damaske w^t flowres of golde and an orphrey of redde tynsell sattyn, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of white w^t crosses of golde in the borders and in the orphrey an ymage of our lady before and a nother behynde, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of white silke w^t trifolles of golde and an orphrey of redde velvet w^t trifolles of golde, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t ther apparell.

Item a chesable of blacke chamlet w^t flowres of golde and silke and an orphrey of redde silke w^t birdes and flowres of golde, ij tunacles and iij albes w^t thapparell.

Item a chesable of golde and silke w^t a narrow orphrey off pearles redde white and blewe, ij tunacles and ij albes.

Item a chesable of redde Sarcenette w^t a narrow orphrey of golde, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of white silke w^t flowres and braunches of gold and a goodly orphrey w^t the story of the Nativite of christ, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t an orphrey haveyng a picture of christe of the crosse w^t other ymages, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of blew velvet w^t an orphrey of gold nedill worke w^t ymages and birdes, ij tunacles iij albes w^t thapparell.

Item a chesable of yellowe silke w^t sonnes and monnes of golde w^t other flowres of silke and golde, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of grene taffatay w^t birdes and flowres of golde w^t an orphrey of white silke nedill worke haveyng scutes w^t lions rampyng, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item a chesable of yellowe sarcenet w^t a narrow orphrey of golde haveyng in the toppe a picture of christe of the crosse Mary and John and ij tunacles w^t owt albes.

Item a chesable of redde bawdkyn w^t birdes and flowres of golde haveyng an orphrey sette w^t ymages, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of white silke and golde w^t a redde orphrey haveing trees of golde and white oystrege feathers, ij tunacles and iij playn albes.

Item ij tunacles of reddle clothe of bawdkyn w^t birdes and bestes of golde and white silke w^t orphreys of golde and silke nedil worke sette w^t ymages, lackyng a chesable and albes.

Item ij tunacles of redde velvet w^t narrowe orphreys of golde lackyng albes and the chesable.

Item a chesable of redde sylke w^t lyons of golde uppon white scrowlles w^t a fare orphrey haveyng a picture of the passion of christe w^t diverse other ymages w^t an albe and the apparell.

Item a chesable of bawdkyn w^t grene Ronneyng braunches and byrdes of golde w^t an orphrey of redde sylke and golde w^t griffons of golde in rounde circles, ij tunacles and iij albes.

Item a chesable of course redde worstyd w^t sterres of golde and a blacke orphrey sett w^t white roses, and ij tunacles w^t owt albes.

Item a chesable of white bustyon w^t a redde orphrey and ij tunicles w^t owt albes.

Item a chesable of redde sarcenet w^t flowres of golde and a blew orphrey haveyng **Ihus** w^t a crowne wrought in the backe, w^t one tunacle, lackyng albes.

Item an olde chesable of blacke sattyn w^t flowres of golde and a redde orphrey haveyng a picture of the passion of christe and Mary and John, w^t certen armes under them, and one tunacle w^t owt albes.

Item an olde chesable of purpur satten w^t a narrowe orphrey of clothe of golde haveyng certen scriptures in l[ett]res of golde in rounde circles made of silke and golde lackyng tunacles and albes.

Item a chesable of white damaske w^t an orphrey of redde damaske, and one tunacle, lackyng albes.

Item a chesable full of litill rounde spottes of golde like pease w^t a narrowe orphrey of clothe of golde, w^t owt tunacles and albes.

Item fyve olde tunacles of diverse sortes w^t ther albes for choristers.

In primis a clothe ["of golde" *struck out*] partely redde and partely white w^t an ymage of our Lady in the myddeste w^t her sonne in a circle w^t viij angellys, and of the right hande an archebishop standyng in a circle w^t viij angellys, And of her lefte hande a bishop standyng in a circle w^t eight angellys ["and a frontelet of the same sewte," *struck out*].

* Item a white clothe of Damaske broderyd w^t flowres of golde haveyng an ymage of thassumption of our Lady in the myddes w^t this scripture at her fote, **Ex dono Johannis crosby thesaur[ar] of Lincoln** w^t an ymage of St John baptiste of the right hande and an ymage of St Catheryne of the lefte hande w^t one frontlett sewyd to a lynnyn clothe ['old worne' *added by the corrector*].

Item a white clothe w^t trifoiles of golde haveyng the salutacion of our lady in a redde circle w^t a frontelet, and ij clothes of dyaper.

Item a purpur clothe w^t an ymage of the crucifixe Mary and John ['and many other ymages of golde w^t a diverse . . . clothes *struck out*. *The corrector then adds to finish the curtailed entry* 'of nedil worke.']

Item a clothe of redde bawdkyn w^t leopardes powderyd w^t blacke trifolles and a playne altare clothe w^t a frontelet of the same haveyng an altare clothe of dyaper. [*The corrector adds* 'olde worne.']

Item a doble clothe white like a nette of one side and redde taffatay on the other, w^t a playn altare clothe and a frontelet of the same sewte.

[Item a redde clothe w^t kenelles of golde: *struck out*.]

Item ij clothes of purpur color, one w^t diverse bestes and birdes and the other w^t flowres and braunches. (*The corrector adds*, 'old worne.')

Item ij grene clothes w^t birdes of golde and white lyons. [*The corrector adds*, 'olde worne.']

[Item ij clothes of redd silke lyned haveyng leopards and leavys of golde steyned on them: *struck out*.]

Item a clothe of redde silke w^t flowres of golde wrought theron.

Item a clothe of blew silke lynyd wrought uppon w^t flowre delises, hartes, and other bestes of golde. [*The corrector adds*, 'old worne.']

Item two clothes of blew bawdkyn wrought w^t beastes, braunches and byrdes. [*The corrector adds*, 'old worne.']

Panni de serico
pro summo
altari.

* piece 5.

[Item ij clothes of bawdkyn w^t magpyes and poppyn Jayes.

Item an olde silke clothe w^t Catheryne wheles and a bishop steyned worke.

Item iij olde cortens of white silke ij of them haveyng stripes. *The three preceding items all struck out.*]

In primis vj altare clothes of dyaper metely goode.

Item fyve other clothes of diaper sore werne.

Item one halffe clothe of dyaper.

Item viij altare clothes of lyn clothe.

Item three longe towellys of dyaper.

[Item iiij albes which were worne at the washyng of altares of Shirethursday. wherof one is of white silke and the other [iij] of fyne lynnyn clothe, sore worne.

Item ij crosse clothes of grene silke w^t pictures one of the assumption of our lady and the other of St Hugh.

Item ij clothes of bawdkyn one lying uppon the table in the vestry, and the other hyngyng before the same with one diaper clothe of the same table. *These three last entries all struck out.*]

IX. Inventory of the Revestry, 11 May, 1557.

‘THE INVENTORY of all Jewellys, Plate, vestimentes, Copes, and other ornamentes to the Revestry of the cathedral church of Lincoln belongyng: made the xjth day of May In the yere of our lorde god a Thowsand fyve hundrethe fyvetye and Seven.

This inventory occupyes nineteen pages, the latter half of the folio paper book which contains the “register and inventarye” of 1536.

As it has been printed in the *Monasticon*,^a with sufficient accuracy except in point of spelling, and as there are no *marginalia*, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here *in extenso*.

I think it enough to point out those items which I have not been able to identify with any in the list of 1536, and to give at the same time some notion of the extent of its agreement or disagreement with that document. (*Supra*, pp. 13-38.)

I will add a brief conspectus of the contents of the three Tudor inventories of Lincoln Cathedral, leaving the reader to make a more detailed comparison of them when he has them before him in print.

When we examine the first section of the Marian inventory of 1557, we find under the title *Calices*, in addition to two of the chalices of 1536, the following:

3. Item a chalice sylver and gilt haveyng abowte the cuppe. *Calicem salutaris accipiam.* And on the foote *Thus xpus Thus xpus Amen.* Lackyng ij knoppys on the foote. And on the patene, *Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu.* Ex dono Johannis longlond olim Epi lincoln. belongyng to his chapell, weyng xxxij vncj parte.

^a vi. pp. 1289-1292.

4. Item a nother chalice sylver and gylte haveyng graven about the cuppe . *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen domini Inbocabo.* And on the foote *Ihs* etc. And on the patene in the myddest *Ihc* . and about the same *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini quod Alcock.*^a ex dono dñi Johannis longlond Epi . belongyng to his chapell weyng . xx^v vncz quart.

5. Item a chalice sylver parcel gylte haveyng on the foote a Crucifix, mary, and John enamelyd. And on the patene . *Ihc* . belongyng to our ladys chapell and to bishop flemyng chapell . weyng xv uncz.

6. Item a nother chalice sylver parcell gylte haveyng in the fote a crosse gylted. and on the patene a face gylted in the myddes therof, weyng vj vncz pr.

7. Item a nother challice w^t a patene bothe sylver parcell gilt haveyng in the patene a vernacle gyltyd and in the fote a picture gylt, weyng xiiij vneces quarter gyven by M^r John Pryn late Subdeane of this cath. church, to be usyd and occupied in the byshope Russell chappell other wyse callyd St blase chappell.

In the list of *Pixides* all four appear to correspond with items in the list of 1536. (See pp. 17, 18.)

The next five sections contain only acquisitions since that date, viz. :

PHIOL.

Item ij littyll phiolles sylver and gylte weyng . vj vncz. ex dono dñi Johannis longlond olim Epi lincoln. and belongyng to his chapell.

CRUCES.

Item ij crosses copper and gylte, haveyng ether of them ij pypes of ther staves gylte.

Item iij fete for crosses to stande uppon copper and gylte.

THURIBULA.

Item ij pare of Sensors copper and gylte.

Item one shippe of copper.

CANDELABRA.

Item one pare of bearyng candylstyckes of lattyn.

Item a nother pare of larger sworte standyng of the altare in o^r lady chore.

Item a nother pare of ["broken" *corrected to*] bearyng candylstycks broken.

Item a holy water fatte of lattyn.

CRISMATORIA.

Item a crismatory of latten.

^a One John Alcock was prebendary of Stow in Lindsey 1472—81, and of Scamblesby in 1482. Simon Alcock, prebendary of Brampton, 1451—58. John Alcock, bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Ely, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, was in 1474 associated with bishop Rotherham of Lincoln as chancellor of England.

The three *Ampulle pro oleo* may very probably be old acquaintances. The next entry is

MITRA.

Item ij myters bothe garnysshyd.

In the preceding reign there had been in addition to this pair, another two wrought with silk and gold, ungarnished.

Next follows the record of vestments.

' CASULE ET CAPE RUBEI COLORIS.'

In primis a Chesable of Redde velvet w^t goodly orphreys before and behynde of fyne gold haveyng behynde in the orphey the passion of christ sette abowt w^t angellys & lynyd w^t grene sylke.

Item a cope of the same haveyng in the backe . the Salutacion of o^r lady, Nativitie of christe and the coronacion of o^r lady haveyng appostellys and prophettes abowt uppon the cope of fyne gold w^t many flowres sett w^t pearles. and lynyd w^t grene sylk.

Item one chesable of Redde velvet w^t Roseys and flowres of golde wrought in the same haveyng goodly orphreys haveyng in the backe . the Salutacion of o^r Lady . and the metyng of o^r Lady and St Elizabeth. w^t ij Tunacles iij albes w^t all ther apparures.

Item iij copes of the same sewte.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t Roseys and flowres of gold, haveyng ("orphreys" *erased*) in the backe a crosse of clothe of bawdkyn w^t ij tunacles & iij albes & all ther apparures. Ex dono dñi Johannis longlond olim Epi lincoln.

Item one cope of the same sewte. Ex dono ejusdem Epi longlond.

Item a chesable of redde Bawdkyn w^t a crosse in the backe haveyng a Crucifyxe Mary and John, and the father over the crucifix, and under the crucifix . mary magdalene and St. Thomas of ynde . w^t ij tunacles iij albes and all ther apparures. Ex dono dicti Episcopi longlond.

Then, after two chasubles and three copes of the older list :

Item iiij copes of redde velvet uppon Satten w^t Catheryn wheles of golde w^t orphreys haveyng ymages and Sterres.

Item a chesable of redde velvet w^t a crosse in the backe haveyng a picture of cryst uppon the crosse and over the picture the holy Gost and ij Angellys senseyng w^t many angellys and flowres of golde uppon the chesable. And ij tunacles w^t lackyng albes.

Item [ii]ij copes of the same sewte of the w^{ch} one hath iij bellys of golde on the backe, a nother an orphey of blew velvet w^t flowres inbroderyd ["and the other ij" *struck out.*]

Item a chesable of Redde velvet haveyng in the crosse upon the backe, A vernacle sette in a garland of grene sylk. w^t ij tunacles iij albes and all ther apparures.

Item ij copes of the same sewte one of them haveyng in the morse . ("The " *struck out*) holy lambe. And the other hath in the morse A lyon of golde.

[^t Item a cope of Redde velvet haveyng bellys and fife Angellys and flowres of golde. And in the hoothe the coronacion of our lady.' *This item is cancelled.*]

Item a chesable of redde bawdkyn w^t orphreyes of golde w^t leopardes powdered w^t blak try-folles. And ij tunacles and iij albes of the same sewte w^t all the apparell.

Item xij fare copes of the same sewt every of them haveyng iij wheles of sylver in the hoodes.'

Then, after bishop Smyth's gift of fourteen red tinsel copes :

Item a chesable of redde bawdkyn w^t flowres of golde and sylke upon yt. And in the [^t "a cantysippe " *struck out*] crosse the Trinite. And under other ymages . w^t ij tunacles iij albes and all ther apparures.

Item one cope of the same sewt.

Item iij albes iij ammys kyrchiffes & ther apparures of redde dammask inbroderyd, and one stole, of the same sewte, and one phannell of redd velvet.

At the end of the red list after the Good Friday suit, the two dalmaticks, the crimson cope, and bishop Smyth's ten copes, the "rosys," we find :

Item a fare cope of clothe of golde w^t a goodly orphrey haveyng in the hood the salutacion of our lady, ex dono Epi Longland.

[^t Item a cope of redde velvet brotheryd w^t flowres of golde . and the orphrey of blew velvet w^t flowres imbroderyd, *cancelled.*]

Item iiij copes of redde velvet w^t Roseys white and leaves of golde of the whiche one hath a better orphrey then the other w^t the coronacion of our lady on the hoothe, the other iij haveyng Scutes in the orphres.

CASULE ET CAPE PURPUREI COLORIS.

There are one chasuble and five copes under this heading, but none of them are new since 1536.

CASULE ET CAPE ALBI COLORIS.

This section commences with Treasurer Welborne's white chasuble and cope (1351-1381). Then follow :

Item one chesable of clothe of Sylver w^t a goodly crosse of golde, haveyng a picture of christe of the crosse the father, and holy ghost, garneshed abowt w^t crymsyn velvet [^t "and upon " *corrected to*] and golde w^t ij tunacles, iij albes and ammyses w^t all ther apparures. Ex dono Epi longlonde.

Item one cope of the same sewt, ex dono eiusdem.

Item a chesable of white damaske broderyd w^t flowres of golde haveyng a picture of christe of the crosse. Marie and John . & ij angellys sensyng . ij tunacles w^t iij albes and ther appertenaunces.

Then three items, comprising six copes and a chasuble.

Item one cope of white dammaske inbroderyd w^t flowres of sylke of diverse colors . haveyng in the backe **D. H.**

Then the four older copes with the initials in their morses, "**D. E.**" etc., after which the list of white vestments ends as follows :

Item one olde cope of whyte sylke w^t an orphrey sett w^t ymages. haveyng in the hood the coronacion of our lady.

Item one cope of whyte sylke brodered w^t trayfolles of golde.

Item an olde cope of white sylke haveyng an orphrey of grene velvet w^t ymages sett y^erin.

Item one cope usyd to be worne off St. Markes day payned w^t whyte redde and blak sylke w^t a good orphrey.

Item ij copes broderyd w^t golde uppon hempe w^t diverse storyes of the passion . of divers saintes one of them haveyng an orphrey of yellow and Redde velvet and lions of sylver And the other haveyng blew velvet and yellowe sett w^t mullettes.

CASULE ET CAPE BLODEI COLORIS.

Here are nine of the earlier items, comprising five chasubles and eight copes of blue. After these come the following entries subsequent to 1536.

Item ij tunacles of blew Satten broderyd uppon w^t flowres of golde haveyng orphreys of redde Satten sett w^t flowres.

Item one cope of blew velvet haveyng an orphrey sett w^t ymages. And in the backe an ymage of our lady w^t Angellys and Sterres of golde and in the hoothe the Trinite.

Item ij copes of blew velvet one broderyd w^t flowres of gold haveyng an orphrey of redd velvet, and in the hoothe Christ syttyng in Judgement w^t soules under hym. And the other broderyd y^t Angellys and flowres, and on the backe the Assumption of our lady and in the hoothe the Trinite.

Item ij copes of blew velvet w^t orphres of redde velvet [*"uppon golde" struck out*], wrought uppon golde.

CASULE ET CAPE VIRIDIS COLORIS.

Here are six old items comprising two chasubles and four copes of green. Then follow:

Item ij copes of grene velvet haveyng the Assumption of our lady in the backe w^t Angellys

and flowres inbroderyd. and in the hoode the Trinite. And in ther Morses. Thes lettres **T. C.**
 Ex dono dñi Thome Clay olim vicarij choralis ecc. cath. line.

1496.

Item a cope of grene velvet inbroderyd w^t lyllys w^t an orphrey of blew velvet uppon golde.

Item an olde cope of grene velvet w^t an orphrey of blew velvet uppon golde.

CASULE ET CAPE NIGRI COLORIS.

Here are four items, *i.e.*, two chasubles and three copes of black, but none of them later than 1536.

PANNI DE SERICO PRO SUMMO ALTARI.

The costly altar cloth for "principal feasts," another "with a frontelet powderyd with crosses of golde," and Treasurer Crosby's white damask cloth occur as before. Then these :

Item a clothe of blacke velvet w^t a frynge inbroderyd w^t flowres of sylke and golde, haveyng in the myddest a payn of grene Satten and in the same a pycture of christ of the crosse and mary and John w^t a canves clothe affixyd to the same.

Item a clothe of redde sylke w^t byrdes of golde and one olde lyn clothe affixed to the same.

Item a clothe of white Sarcenet ["a frill" *struck out and overeritten*] w^t a fringe of ["redde" *struck out*] droppes of redde sylke haveyng a crosse of redde sylke in the myddest of yt w^t a canves clothe sewyd to the same.

The "white steyned clothe of damaske sylke for the sepulchre" remains. Then this final entry:

Item a Canopie of chaungeable sylke to be borne over the Sacrament in procession.

X. A brief Comparison of the Ornaments belonging to Lincoln cathedral church in the reigns of the three Tudor sovereigns in the Reformation era.

1. Ornaments which occur in the list of Henry VIII., but are entirely wanting under Edward VI., and for the most part not replaced even under Philip and Mary :

Feretra.

Shrines.

Tabernacles and other receptacles for relics.

Images, 2.

Sepulchre-cloth of silk.

Corporas cases, 12.

Censers, 6 pair.

Incense-ship.

Sacring bell.

Holy water fat.

Calefactory.

Choir staves, 9.

Texts, 6.

Garlands of silver, 9.

Basons, &c., 8.

In 1540 the precious jewels of "my Lorde of Lyncolls myter" found their way into "our jewel house" in the tower of London, along with "superstitious" shrines and all "superfluous" plate, copes, etc.

In the time of Philip and Mary a holy water fat of latten, a pair of censers, and an incense ship of copper replaced the earlier vessels which the old king had sacrilegiously plundered. It does not appear that any fresh relics had been procured.

2. We may next notice one or two items which appear to have been retained beyond the famous second year of king Edward VI., and to have been struck out some years later, in the list of May 18th, 1553, upon its revision about the same time, Parker being dean.

Five tabernacles (there had been six in 1536), all struck out.

Pastoral staves or crosiers, three heads. One only appears to have had its staff or stock, and this was made of horn. The bishop may have had one at least in his keeping. Others must have been swept away as "superfluous jewels."

A fair large cross of beryl struck out.

There had been seventeen crosses in 1536.

Morses (there had been twenty-two).

Four are here entered in 1553 and then struck out. Probably a sufficient number were attached to the copes. These extra ones were probably sold or seized at this time, as many such had been in 1540, as superfluous valuables.

Mitres, four of silk and gold, two being garnished and two ungarnished, were entered in 1553, and then struck out. (There had been twice that number in 1536. And in Philip and Mary's time two reappear, both garnished).

Albes for Shire Thursday, at washing the altars, four entered and then struck out, the ceremony being obsolete.

Cross cloths or banners, two struck out. These represented the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Hugh.

3. The middle column in the following table shows what number of ornaments were retained in the inventory of the time of king Edward VI. and dean Parker, after all deductions made by the corrector of the inventory in 1557.

| | Henry VIII. 1536. | Edward VI. 1553. | Mary. 1557. |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Chalices - - - - - | 6 | 3 | 7 |
| Pyxes - - - - - | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| Cruets for oils - - - - | ? 6 | 2 | ? 6 |
| Copes, red - - - - - | 125 | 50 | 62 |
| „ purple - - - - - | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| „ green - - - - - | 20 | 8 | 8 |
| „ blue - - - - - | 36 | 27 | 13 |
| „ black - - - - - | 9 | 8 | 3 |
| „ white - - - - - | 60 | 48 | 19 |
| „ yellow - - - - - | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| „ various - - - - - | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| „ for poor clerks - - - | ? | 8 | ? |
| „ for choristers - - - | ? 4 | 18 | ? |
| Chasubles, red - - - - | 16 | 12 | 11 |
| „ purple - - - - - | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| „ green - - - - - | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| „ blue - - - - - | 11 | 8 | 5 |
| „ black - - - - - | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| „ white - - - - - | 9 | 10 | 4 |
| „ yellow - - - - - | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| „ various - - - - - | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Dalmatics - - - - - | 2 | ? | 2 |
| Tunics, various - - - - | 94 | 81 | 48 |
| „ for choristers - - - | ? | 5 | ? |
| Albes - - - - - | 131 | 115 | 60 |
| Altar frontals, red - - | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| „ white - - - - - | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| „ black - - - - - | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| „ various - - - - - | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Linen altar-cloths - - - | ? | 19 | ? |

XI. *Certificate of Ornaments to the Queen's Commissioners, a fragment,*
1565-66.

When we come down to the reign of queen Elizabeth, we find that although there are full particulars given as to the condition of the ornaments in Lincolnshire parish churches in her eighth year, in Mr. Peacock's valuable book entitled *English Church Furniture and Decorations*, A.D. 1566, the MS. which he used was imperfect, and gave no information regarding the cathedral church itself. More recently Mr. Alfred Gibbons, in his researches among the bishop's muniments in bishop Alnwick's tower and the Chequer Gate has found some missing leaves of the Elizabethan returns.

Unfortunately the first pages, which relate to Lincoln cathedral church, are very defective, one being torn down the middle, and the right hand half lost.

However, I have thought it worth while to copy carefully the sibylline remains.

The date "1565" (so far as I can judge from the returns of parish churches printed by Mr. Peacock in 1866) probably is intended to denote March 1565-66, or one of the two preceding months, as the date of a letter from the Commissioners.

Copied from a fragment in the bishop's registry discovered by Mr. Gibbons.

Lincoln Church The Certificate of
ornamentes and oth[er] . . .
Church of lincoln
maide deliuered and
the same church . . .
of our souereigne lady
ecclesiasticall
their letter m
1565 directed
the certifica[te]
ffirste Antiphoners
graces visitors at the . . .
. . . . v & ij peces.
Jurnalle — none.
Manelle — n[onc].
Legendes
An . . .

. . . .
 [about 12 lines lost]
 tunacles and ij redde tunacles and
 les & their apperteinances & xxij &
 s and alienated by the deane and
 xxj sutes and ij odde tunacles
 uz w^{ch} he lent to the chapter
 none
 ottes remayning
 yet remayning
 wher] of iij be for children.

 vestmentes aboue
 wherof one is of siluer & ij of Iuorie
 to cary ouer the
 ytt
 the seruantes
 the
 and
 of

* p. 3.

*Cruettes ij of siluer & gilt remayni[ng].

paxes—none.

Sepulchres—j mencioned hereafter.

Clappers—none.

Iudaces—iij of brasse yett remayning.

Broches—none.

holliwater fattes—j with a sprinkle bothe of brasse rem'.

Vailes—none.

Croze clothes—ij which were wrought with Image of gold . . taken away by the Servantes
of the quenes visiters at their visitacion.

Bannerclothes—none.

Streamers—none.

pascall poste—j mencioned hereafter.

Crossestaves—answered aboue with the crosses.

bannerpoles—none.

Superaltares—j of marble whiche was broken

Quenes grace visiters at their visitacion.

Images—none remayning.

Alterstones mencioned hereafter.

Rodeloftes—none remaining but ij be . . .

* p. 4

*Chalices vij wherof sold and alienated by the deane and chapiter of the said church—iij also

taken away by thomas browne of the Citie of lincoln executor to parson grantham—j also ther was in our Lady chapell in a chiste which m^r strange clark of the workes toke away so farre as we knowe—j and so remayneth—ij.

Chanes—ij remayning.

Rector staves with siluer plaies—ij yet remayning.

Alter clothes—viij, whereof sold and alienated by the said deane and chapiter of the said cathedrall churche & iij And so remayneth—v, with one precious clothe to laye vpon the altare & j for the sepulere wrought with Images.

pylowes — v yet remayning.

cushins — ij yet remayning.

Tunakle — ij yet remayning.

and psalters — ix, wherof was burnte by the queres grace visitors v. And so Remayneth iiij.

processioners — ix, wherof was burnt by the quenes grace visitors [at their] visitacion — iiij.

And so remayneth — v.

Certejn bookes yett remayning viz a pontificall j boke of the musicke of psalmes two bokes of the liffe of saint hughe vij other bokes in Lattyn the moste parte of theym of the psaltare and as it semeth they did belonge to the quyre.

Now remayning in the olde revestrie j alterstone ['black' *interlin.*] a Sepulere a . . . a crosse for candelles called Judas crosse and other Furniture belonging to the same Sepulere, the pascall with the Images in Fote belonging to the same Sepulere and a candlestike of wodde.

* Item ther is ix † alter stones lying and . . .

dyvers chapelles within the sai[d . . .

in our lady chapell broken [. . .

Item a herse of tymber to be sett abo[ue . . .

Item ix atterclothes of diaper and . . .

remayning.

Item a tabernacle of wodde in the . . .

Item iiij boxes for reliques remay[ning.] .

Item a clothe of canvas of whitt . . .

accustomably hanged before the . . .

Exhibitum in Palatio Lincoln . . .

Reverendo patre domino Episcopo Lincoln . . .

Lincoln Georgio mounsvn . . .

ciue ciuitatis Lincoln . . .

per m^{ra} Willia^m Todd.

* p. ult^{mo}.
"vj." corr. ix.

XII. *Note for Bread and Wine and Candles, 23 March, 1614.*

I do not remember to have seen in the muniment room any list of plate of later date, but a search for such records has no doubt been duly carried out by those who have made a special study of church plate in Lincolnshire.

There remains the following, D. ii. 53 (iii.) :

Note for Breade and Wine and Candles for Christmas,
by the Vestry Clerk, March 23, 1614.

A note for y^e Revestrie.

| | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------------------|
| For ye Com[munion] of Christmas daye breade and wine | | ij ^s vj ^d |
| For iiij dosen of tallow candles at five Shillings ye dosen | | xx ^s |
| For ij dosen of tallow Candles at vj ^d ye pounce | | vij ^s |
| For iij pounds of wax candles | | v ^s |

Summa xxxix^s vj^d (^a)

William Freman Clarke of ye Revestrie.

March 23, 1614.

George Eland
(Chancellor of Linc. Cath.).

XIII. *An Inventory of the Things in the Vestry, March 20, 1730.*

This memorandum, preserved in the muniment room of the dean and chapter (D. ii. 62, iii.), is a very brief note, which runs as follows :

An inventory of the things in y^e Vestry view'd and delivered by M^r Chanter, to tho. Guilding Clerk of the Vestry as this day March the 20th 1730—31.

viz. One Large siluer dish GUILT.
two Large flaggons silver^d GUILT.
One pattin silver'd GUILT.
two Chalices with Covers silver'd GUILT.
2 Communion Cloths & two Napkins.
two Docters hoods and two black ones.
five surplices [' and ' struck out] one [' black ' struck out] scarfe.
three Chushons and One Larg prayer book.

Rec^d March the 20 the abovemention'd
by me tho: Guilding.


^a There appears to be an error between "v" and "x," either in the third item of this account, or in the total, as I have printed it.


II.—*On some Egyptian bronze weapons in the collections of John Evans, Esq., and the British Museum.* By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Esq., Litt. D., F.S.A.

Read February 20, 1890.

THROUGH the activity and skill of native and European excavators in Egypt during the last few years, our knowledge of Egyptian archæology has been much increased; and nearly every collection of Egyptian antiquities in Europe has been substantially enlarged. Curiously enough, however, the contents of certain sections of these collections have remained without many additions; and among such sections must be placed the weapons of war of the ancient Egyptians, who lived before the eighteenth dynasty. There are in the various Egyptian collections a comparatively large number of bronze daggers and knives, and other weapons which are supposed to have been made during the rule of the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty over Egypt; but, in many cases, the proofs that would make the belief a certainty are wanting. When, however, by means of inscriptions, or the knowledge of the circumstances which attended the discovery of certain bronzes, we can fix their date beyond all doubt, it is most important to put such facts on record. The object of the following notes is to describe some of the most interesting of Egyptian bronze weapons now known to us.

Within the last few months Dr. John Evans was fortunate enough to secure at the sale of the Sturrock museum at Edinburgh a bronze spear-head of the greatest importance from an archæological and historical point of view. It is figured on Plate I. fig. 1. This remarkable object, which has come down to us in a fine state of preservation, measures $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. The blade is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide in its broadest part and gradually tapers towards the end; the socket is $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, and is hollow to the depth of $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The wooden handle of the spear-head was fastened into the socket by a bronze pin, which, passing through the sides of the socket and the handle, was riveted there. The pin, which is still

well preserved, holds in its place a bronze ring ornamented with a pattern, and a cartouche inlaid with gold. The cartouche reads: 



Uatch-kheper-Rā āāh meri, or 'Uatch-kheper-Rā, beloved of the Moon-god.' Nearly the whole of the raised flat rib, half an inch wide on one side of the blade, is occupied by an inscription in a cartouche, at the top of which is traced in outline the figure of a hawk-headed lion, wearing the atef crown , who lays his left paw on the kneeling figure of a foe. The inscription in the cartouche reads:

        
neter nefer neb ārit xet nuk heq qen


God beautiful, the lord making things, Rā-uatch-kheper. I am a prince valiant,

         
Rā meri se āāh mes en Tehuti, se Rā Ka-mes

of Rā beloved, son of the Moon, born of Thoth, son of the Sun, Ka-mes,

 
next tchetla

mighty for ever!

Ka-mes, the king, whose name is inscribed upon this spear-head, and to whom it belonged, was the fourth king of the seventeenth dynasty, and successor of the three famous kings each of whom was called Se-qenen-Rā; he reigned about B.C. 1750. The kings of the seventeenth dynasty are celebrated for having been the opponents and vanquishers of the Hyksos. Of Kames very little is known, and the length of his reign is uncertain. We find him at Thebes^a receiving divine adorations, and his name is found upon scarabs. When the royal tombs at Thebes were examined, during the reign of Rameses IX., about B.C. 1150, to find out which of them had been broken into by thieves, the tomb of Kames was found to be in good condition . The wife of Kames was Aāh-hetep, celebrated for being the mother of Ahmes I., the first king of the eighteenth dynasty. It will be remembered that, a few years ago, M. Mariette discovered, by the help of some Theban fellahin, the gilded sarcophagus of this queen, which had been buried about

^a Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. iii. Bl. 2 a.

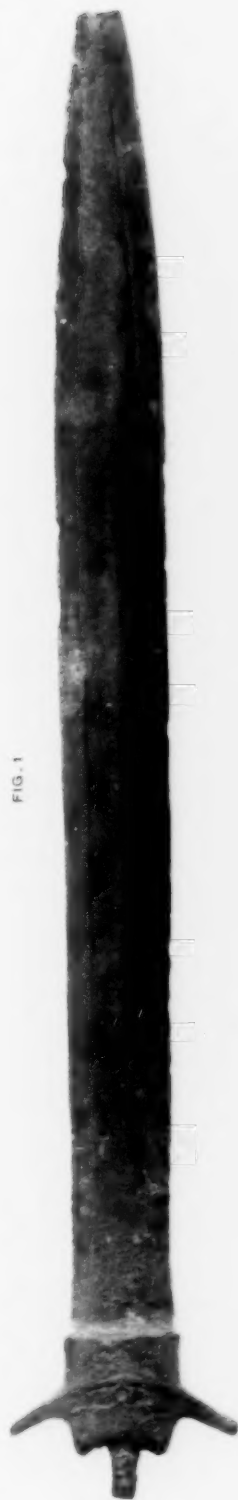


FIG. 1

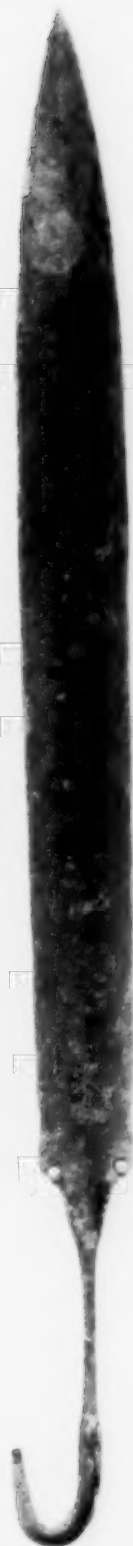


FIG. 2



FIG. 3

EGYPTIAN BRONZE WEAPONS IN THE COLLECTION OF JOHN EVANS, ESQ.

17 feet below the surface of the ground.^a The magnificent "find" of jewelry made therein is too well known to need any description here; but there is one point in connection with it which is of importance for us. Together with the golden axe, chain, bees, breast-plate, scarab, armlets, etc., in the coffin, inscribed with her name, there were also found a golden boat and bronze axes inscribed with the name of Kames. The two bronze axes which will be noticed below are probably two of those that were found in the coffin of Aāh-hetep. There can be little doubt that Kames had a complete set of weapons of war, each one being inscribed with his name and titles; that the spear-head and the two blades of axes inscribed with his name belonged to this set there is also little doubt. The inscription upon the spear-head would seem to have been executed by an Egyptian workman or artist; the object itself, however, I believe to have been made in a foreign land, probably in Mesopotamia. The "honeysuckle" ornament inlaid in gold upon the ring round the socket would point to this country as being its native home. The discoveries of M. de Sarzec at Tell Lo have proved beyond a doubt that as early as B.C. 2500 the people of Mesopotamia were able to make well-shaped and artistic representations of the human form in bronze. It is, therefore, not improbable that this spear-head came into Egypt either as an article of commerce, or as a gift to the king from some potentate in the "land between the two rivers." The inlaying of the characters in the cartouche appears to be of better workmanship than that of the engraved characters on the blade. About the genuineness of the inscription and the object itself there can be no doubt; it is this fact and the certainty of the period to which the spear-head belongs that make it of unique importance.

There is one very remarkable feature in this weapon, so far as the method of its manufacture is concerned. The socket has not been cast at the same time as the blade, by means of a clay core, as usual; but that part of the spear-head has been formed by bending a flat piece of bronze about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick, over a slightly-tapering mandril, so that its two edges form a butt-joint. This joint, though very neatly fitted, does not appear to have been soldered, the slight interval that at some points formerly existed between its two sides has now been closed by the oxidation of the metal.

The union of the blade with the socket is perfectly firm and secure, but the manner in which it has been effected is not at once evident. The socket extends about an eighth of an inch beyond the moulding at the base of the blade, so that

^a See *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*, ed. Daly, 1860, col. 99 ff.

the cavity is actually longer than the piece of flat metal from which the socket was formed. The moulding at the junction of the blade and the socket seems to be cast in one piece and to be united to both the parts of which the spear-head is formed.

The method of manufacture appears to Dr. John Evans to have been as follows : The blade and the socket were originally separate and distinct, the one being cast in much the same form as at present, and the other made by hammering and bending a flat piece of bronze. At the base of the blade was a cylindrical projection of the same diameter as the outside of the top of the socket. Into this cylindrical portion a hole was drilled for a short distance of the same diameter as the interior of the socket at its upper end. The two pieces of the spear-head could then be joined by a pin of hard wood or some other material fitting the inside of the socket, and extending into the hole drilled in the base of the blade, the whole thus joined could then be laid in a divided mould of clay, each side of which would receive half of the weapon, and at the junction of the two parts of which it consisted a groove would be made in the mould in which the moulding at the base of the blade could be cast. In the upper part of the mould two passages would be made, one with a funnel-shaped head to allow of metal being poured in and the other with a channel from it to allow of the escape of the metal. A considerable quantity of molten metal would then be prepared and poured into the mould until the portion of the blade and of the socket in contact with it were brought to nearly the melting point. The pouring in of the metal would then cease, and on cooling the ring of metal forming the moulding would be found firmly united to both the blade and the socket part of the weapon, being what is known as "burnt on." This process of burning bronze on to bronze was known to the ancient founders both in Britain and Ireland,^a defective castings and broken weapons having been occasionally repaired by this process.

Mention was made above of two bronze axe-heads inscribed with the name of Kames; one of these is in the British Museum^b and the other in the collection of Dr. John Evans. The British Museum axe-head (Plate II. fig. 1) was presented to the Trustees by Dr. Sparrow Simpson in the year 1875, and an account of it was published by him, together with a letter on the subject by the late Dr. Birch, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*.^c This beautiful object is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the greatest width at the convex cutting edge measures $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches,

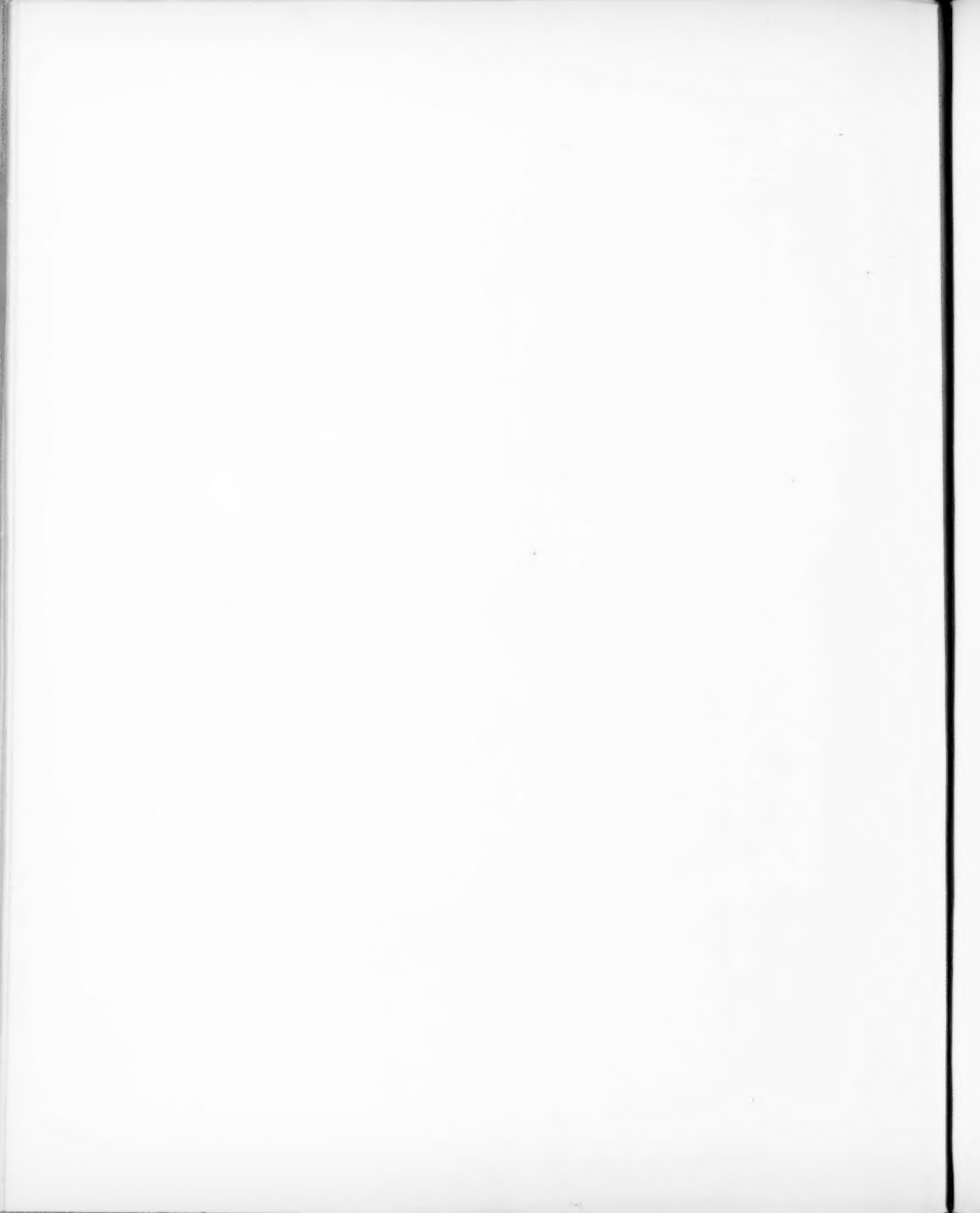
^a Evans, *Bronze Implements*, pp. 280, 293.

^b Catalogue, No. 5421 a.

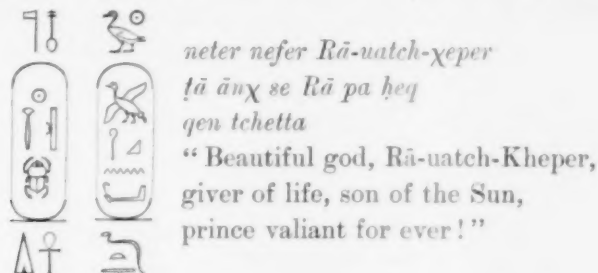
^c Vol. xxiii., p. 293.



















EGYPTIAN BRONZE AND IRON AXE-HEADS, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE REV. W. GREENWELL.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear).






and is $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch wider than the middle diameter or narrowest part. The width of the blade at the blunt end is 4 inches; it was fastened to a wooden handle by leather thongs. On each side of the blade are two cartouches containing the prenomen, name, and titles of Kames. The inscriptions on one side read:



On the other side the inscription in the second cartouche varies, for after  pa heq there are two signs which appear to be  or  and ; in every other respect the inscriptions are the same.

The axe-head belonging to Dr. John Evans is about a quarter of an inch shorter than that described in the preceding paragraph, but this appears to be partly due to decay caused by the oxidation of the metal. The cartouches inscribed on each side are much effaced, but it appears to me that enough of the signs remain to enable us to identify the name of Kames. On the one side the traces of    Rā-uatch-kheper, the prenomen of Kames, are to be seen; on the other, one of the cartouches appears to be inscribed    Aāh-mes or Amasis. Of this, however, I am not certain. If the latter reading turns out to be correct, and the former a mistake, we must attribute the axe-head to Amasis I., the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, the son of Kames. The break in the surface of the bronze makes it difficult to say positively whether we are to read    Ka-mes or    Aāh-mes. The titles "beautiful god," "giver of life for ever," and the workmanship are the same in both axe-heads.

A small but interesting bronze spear-head, in the possession of the Rev. W. Greenwell, is shown in Plate IV. fig. 6.

Of the ordinary axe-head, which was useful alike to the soldier and carpenter, we have a good example in the collection of Dr. Evans. This blade measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. It was fitted into a groove $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and the three holes with which one end of the blade is pierced were used for the passage of the thongs. Such an axe was called by the Egyptians   

sennexet. It is impossible to assign a definite date to this object, but it is very probable that it was made during the rule of the nineteenth dynasty over Egypt.


The Egyptian sword was two-edged and tapered to a point; it usually measured about two feet in length. It could be, and most probably was, used as a dagger for stabbing purposes. Two excellent specimens in bronze are represented on Plate I. figs. 2 and 3. The blade of No. 3 is $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and was, most probably, longer originally. A space is shown in the figure between it and the handle-shaft in order to indicate that a piece has, at some time, been filed away to make a clean joint. That the two pieces were originally one there is little room to doubt. On one side of the upper part of the handle-shaft is a pair of horns , and above them appear to be traces of hieroglyphic characters. The handle shaft, which probably extended to the end of the handle, is broken; the wooden or ivory handle was probably about six inches long. It was hollowed at the sides, and, judging by the good work of the end of the handle shaft and blade, was inlaid with precious stones or gold. The handles of such swords sometimes ended in the head of a hawk, the emblem of Mentu-Râ, drawings of which are found frequently engraved on weapons, as for example on the spear-head of Kames.

Figure 2 is a two-edged sword, ribbed on both sides, tapering to a point; the length of the blade is $16\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and of the handle shaft $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This shaft was bent round, either for the purpose of keeping its wooden or ivory handle in position, or for hanging the weapon up. At the top of the blade are two holes, one on each side, through which passed bronze pegs to hold the handle firm, or perhaps to fix a cross hilt. This most interesting object* was found in the Suez Canal at al-Kanṭara, Ar. *الكنطرة*. Like bronze objects found in the Thames, the surface of this sword is covered with a thin deposit of lime coloured red by oxide of iron.

Both these swords are in the collection of Dr. John Evans.

Of interest, too, is a bronze socketed celt from Tell-Basta, or Bubastis, in Lower Egypt. The celt was fastened to a handle by means of a pin; the holes in the socket through which it passed are still well preserved. Another specimen of this class of weapon is preserved in the British Museum (3rd Eg. Room, No. 6070).

The copper which the ancient Egyptians used in making bronze implements was brought chiefly from the Wâdy Magharah, in the peninsula of Sinai, a land which was conquered by them during the reign of Seneferu, the first king of the

* See also Evans, *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, p. 298. M. O. Montélius is doubtful if this weapon is really Egyptian. See *L'Anthropologie*, t. i. p. 43.

fourth dynasty, or about B.C. 3800. In the caverns and among the rocks there traces of ancient mining operations can be easily discovered. During the reigns of Seneferu^a and his immediate successors, the copper mines of Sinai were regularly worked, and the output of metal was carefully noted by the officials set over the works. It is clear that the demand for copper was very great even at that early period. Having once obtained copper, experience would show the Egyptians how soft the pure metal was, and their next endeavour would naturally be to find out what would harden it. If we assume that the Egyptian metallurgists knew how to harden copper by means of an alloy of tin, the question that next arises is, Where did the Egyptians obtain their tin from? There is very little, if any, tin in Egypt, and there appears to be no name for this metal in hieroglyphics. In the absence of definite proof we can only assume that it was imported from India or some other eastern country. Dr. Ludwig Beck thinks that bronze was unknown in Egypt during the fourth dynasty, and considers it improbable that it was known there before the twelfth or eighteenth dynasty; he believes it to have been imported in the course of trade.^b The genuineness of a bronze cylinder in the British Museum (No. 5495), inscribed with the name of Meri-Rā or Pepi I., the third king of the sixth dynasty, must, however, be disproved before this view can be accepted.

The Egyptians called copper, as well as the various mixtures of tin and copper, or bronze, by the word $\overline{\text{D}}^{\circ} \chi emt$, Coptic Ⲭⲟⲙⲧ . The oldest form of the sign is Ⲭ , which is found inscribed on the rocks at Wādī Magharah^c; the

^a The Greek writer Agatharchides, who lived about one hundred years before Christ, states that copper or bronze tools, which had been used by the ancient workers in some ancient copper mines, were discovered in his day. See Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 6.

^b "Die Bronze, die Legierung von Kupfer und Zinn, die später eine so grosse Rolle spielte, scheint zur Zeit der vierten Dynastie noch nicht bekannt gewesen zu sein. Auch ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass die Darstellung der Bronze in Aegypten erfunden wurde, vielmehr lässt sich annehmen, dass dieselbe erst zur Zeit der zwölften, vielleicht erst zur Zeit der achtzehnten Dynastie durch den Handel eingeführt wurde." *Die Geschichte des Eisens*, Braunschweig, 1884, s. 78. On the other hand, however, the conclusions arrived at by M. Oscar Montélius (in *Anthropologie*, ed. MM. Cartailhac, Hamy, Topinard, art. *L'Age du Bronze en Egypte*, t. i. No. I, p. 38), with respect to the age of the use of bronze in Europe are as follows: "que les Egyptiens, pendant tout le temps de l'Ancien Empire, et probablement jusqu'à 1500 ans avant Jésus Christ, ne connaissaient pas l'usage du fer et n'employaient que du bronze pour leurs armes et leur instruments; que l'âge du bronze donc a continué en Egypte jusqu'à la dite époque, et que le fer encore vers la fin du deuxième millénaire avant Jésus Christ n'a pas entièrement remplacé le bronze pour la confection d'armes et d'instruments tranchants."

^c Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 137 c.



EGYPTIAN BRONZE AXES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE COLLECTION OF THE REV. W. GREENWELL.

(J. Greenwell).

No. 5420. Egyptian battle-axe (Plate III. fig. 5), with bronze blade and silver handle. The blade is made in the shape of a segment of a circle, divided at the back into two smaller segments, the three points of which are fastened to the handle with four, three, and four silver rivets respectively. The blade is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide in its broadest part, and the silver shank measures $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Into the hollow silver handle a wooden shaft was fixed; the length of this was probably 3 feet. The small, wedge-shaped opening at the end of the silver handle was used for driving in the rivet which kept the wooden shaft in the handle.

No. 5419. Bronze blade of an axe, 4 inches long, fixed in a socket in its ancient wooden handle, $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and secured by leather thongs, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide. One side (Plate III. fig. 4) is inscribed, $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆑}}$, *neter nefer Rā-men-ḫeper*, "Beautiful god, Rā-men-ḫeper." Men-ḫeper-Rā is the prenomen of Thothmes III. B.C. 1600. This axe was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum from Mr. Lane in 1842.

No. 5419a. Bronze hollow-work blade of an axe, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch, fixed in its ancient wooden handle, 17 inches long, and secured by leather thongs $\frac{2}{3}$ inch wide (Plate III. fig. 2). The hollow-work represents a galloping horse and his rider, and two objects, like papyrus flowers, united. The handle is curved, and the end is shaped like the hoof of an animal.

No. 22834. Wooden haft, with original bronze axe-head and leather fastenings (Plate III. fig. 3). From Thebes about B.C. 1400.

No. 5419d. Bronze hollow-work blade of an axe, $4\frac{3}{8}$ long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the handle is wanting. The hollow-work design represents two bulls fighting (Plate II. fig. 3).

No. 12536. Bronze semi-circular blade of an axe, 4 inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It was fastened to its handle (which is wanting), by means of leather thongs, which passed through three holes and around a notch made at each end of the straight edge of the blade. It was found at Thebes.

No. 12516. Bronze, semi-circular blade of an axe, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It was fastened to its handle (which is wanting), by means of leather thongs, which passed through two holes, and around a notch made at each end of the straight edge of the blade.

No. 6049b. Bronze blade of an axe, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Handle wanting. It was found at Tell el-Yahûdiyyeh (Plate II. fig. 5).

No. 6070d. Rectangular bronze blade of an axe, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The back end of the blade, which was fixed in a socket in its handle, is slightly convex; and the two projecting parts by which it was tied to the handle are 1 inch and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch respectively wider than the blade. The blade is thin in proportion to its size. It was found at Tell el-Yahûdiyyeh.

No. 6049a. Bronze blade of an axe, $3\frac{7}{16}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with semi-circular cutting edge. The blade is moulded and splayed out at the back end to attach it by strips of leather to a handle. These two projections are $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wider than the blade in its narrowest part; it was found at Tell el-Yahûdiyyeh.

No. 20762. Iron blade of an axe, 6 inches by 4 inches, with circular cutting edge (Plate II. fig. 2). The blade is splayed out at the back end, so that it may be attached to a wooden handle by strips of leather. These two projections are $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wider than the blade in its narrowest part. I purchased this blade for the Trustees at Thebes, and I have reason to believe that it was found with some ancient Egyptian arrows, and flints for arrows, in a tomb near Kârnah.

No. 22842. Bronze *kherp* sceptre, the sides of the upper part of which were ornamented with figures of the gods, etc., outlined in silver. Found at Thebes. Sceptres of this class are very rare.

DAGGERS.

No. 5423a. Bronze two-edged dagger-blade, ribbed on each side, 9 inches long; mounted in a handle $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long: covered with thin plates of gold,^a ornamented with spirals and a plaited border (Plate IV., fig. 5). It was purchased by the Trustees from R. J. Hay, Esq. in 1868.

^a Compare the fragment of a note addressed by Alcæus (No. 33, ed. Bergk) to his brother Antimenidas, who, according to Strabo (ed. Didot, p. 527, l. 42), had served as an auxiliary among the Babylonians.

Ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἐλεφαντίναν
 λάβαν τῷ ξίφους χρυσοδέταν ἔχων,
 ἐπειδὴ μέγαν ἄθλον Βαβυλωνίοις
 συμμάχεις τέλεσαι, ῥύσαό τ' ἐκ πόνων,
 κτείναις ἄνδρα μαχαίταν βασιλῆϊων
 παλαίσταν ἀπολείποντα μόνον μίαν
 παχέων ἀπὸ πέμπων.

"You are back from the ends of the earth, bearing a sword with ivory handle set in gold, in token of the great deed you achieved among the Babylonians," etc.

I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. A. S. Murray.

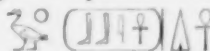


EGYPTIAN BRONZE WEAPONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE REV. W. GREENWELL.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear).

No. 5425. Bronze two-edged dagger-blade, ribbed on each side, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The ivory handle, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, is inclosed in a bronze framework, firmly fixed to the blade. This beautiful object was originally in the collection of D'Athanasī (Plate IV. fig. 2).

No. 5426. Bronze two-edged dagger-blade, ribbed on each side, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The ivory and silver handle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, is fixed to the blade by means of silver rivets.

The following weapons are in the collections of the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A.

Bronze dagger, $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, from a tomb behind Negadeh. The width of the blade in the widest part is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; it was fixed into the bronze framework of the handle by the three pins, and there is a tapering shoulder-piece on each side of it to hold it firmly in position. The blade tapers rapidly to a point. On one side of the broad rib in the middle of the blade is inscribed  *se Rā Beba ānχ t̄ā ānχ* "Son of the Sun, Beba-ānch, giver of life." I have not been able to identify this "royal child," or to find his place in Egyptian history; I believe, however, that he belongs to a period before the eighteenth dynasty. The spaces between the hollow framework of the handle were probably filled up with ivory.

Bronze dagger $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, from Drah abu'l Neggah, Thebes (Plate IV. fig. 4). The width of the blade in its widest part is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. By the marks which are still visible upon it, it would seem that a piece of wood or ivory was fixed on each side of the handle. The length indicated for the handle is unusually long—five inches; a modern hand, which is large by the side of the ancient Egyptian hand, can get a firm grasp upon it with all its fingers.

Bronze dagger, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, from Thebes (Plate IV. fig. 3). A thick rib runs down each side of the blade, and thick shoulder-pieces terminate in the handle, which was originally ornamented with a circular piece of ivory.

Blade of an Egyptian battle-axe (Plate II., fig. 7) made in the shape of a segment of a circle, divided at the back into two smaller segments, the three points of which were fastened to the handle with a bronze pin. It measures 13 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and is ornamented on each side with lines. It came from Koos.

Blade of an Egyptian battle-axe (Plate II. fig. 4) made in the shape of a segment of a circle, divided at the back into two smaller segments, the three points of which were fastened to the handle with two, one, and two bronze pins respectively. The edges of the smaller segments are flanged.

Bronze blade of an axe, semi-circular, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, from Kārnah.

It was fastened to its blade by means of leather thongs, which passed through five holes and around a notch made at each end of the straight edge of the blade.

Bronze blade of an axe (Plate II. fig. 6), semi-circular, with three holes and two bronze rings by which it was fastened to the handle.

Bronze instrument, the object and use of which I cannot say. It is figured on Plate IV. fig. 1, and came from Kûrnah.

Egyptian bronze axe-head, attached to its original handle with string (Plate III. fig. 1). The blade is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and the handle $23\frac{1}{8}$ inches; it came from Thebes.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that there are preserved in the museum at Alnwick Castle, a hatchet, a knife, and some chisels inscribed with the prenomen of Thothmes III.

III.—*Remarks on the History of Seat-Reservation in Churches.*

By W. J. HARDY, F.S.A.

Read May 22, 1890.

HAVING a very strong personal objection to the system of seat-reservation and appropriation in church, I naturally looked forward with considerable satisfaction to reading the pamphlets and works on the subject which I was told would convince me of the antiquity of the "free and open" system, and that "appropriation" and "reservation" were innovations of a comparatively-speaking recent date.

My sentiments with regard to the inexpediency of the system of appropriation and reservation have not in the least changed, but I am sorry to say that the writers whose works I have perused have failed to convince me of the modernness of the system they condemn: indeed the instances they quote seem often to prove the very opposite from what they seek to establish, and a desire to put on record the early references to church seats, chiefly those collected by Major Heales in his very interesting *History of Pews*, and to draw from those references what seem to me the obvious deductions, must be my excuse for taking up your time to-night. I may say here that I am not going to argue whether the sitting-places in churches were pews, in the modern acceptation of the term, or not; whether they were the unsightly erections which until recently were so common, or whether they were fixed or moveable stools or seats. What I wish to argue is that from the earliest time that we get mention of sitting-places in church we have evidence of these places being appropriated to particular individuals. I do not say that every seat was appropriated, but that probably in every church in England some seats were appropriated; and so the principle of reservation cannot be called modern or post-reformation. So far as I know, the instances I am about to quote in support of this contention all refer to seats in the body of the church; references to appropriated seats in the chancel or side chapels of course are numerous. I want to show that the system of reservation in the bodies of our parish churches prevailed in very early times.

I do not know when seats were first generally used in the bodies of our churches. The patron of the living and perhaps some other persons of quality worshipped in the chancel, and here I believe it has been shown that sitting accommodation existed from the earliest times. The first mention of seats in the body of a church which I have met with occurs in the year 1287. This reference has been quoted as applying to seats in the chancel, but I think when we consider it we shall see that it refers to seats in the nave. In that year, 1287, there was a synod held at Exeter, and various ordinances were drawn up as to church rule in the diocese, amongst them one (cap. xii.) which in translation reads as follows :

“Also we have heard that, on account of seats in churches, the parishioners are often vexed, two or more persons claiming one seat. By reason that grave scandal is generated in church and the divine office often impeded We enact that no one from hence forth may claim a seat in church as his own ; noble persons ^a and patrons of churches only excepted. He who for the cause of prayer, shall first enter a church, let him select a place of prayer according to his will.”^b

Now this struggling for seats was evidently taken part in by the whole body of parishioners ; the entry does not merely refer to a select few who had access to the chancel. We may presume, therefore, that, at any rate in the diocese of Exeter, seats were commonly used and appropriated in the bodies of churches in the year 1287.

Now, what bishop Quivil and the synod did was not to say that seat-reservation was against the church's rule and was an innovation, but that the system was inexpedient as applied generally, because it led to confusion and quarreling during service, and so a new plan was adopted on the “first come first served” principle ; that is to say, for the generality of the congregation ; but the patron and the gentry were to retain the privilege of a reserved seat as before ; so that the theory of reservation was acquiesced in.

But before I go into the subject of reservation I should like to say something more about the antiquity of seats in the naves of our parish churches. A great many references to them, frequently by the actual word *pew*, occur during the fifteenth century, and a few in the fourteenth, besides the references to their reservation which I am going to quote presently ; and I would remark, that the rare mention of them prior to the fifteenth century may be very obviously accounted for by the fact that before that period churchwardens' accounts, and documents of a like nature that would naturally mention them, are extremely few

^a Well-bred, *i.e.*, gentry.

^b Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 142.

and the entries in them most meagre. So soon as the documents which would naturally mention church seats become general, so soon do we find reference to them. And, what is most important in considering the question of their antiquity, when first mentioned these seats are generally undergoing repair.

Take, for instance, an entry in the parish accounts of St. Peter's Cheap,^a under the date 1447: "It for mending of a pew next the chirche door." This seat Major Heales^b considers cannot be an ordinary pew, as it would not, he says, be placed in so uncomfortable a position unless the church was pewed or seated throughout. Probably it was pewed throughout! Indeed churches without proper and commodious pews or seats, and plenty of them, were by this time coming to be looked upon as objects of reproach. Sir William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, directs by his will, dated in 1449, that some of his money be bestowed on the church of Stamford; and he goes on to define in what way he wishes the money laid out; part of it was to go in "puying of the seyde church, not curiously, but plainly."^c Nine years after, John Younge of Herne, in Kent, leaves to his parish church ten marks "to make seats, called puinge." In 1454 the "Black Book of Swaffham," as quoted by Blomefield^d refers to the benefactors of the church of Swaffham. People are asked to pray for the souls of Thomas Styward and Cicely his wife, who did "seat-stool" some part of the north side of the church. Here, in 1502, "great stolis" were erected in another part of the building. At St. Michael's, Cornhill, in 1459, we have reference to mending the pews of both the men and women. At the same church, in 1464, some new pews were erected. In 1466 further repairs to the seats were carried out, and the doors of the pews are mentioned. A few more instances will be sufficient to notice. In 1474 William Philpot leaves a legacy to build anew "Lo Pews" in Godmersham church.^e And in the accounts of St. Stephen's Walbrook, in the same year, we find a payment for making clean the pews.^f Then in 1491 we have the interesting and well-known entry about Bodmin church. This was a very ancient one. It was re-roofed in 1472, other repairs having been done to it in previous years, and in 1491 it was evidently thought desirable to re-seat the church; accordingly an agreement was made between various parishioners and one Matthy More, a carpenter, by which it was agreed that Matthy should erect in the said church "fully new chayres and seges and iiij renges

^a *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxiv. 255.

^c *History of Pews*, 33.

^e *Ibid.* 34.

^b *History of Pews*, i. 49.

^d *Ibid.* 49.

^f *Ibid.*

thurgh oute all the body of the said churge, after the furme and making of the chayres and seges yn Seynt Mary churge of Plympton. That is to say, &c." And then the indenture goes on to describe the arrangement: a new pulpit was also to be erected.^a I believe that remains of these seats are still to be seen.

I will now bring to your notice some early evidence of the reservation of church seats. After the Exeter case, I have not met with anything directly bearing on the subject till I find, in the writings of Richard Rolle of Hampole,^b who died in 1349, reference to the place in church where the wife of John de Dalton is accustomed to pray.

The next entry bearing on the subject belongs to the year 1422. It refers to seating the tenants of the manor of Ashton-under-Lyme in the parish church according to their social position. From this time we frequently meet with reference to seats in churches belonging to or reserved for particular individuals.

The editor of the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's, Bath, says that regular payments for seats occur from a very early date. Seats (whether or not the first that were there, I do not know) were put up in 1425.

In 1441-2 the accounts of the churchwardens of the church of St. Lawrence, Reading,^c furnish some useful particulars. The wife of John Tanner gives 4*d.* for one "setell." Several other persons do the like, one giving 6*d.* for similar accommodation. In 1498, the rents from seats in this church amounted to 6*s.* 8*d.*

In 1453 William Wintringham desires a brass to be erected to his memory at the seat (*sedile*) "called in English pew," belonging to a certain lady, in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street.^d This, too, is an important entry as showing what is meant in documents of that period when the word *sedile* is referred to.

A few years later, in 1457, the accounts of St. Michael's, Cornhill,^e yield a great deal of important evidence as to reservation, which also incidentally furnishes evidence of the intended privacy in the construction of the seats in that church. We have here, then, in 1457, the payment of 4*d.* "for an henge for Russes wyfes pewe," and a little after, in 1467, a payment for "a lok to maister Stokker's pew."

In the year 1457, there is a very curious direction, drawn up and made with the consent of the whole parish of St. Mary, Woolchurch Haw. It states that the

^a Bodmin Register, 1827, p. 33.

^b Works of Richard Rolle of Hampole, Early English Text Society, preface, xviii.

^c *History of St. Lawrence's Reading*, by Rev. C. Kerry, 1883.

^d *History of Pews*, i. 34.

^e *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill*, by A. J. Waterlow, 11, 35.

church-wardens shall, by an authority of the mayor of London, "grauntyd in the Gyld Hall," "set bothe ryche and pore yn the sayd chyrche in ther pews yt longythe," i.e., that belong, or are set apart for them. In case they will not comply with this rule, they are to "run in pain," as shall be ordained in the Guildhall. Major Heales disbelieves in the genuineness of this entry, which is printed in the Addenda to the *History of Pews*; why he does so, I fail to see. The reason, that the parish book from which it purported to be taken was not among the parish records when Major Heales went to look for it, by no means proves that it was not amongst them when the author of the *History of Pews* consulted those records some years before. It is a very interesting and, to my mind, important entry.

At Yeovil, in 1457-8,* we find the seats regularly allotted for money, and those in the best part of the church charged for at a higher rate. The sale of seats (*vendicio sedium*) is the first item in the accounts. The accountants return 12*d.* received for one seat (*pro una sede*) in the church, late of Amisia Wyseman, so sold to Alice, wife of John Cohytte, tailor; and then they return 2*s.* received for two seats; one late of Agnes Kyng and the other of the wife of Peter Godefare, which are granted to William Taillor and his wife.

Then there is a seat, "*post fontem*," sold to the wife of John Machor for 8*d.*, and another opposite the pulpit, a good position, sold for 16*d.* Then we have 12*d.* for a seat late of Thomas Chamberlayn sold to Walter Mons, 16*d.* for one sold to his wife, and 18*d.* for a seat late of the wife of John Sawe, junior, sold to Alice, wife of John Courtes. The men, it will be seen, get seats formerly held by men; unless married, then they might sit with their wives amongst the women, as in the case of William Taillor just noticed.

I would here remark that the receipts were not annual. The money was presumably paid on the person taking possession of the seat, which he or she would hold for life or some term of years.

By the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Nightingale, I am enabled to quote from some, as yet, unpublished church-wardens' accounts of St. Edmund's, Salisbury.

In 1456-7, under the heading "*pro sedibus assignatis*," we find William Fysher paying 10*d.* for a seat assigned to him in the nave. In 1475-6, the heading in the accounts reads "Assertys of Seges," and under it we find of "Johanna Maior for a sege in certayn to hur assignyd, 12*d.*"

Several similar entries follow. In 1477-8 we get, under the heading "Sertyn"

* *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iii. 134, etc.

of seats, a form of the word "Assertys" used above, "of R. Romsey for his pewe in ye church 6*d*. Of J. Thorneton [for the same] 12*d*." In the accounts for the next year the heading appears as "Assignment of setys." Amongst those assigned is one "to the use of John Bentley, wever," for which 12*d*. was received. The entries go on in a similar way, some occuring in the accounts for almost every year. In 1483-4 we find one assigned "To J. Hampton to the use of his servauntes, 12*d*."

Dealing with our references to reservation in order of date we now come to the FitzWalter case, the only one I have met with in which the right to a private seat was challenged. It was fought in 1496, and was recently brought prominently forward in the arguments used in the Hampshire Reformatory dispute, tried by Mr. Justice Stephen. The FitzWalter case is reported in the Year Books, and Mr. Justice Stephen in his judgment gave a careful translation of the French to the following effect: "William FitzWalter brings an action for trespass for breaking and carrying away his seat."

The defendant says that the said seat was in the church of B. and that J. de S. is parson and was at the time, etc., and by his command he took the seat.

Then there was an argument by Eliot and Butler, the counsel, as to whether the seat was fixed to the freehold.

Hussey, the chief justice, says at last, "Then the parson has nothing to do with it, and we must consider whether this is a spiritual matter or a temporal matter; and if it is to be considered according to spiritual law or temporal law. If we hold plea of this, and it is a spiritual matter, it is not good. If the parson brings an action against the vicar for tithes, that does not lie here, and up to this time, I never heard of such an action as this, and if there is no prescription, there can be no seat in the church as it seems, for the church is common for everybody, therefore it is not reasonable that one should have his seat and that two should stand [*et que deux esteront*], for no place is more for one than for another.

"But it seems that the Ordinary may ordain for the gentry, places convenient for them, and for the poor, other convenient places. But it seems this is a spiritual matter and therefore IF this man (the plaintiff) and his ancestors have not been in the habit of having such a seat from the time of prescription it seems that anybody may take the seat out of the church and move it away for his ease and standing; for it is a common nuisance to the people who are there, for because of such seats they cannot have their standing by reason of such seats in church. But it is desirable to be advised about the matter, *for it is a new matter*, and it is good to be advised about it, as it may be an example for other cases."

Mr. Justice Stephen's remark about the case is "Therefore all that this case comes to is that it shows the question was discussed in the days of Henry VII. as well as at the present time, and that the law then appears to have been as new as it is now," and he goes on to observe that Hussey's remark as to it being hard that one seat should force several people to stand was only *obiter dictum*!

I will pass over some other instances of reservation and come to those furnished by the accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Here in 1504 we find "Rec^d of the Lady Sottell in part of payment for her part of a pew, 4d." A few years later (1509) 6s. 8d. is received from Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knt. for his part of a pew in the same church. And in 1511, "Knight the Courtyer," pays 2s. for his wife's pew and the "virger" of St. Stephen's pays 3s. 3d. for part of a pew for his wife.

Major Heales, quoting from Nichols's *Illustrations of Manners and Expenses in England from Churchwardens' Accounts*, comments on these entries. The accounts, he says, begin in 1460, and contain numerous entries every year; yet there is no mention of pews till 1504, and he goes on to try and explain that the entries which occur then and afterwards do not mean what they seem to mean, and tells us that pews were not common there for long after; his reasons for that conclusion seem to be that the pews afterwards set up there are called *new pews*.^a I confess I do not follow the arguments, and I would mention that what Nichols prints are merely extracts from the accounts, so, for aught we know to the contrary, there may be numerous other and earlier entries relating to church seats and payments for them in the accounts.

In the year 1524 we get some important evidence as to pews in the vestry minutes of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, edited by our Treasurer, Dr. Edwin Freshfield. We find that: "It was condiscended and agreed for a perpetuall quyetnes to be had among all the parisshners That the clerks wag[e]s shuld be sessed by the pyews bothe yn the chapels and in the body of the churche." Twelve persons are chosen assessors for the same "pyews," who are "to sesse every piew severally at a certain summa." And they were to "appoynte to sit in every piew of the piewes of the said churche suche persones as by their discrestions shuld be thought most convenient aswell men to the piewes ordeyned for men as the Women to the piewes ordeyned for Women. And yf any persone be rebell so that he will not syt or pay according as he is now appointed by the same sessours, or as hereafter he shalbe appoynted by the churchwardeyns," the same churchwardens shall first "shew his Rebellyon to the parisshens in the vestry,"

^a *History of Pews*, i. 80.

and if on the first monition openly given to him in the vestry by the "parisshens," or else if he refuse to come before the "parisshens" there assembled, on notice given by the churchwardens, the churchwardens shall report him to the Ordinary to sue him at the church costs "untill such tyme as he be reduced unto a good order!" and till he pay costs. Provisions follow for making subsequent alterations in these rules. Then comes the "sessing" of the "pyews" in the two chapels and of those in the body of the church, and the "appointment" of the same "pyews" from the highest to the lowest, "where any housholder or their wyves have used in tyme past to syt." The assessment commences with the pews in the Trinity Chapel. That of our Lady and St. Anne is similarly dealt with. And then we come to the "pyews in the body of the churche."

The pews on the south side are dealt with first, and those for the men first again. We find: "The litill piew on the southside of the church under saint Gregoryes petre ij persones ech of them to pay a quarter ij^d," and so on. Then we come to the women's pews on the south side of the church. The third pew is the first, the fifth the second, and so on. Then we come to the north side. The men's pews are there again dealt with first, two little pews, each for one person, ij^d. each per quarter, and so on. And the document concludes with an enumeration of the women's pews on the north side, which commences: "The furst and formest piew in the body of the churche for the women is the piew next on the north side to the table of Jhus."

Here then, in 1524, we have the whole of the seats in a parish church regularly reserved. Dr. Freshfield,^a in speaking of this important document, observes that it furnishes one more piece of evidence that pews and the letting of them are not the invention of our reformers, as it was for many years erroneously and even maliciously stated.

In and about the year 1530, the records of the Court of Star Chamber reveal some curious cases of riot in church, which incidently afford evidence as to pews. One of these riots took place in the abbey church of St. Albans. Ralph Rowlet was at service there on Easter Day when Richard Renshaw and his servants entered the church armed, and "with force and great violence expelled" Ralph from his "seat-pewe and kneeling place," where he was wont to be "by appointment of the wardens."^b The second case^c shows us that Richard Waddensworth "and his ancestors, out of tyme of remembrance of man," had been peaceably

^a *Archaeologia*, xlv. 57.

^b *Star Chamber Proceedings*, Henry VIII. Bun. 17, No. 208.

^c *Ibid.* Bun. 24, No. 149.

possessed, seized and enjoyed of a stall or seat within the parish church of Heptonstall. "In which stall or sete," continues the complaint, "your said subgett and his predecessors by all the said tyme, when they were demoraunt and obdyng within the said paryshe of Heptonstall, didd use to sytt and be in devyne service thir kept and done: and the church wardens there, for the tyme beinge, agreable and contented with the same. Pleasith it your good Grace to understand that James Stanfield in the said county, gentleman [& others] mysrulled and evyll-dysposed persones to the numbre of xiiij" with force, &c., on the 12th Oct. 22 Hen. VIII. entered the said church and did "hewe brake and pulled upp the said stall or sete in despytt and for malys that the said James Stanfield bereth unto your said subject." After this the complainant hired a carpenter "to make agayn the said stall and sete," and whilst that was being done the defendants, on the 19th of the same October, laid wait for the carpenter and attacked and nearly killed him. After that, on the 20th, the defendant and his associates came again to the church and did "brake all the said stall and sete into peces."

I gather from *The Ecclesiologist* that pews now exist in Sussex bearing marks of ownership which purport to have been placed upon them in the year of which I am speaking, 1530.*

Ten years after this, in 1540, we find the first of the very numerous and important entries relating to church seats which occur in the Ludlow accounts. It was ordered before the Bailiffs of the town that "Richard Langforde from henceforth shalle peasably have, occupie and enjoye the pewe or sette in the church late in the tenure of Alice Lane deceased: for which pew the said Bailiffs have awarded that the said Richard Langford shall content and paye to the churchwardyns over the ij^s. wherein the church upon his account resteth in his debt, the sum of vj^s viij^d, which is paid the said day and year, &c." Next year, 1541, 12*d*. is paid by Ann Daviss for her "kneeling place." And 6*d*. by a man for having the reversion of his father's pew; other grants of reversion of pews occur about this time. I need not quote further from these Ludlow accounts, which, from their having been so ably edited by the late Mr. Wright for the Camden Society, are pretty widely known, and I suppose it is hardly necessary to remind you that we must not place the commencement of seat-reservation in Ludlow Church at the date these accounts commence. The entries, as we have seen in the instance I quoted, point to a previous occupation of the seats dealt with.

This date, the commencement of the Reformation, seems a convenient pausing point, and one when some of the foregoing evidence may well be passed in review.

* *Ecclesiologist*, i. 108.

Seats existed in the naves of churches, if my surmise as to the position of the Exeter seats is correct, considerably before the close of the thirteenth century; these seats may have been moveable, but they were certainly appropriated. If they were not fixed then I presume a particular portion of the floor of the church had come to be looked upon as the place where a particular person might place his or her seat and listen and pray.^a The instance in the fourteenth century which I quoted just now from Rolle of Hampole rather suggests some such arrangement, the phrase used is "the place" where so and so is accustomed to pray. In the Bath churchwardens' accounts, the first fixing of seats seems to have been in 1425; but, of course, when you come to analyze the entry, it may simply mean that the seats in use when the accountants wrote their account were first erected in that year; others may have been set up there before. It will be remembered that in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, written before the close of the fourteenth century, we have an allusion to church seats by the name of *pews*. Wratthe says he [though a bachelor?] is wont to sit among the wives and widows "yparroked in puwes."^b The pews or seats that existed in churches in the fifteenth century probably were occasionally becoming elaborate. The extract I have just quoted from *Piers Plowman* shows that they were enclosed in some way, and we have seen that after 1450 they often had doors with locks to them. In some instances the seats and the pews of the nobility and gentry were evidently even comfortably furnished. Such are described by John Russell, a servant to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in his "*Boke of Nurture*," written, according to Dr. Furnivall, about the same time.^c

" Prynce or prelate, if it be, or any other potestate
 Ere he enter into the church, be it early or late
 Perceiue all thinges for his pew, that it be made prepareate.
 Bothe cosshyn, carpet, and curteyn, bedes and boke, forget not that !"

Again, in the *Book of Carving* (1513) edited by Dr. Furnivall, on page 283 we find the chamberlain directed to go "at morne to the chyrche or chapel to your soveraynes closet and laye carpents and cuysshens and lay downe his booke of prayers, then drawe the curtynes."

Let me in conclusion say a very few words about seat reservation subsequent

^a Mr. Fletcher Rigge in his work on *Cartmell Priory Church*, kindly pointed out to me by our Fellow, Chancellor Ferguson, refers to an interesting feature in some old pews in that priory church. Some of these pews, he says, were very old, one was found to have a large oak ball-caster under each corner, as if it had been made to be wheeled about.

^b *History of Pews*, i. 30, 31.

^c Early English Text Society, lines 915—918.

to the Reformation. I do not suppose that the religious change made any difference in the system of seating the congregations in our churches, though one of the Reformer-Writers, John Bale (born 1495, died 1563) speaks of pew rents as one of the abuses of the unreformed religion, making the condemnations contained in one of the chapters of the *Book of Revelation* (cap. viii. v. 12) applicable to certain uses of the religion he had just left, amongst them the "curyouse buyldings of temples, abbeyes, chapels, and chambers; all shrynes, churchstoles, and pewes, that are well payd for."^a

Seats, of course, became more luxurious as time went on. We have in 1549-50 a payment in the accounts of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, for "rybaynge and flox for Mr. Dobbe's pew." Other instances of "trimming" occur about this time. At St. Michael's, Cornhill, in 1566, there is a payment "for trymminge of Mr. Alderman's pewe and his wyfes pew, by consent of the vestry, not as a president, but of benevolence 1s."

Though this was not to be considered as a "president" it evidently was taken as such, and three years after we find in the same accounts "green saye," "red lace," "boulsters," "dressings," "mats," etc. for different pews. But this luxury had its disagreeable side sometimes, as we see, for instance, at St. Margaret's Westminster where, in 1611, 6*d.* was paid to "good-wife Wells" for salt "to destroy the fleas in the churchwardens pew." I wonder if the lesser church dignitaries had to put up with the fleas. I see no payment for ridding their seats of vermin.

"Shut-in" pews naturally had a deterrent effect upon the piety of the worshippers, but to dwell upon instances or proofs of this would be foreign to the subject of my paper, which has been prepared to show the antiquity of the system of seat-reservation in church. For the same reason I will exclude reference to what are known as "faculty pews," and will conclude by just calling attention to some curious contemporary condemnation of the system, after the Reformation, when its abuse became the greater.

Bishop Corbett of Norwich wrote thus to the clergy of his diocese: "Stately pews are now become tabernacles with rings and curtains to them; there wants nothing but beds to hear the word of God on; We have casements, locks and keys, cushions, I had almost said bolsters and pillows I will not guess what is done within them: who sits, stands, or lies asleep at prayer, communion, &c.: but I dare say this THEY ARE EITHER TO HIDE SOME VICE OR PROCLAIM ONE—to hide disorder or to proclaim pride."

We know how much the pew system was condemned by Laud and his party. The Archbishop in one of the annual accounts of his province delivered to the

^a Bb. Gloss 12.

king says: "The Cathedral of Salisbury is much pestered with seats, and I have given order to remove them, which I hope your Majesty will approve as well as you did in York and Durham, and add your power if mine be not sufficient."

To this the King wrote:

"C.R. I doe and will express my pleasure (if need be) what way you will."

About the same time the Bishop of Winchester ordered the removal of locks from the pews in the churches of his diocese.^a We get a glimpse as to how things were, with respect to church seats during the Commonwealth, by some proceedings in a suit in the Exchequer in 1656; the farmers of the tithes of St. Dunstan's in the West sought to recover tithe from one "John Wintle, gentleman," a parishioner. The defendant expressed his readiness to pay the disputed tithe, "so that he might have a seat or pew in the same church . . . as the other parishioners;" which, however, he "could never as yet obtain" though he had often applied for it, and had always paid all "Church duties" demanded of him; and, he says, he would have paid the tithe, if he could get a pew "conveniently to set in the said church." But as things were, "he, his wife and family have been forced to pay for their seats daily as they came to church before they could be admitted to any pew, as strangers and foreigners rather than parishioners."^b After the Restoration high pews continued to be used as a screen for irreverence; preaching in Durham cathedral church, Bishop Cosin would sometimes say to his congregation, "even gentlewomen of the best rank sitting in their pews: 'Can ye not stand, you lazie sows'?"—taking them by their arms, and tearing their sleeves to raise them up—when the Nicene creed is sung."^c

I have said so much about the evil of pews that I must just tell you of an instance in which a pew won for the church a convert from schism! When Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle visited his diocese in 1703, he found in Wighton church three large and unsightly pews. One of which, a certain Garvin Chambers, sometime a zealous fanatic, was allowed to put up in the year 1667. Bishop Nicholson adds that, by this indulgence he was "purchased into the church's communion." I should not have troubled the Society with these observations but for the fact that the antiquity of seat-reservation in our churches has never, so far as I know, been brought prominently to notice. The evidence which has been collected on this subject, and there is a considerable amount of it, has, I fear, been distorted by advocates who, in very rightly condemning the system of reservation, have endeavoured to convince themselves of its modernness, and have made themselves believe that "the better" way was of necessity the "older."

^a *History of Pews*, i. 152.

^b *Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth*. London and Midd. No. 257.

^c *History of Pews*, i. 170.

IV.—*The Spoon and its history; its form, material, and development, more particularly in England.* By C. J. JACKSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 13th, 1890.

THERE can be little doubt that the spoon which now performs such an indispensable part in our domestic economy may lay claim to descent from a very high antiquity. Certainly as soon as the habit of eating pottage, in a manner such as we should consider decent, had been acquired there must have been spoons of some kind in use.

It would be presumptuous to express an opinion as to what was the material or form of the earliest spoons, but it may be conjectured that natural objects were resorted to at a very early period, and that shells of the mussel, scallop, oyster, limpet, or similar aquatic animal, furnished the most readily obtainable natural spoons.^a

The horns of various animals were doubtless also made into spoons as well as drinking vessels in very remote ages, and when edge-tools came into use spoons, in all probability, were carved out of wood, bone, and ivory.

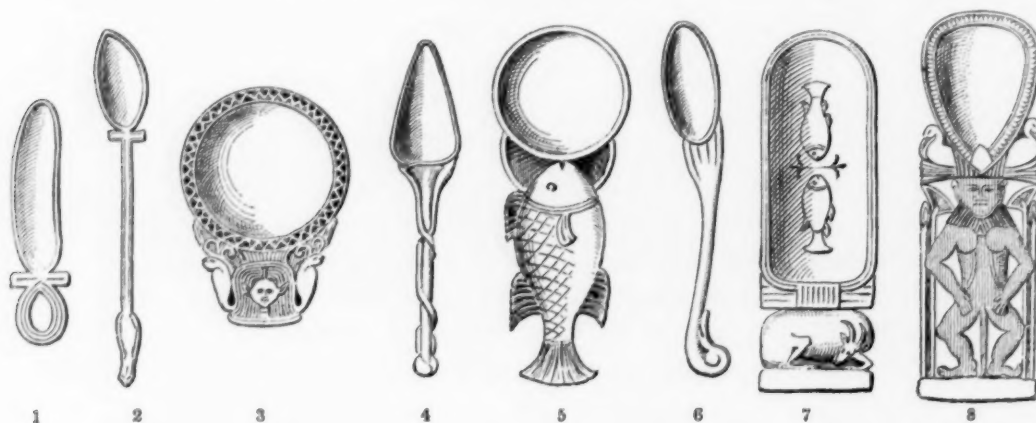
Spoons of gold are specifically mentioned in the Pentateuch,^b and it may perhaps be fairly assumed, even in the absence of direct evidence, that metals less precious than gold were also used for making spoons at a period at least as early as the time of Moses.

The form and material of the spoons of the ancient Egyptians appear to have differed very considerably. There are examples in the British Museum of

^a The words *κοχλιάριον*, and *cochleare*, seem to suggest a shell as the common spoon of the ancient inhabitants of Southern Europe. Spoons formed of shells mounted with gold and silver are mentioned in Henry VIII.'s jewel-book (*vide post*). The drinking of whiskey out of shells is a well-remembered custom of the Scotch Highlanders, and even now it is no uncommon thing in remote country places to find a shell doing duty for a spoon in the tea-caddy, the sugar-bowl, and the meal-bag.

^b Exodus, xxv. 29.; Numbers, vii. 84, 86.

Egyptian spoons of flint, of wood, and of ivory. In the fashioning of the greater number of these the symbolism which prevailed amongst those ancient peoples appears to enter. There is one of slate (fig. 1), carved in the form of the *cruz ansata*, the symbol of Isis,^a and typical of the union of the active and



Figs. 1—8. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SPOONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Fig. 1 is of greyish-green slate ; fig. 3 is of ivory ; the others are of carved wood. (About $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

passive principles of generation, whereby eternal continuity was attained ; for which reason it appears to have been regarded as a sacred symbol from a period of remote antiquity. There is also a spoon of carved wood (fig. 2) in which the same symbol may be observed, with this difference, that while in the slate spoon the bowl forms the perpendicular limb of the cross, the transverse limb and the

^a The *cruz ansata* is the symbol of Isis, Queen of Heaven, the virgin wife of Osiris, who was said to have given birth to their son Horus while they were yet both unborn ; a fable having reference to the union of the active and passive powers of production, in the general concretion of substance, and causing the separation or delivery of the elements from each other. (*Vide* Payne Knight, *Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*.) The symbol also of Divinity, Royalty, right to rule, which has come down to us in the form of the orb and cross, placed in the left hand of a monarch at his coronation, and represented upon his coins. It is also similarly depicted in painted and sculptured figures of Our Lord in Majesty or as an infant in the arms of the Blessed Virgin, and in this conventional form has been explained as "signifying that by the cross the world (represented by the ball) is overcome, and that the orb also signifies dominion, and the cross the faith of the king." (*Vide* Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*.) It would perhaps be more correct to say that this symbol has become one of the insignia of sovereignty and an emblem of divinity, because from a remote antiquity it indicated the supremacy and catholicity of a divine natural law.

loop being formed by the handle, in the wooden spoon the bowl forms the loop, while the entire cross is formed by the handle.

A very peculiar spoon of carved ivory (fig. 3), has a shallow circular bowl, and a very short handle formed in the shape of the head of Athor or Isis, in her character of the universal mother typified by the cow, the ears of a cow being attached to the head of a woman. On each side of the head is carved an inflated asp, which, together with the form of the head itself, indicates the degradation of the earlier and purer form of Isiac worship, a degradation in which the purity of Urania becomes lost in the grossness of Aphrodite.

The purer form of symbolism appears illustrated in a wooden spoon from Thebes, carved in the shape of a lotus bud (fig. 4), symbolical of the productive power of the waters. In another wooden spoon, carved in the shape of a fish (fig. 5), the same productive power is symbolised. In this spoon the bowl is circular, the fish, which is carved on the face of the handle, being moveable, and disclosing, when slipped on one side, a box or cavity sunk in the lower part of the handle. Another spoon (fig. 7) has two fishes head to head engraved in the bowl; the handle being carved into the form of a goat, symbolical of the active male principle and generative power.

Nearly all these details indicate that the carvings on the spoons which have been referred to were intended to be symbolical of the generative principle, which occupied such an important part in the sacred rites of the ancient Egyptians. But of all the Egyptian spoons in the British Museum, the one in which this symbolism is the most remarkable is the curious wooden spoon from Thebes (fig. 8). This spoon is particularly interesting, in that it shows most clearly the hidden significance of the *cruz ansata*. The passive or female generative principle is represented by the loop which is formed by the bowl, and the active or male principle by the cross carved on the handle. The figure of Typhon below the transverse limb of the cross, and forming its shaft or longest limb, represents at the same time the dark evil destroying power, and the male or active generative principle in nature.* The intimate union of the two principles is indicated by the pair of doves seated one on each of the transverse limbs of the cross. The doves are said to be typical also of the divine spirit which brooded over the face of the waters at the creation; the generative power of the waters being symbolised by the lotus flowers carved on both sides of the figure of Typhon. The bowl of

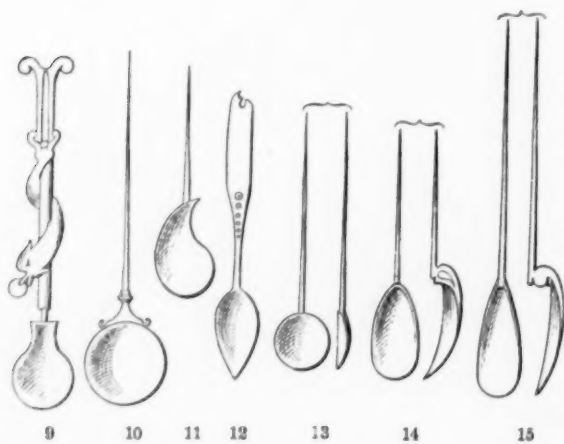
* There is in the "Witt Collection" in the British Museum an oriental figure of brass, representing the same dark evil power in the act of attempting to destroy the last female of the human race, which act is however said to have resulted, not in the destruction of the woman, but in the continuation of her species.

this spoon is very similar in form to that of several early Christian spoons in the British Museum, and is not unlike the bowl which pertained to the spoons of this country from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

The spoons of the ancient Greeks and Romans, judging from the examples generally found, were for the most part either of bronze or silver. The British Museum possesses a large number, the forms of which vary considerably. Some have very long pointed stems. The stems of others are quite short and wrought into a variety of designs.

Some of the Greek bronze spoons are formed merely of hollowed circular discs with spikes attached to the back for handles; Roman bone spoons of this form

are also very common. Others, with spiked stems, have bowls shaped like mussel shells, while many have bowls shaped like mandolins, with stems of various shapes. One of the last-named (fig. 9) has a kind of dolphin twisted round the lower part of the stem.



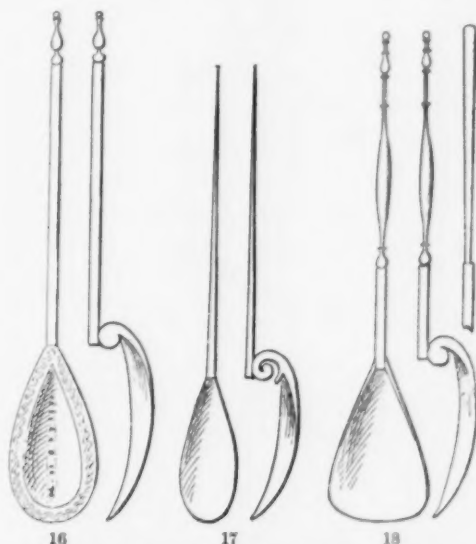
Figs. 9—15. ANCIENT GREEK SPOONS OF BRONZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

In the greater number of Greek and Roman spoons, as well as in the Early Christian spoons preserved in the British Museum, the predominating feature appears to be found in the union of the stem with the bowl.

Beneath the bowl and supporting it for about half its length is a rectangular keel, which dies away under the centre of the bowl, but increases in depth towards the stem, under which it curls up into a disc of about half an inch in diameter. On the edge of this disc the stem is set, so that when the spoon is held in a horizontal position the bowl is about half an inch below the stem. There are many modifications of this "keel and disc" form. In some, the keel is perforated, while in others the disc is curled like a volute under the stem (see figs. 14, 15, 16, 18). The stems of these spoons are for the most part plain spikes of various lengths. These spikes were used for opening shell-fish, and extracting the edible part. They appear also to have been brought into service in the eating of eggs, for Pliny^a

^a *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. xxviii.

states that the shells were broken or perforated with the spoons when eggs were eaten, to avoid evil consequences.



Figs. 16—18. EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER SPOONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

An Etruscan spoon of carved bone found in the Isis tomb at Vulci (fig. 19)^a

is interesting in its resemblance to some of the Dutch spoons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Figs. 20 and 21 represent two Early Roman spoons. One is of iron, the other of silver. Near the bowl the stems are notched, probably for the purpose of resting them on the edge of a dish. The bowls of both are alike, and one has engraved in the interior the figure of Mercury with a purse^b in one hand, the caduceus^c in the other, and his winged head-gear lying near his feet. At the



Fig. 19. ETRUSCAN SPOON OF CARVED BONE, FOUND AT VULCI. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)



Figs. 20—22. EARLY ROMAN SPOONS. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

^a Mentioned and illustrated in Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.

^b Typical of the productive attribute resulting from skill and sagacity. *Vide* Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 5.

^c Symbolical of Power and Life. See Payne Knight, *Symbolical Language*.

end of the bowl are the figures of a cock^a and a goat,^b and in the space, between the head of Mercury and the cock, is a tortoise.^c

Two Roman spoons of silver of somewhat similar form, one of which was found in the pier of an old bridge at Newcastle-on-Tyne and the other in Watling Street, near Rose Lane, Canterbury, are illustrated in *Archaeologia*,^d see fig. 23.

Among the Greek spoons in the British Museum there are two of silver, which were found at Cyzicus (fig. 24). The stem is in the form of a goat's foot, very carefully and delicately wrought; the bowl is somewhat like that of the ordinary nineteenth century spoon. At the back of the bowl, where it is joined to the stem, there is a tripartite tongue or lobe, which supports the bowl, and gives additional strength at the place where it is most required. In the



Fig. 24. GREEK SILVER SPOONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 23. ROMAN SILVER SPOON FOUND AT CANTERBURY IN 1868.
Front and side views. (Full size.)

^a Sacred to the Sun and herald of his coming. See *Pausanias*, p. 444.

^b Symbolical of the male generative attribute. See *Diodorus Siculus*, i. 88.

^c Sacred to Venus, the tortoise being an androgynous animal was chosen as a symbol of the double power. "The frequency with which it protrudes its head from the shell, thus changing its look of repose with the utmost rapidity to one of energy and action," has also been suggested as a reason why it was held sacred to Venus, and why it is symbolic of regeneration, immortality, and the like. *Vide Inman, Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names*, ii., p. 881.

The tortoise was considered also by the Chinese and Hindus symbolical of long life, renewed life, eternal life, for which reason in their mythology the world is represented as borne by an elephant, symbolical of strength, which in turn is supported by a tortoise. See Payne Knight, *Symbolical Language*.

^d See *Archaeologia*, xv. 402, and xliii. 156-7.

museum of Naples, there is a silver spoon of similar pattern which was dug up at Pompeii. It seems, therefore, that the design of this spoon was common to both Italy and Greece.

Most of the Early-Christian spoons in the British Museum are of silver, and many of them are very elegant in design. Particularly noticeable are a pair (fig. 16), having what has been described as the "keel and disc" feature. The bowls of these are surrounded with a flattened rim, about a quarter of an inch wide, on which is engraved between two lines a Vitruvian scroll ornament which is continued completely round the bowl. The stems are rectangular, and uniform in thickness from the bowl to within an inch of the end, where they terminate in baluster form, with a ball at the extremity. There is another pair (fig. 18) with the same characteristic "keel and disc" feature, the stems being in the form of turned balusters, from the extremity to within an inch and a half of the bowl, where they are rectangular. The bowls of these bear a remarkable resemblance both in size and shape to the bowls of English spoons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

An Early-Christian spoon (fig. 25) in the British Museum calls for special attention by reason of its resemblance to the form of the modern fiddle-pattern. It is of silver, quite plain, and small in size, being no larger than a modern tea spoon. It differs from the modern fiddle-pattern only in the shoulder next the bowl being wanting, and the end of the stem being cut off square, instead of being rounded. But for this slight difference, it might very well be said that the modern fiddle-pattern spoon is a vulgarised copy of a relic of Early-Christian days. There is a Greek spoon of bronze (fig. 12) in the British Museum, very similar in pattern. It is a little smaller than the one last mentioned, the bowl is narrower and more pointed, and the stem is ornamented on its face with a series of small annulets, converging to a point in the centre of the slender part, but the general resemblance of the two spoons is nevertheless quite apparent.

Along with the spoons of the Early-Christian period it may be convenient to



Figs. 25—29. EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER SPOONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

refer to those curious spoon-like objects of bronze of the Late-Celtic period, a typical example of which is represented by fig. 30, and which Mr. A. W. Franks describes as "oval plates, slightly concave, and not unlike a modern sugar spoon." Objects of the Late-Celtic period, according to Mr. Franks, "are probably not more ancient than the introduction of coinage into Britain, from 200 to 100 years before Christ, and not much later than the close of the first century after Christ, when the Roman dominion in this country was firmly established. This date would account for the occasional discovery of such remains with, or in close proximity to Roman antiquities, and also for the influence that their designs seem to have exercised over certain phases of Roman colonial art, in which, however, their wild and studied irregularity of design are brought into subjection, though at the same time the patterns lose much of their charm and originality."^a



FIG. 30. LATE-CELTIC BRONZE SPOON FOUND IN THE THAMES, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

The late Canon Rock, in reference to these spoons, says: "They almost always occur in pairs and are occasionally found at springs of water, or in rivers. One, and only one of the two spoons, has bored through it a hole invariably in the same spot, just below the lip and about midway on its left-hand side" (looking from the handle towards the bowl) "That these specimens of Celtic handicraft were, at one period or another, set aside by some of that people for the especial service of the Christian Church in some of her rites seems beyond a doubt, from finding upon them, after they had been cast, certain emblems of Christianity scratched roughly. In the bowl of one we see the sign of the cross; upon the handle of another three circles, the symbol of three distinct persons in the one same Godhead." . . . Their use was "for giving the sacrament of Baptism—one for holding the oil of the catechumens; the second, the one with the hole, for holding the oil of chrism." In support of this opinion he adduces the fact of their being found in pairs by running water or at a well, and he says that "whenever they could, the Celts in these islands used, instead of the still or, so to say, dead water kept about the house for ordinary purposes, the living waters of a stream or a spring, for baptism"; and that "as now, so then, two distinct anointings . . . took place at baptism: the first with olive oil, on the breast and between the shoulders, in the form of a cross, rubbed there by the right-hand thumb that had been dipped in the consecrated oil held in that spoon without a hole; while yet

^a. *Horae Ferales*, pp. 184, 189.

standing in the water under which the catechumen had been three times plunged; the second and principal anointing was given to this neophyte within the tabernacle woven for the ceremony, of fresh and budding boughs. The oil here used was olive, but plentifully mingled with the costly and sweet-smelling balsam or balm of Gilead. Among the Celtic people this second oil was . . . actually poured out upon the crown of the head where it was made to trickle in the shape of a cross. To do this well and accurately, so as not to spill it where it ought not to fall, the second or pierced spoon was employed. Holding this in his right hand, the celebrant let flow slowly through the small hole little drops of the chrism, so that it might take the shape of a cross upon the neophyte's head." As to the date to be assigned to them, Canon Rock thought "the cross on them would take them back to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century."*

The late Mr. Albert Way, in an exhaustive and fully illustrated paper on the same subject^b, adopts the earlier date assigned to these bronze relics by Mr. Franks, and in support of the view that they are not much later than a century after Christ, adduces the fact that these objects have been occasionally found with, or in close proximity to Roman antiquities and traces a resemblance to some Roman *cochlearia* with short hooked and looped handles, one of which was found near Sunderland and another at Chesterford. "We fail", he says, "to find, in any instance, the introduction of any decisive evidence, such as would unquestionably occur on objects so carefully elaborated,—for instance, the sacred monogram composed of the letters Chi and Rho, the most prevalent symbol on the earliest Christian relics, the only symbol moreover hitherto found in this country on vestiges of so early a date as the Roman occupation of Britain, and that which had become generally familiar through the coinage of Constantine and his successors in the fourth century."

It is a far cry from early Christian days to the twelfth century, but very little can be said with any degree of authenticity regarding the spoons of the intervening period. In Asia, especially in the Chinese Empire, if not in India, Persia, and Japan, there may be spoons in existence made during this period, but whether if such be found they would be accompanied by evidence of their date, is extremely doubtful.^c

In the dark ages which succeeded the civilisation of Rome, when the barbarian

* *Archaeological Journal*, xxvi. 35 et seq.

^b *Ibid.* 52 et seq.

^c Jean Baptist Tavernier, who travelled through the East 250 years ago, says "the Persians eat with wooden spoons, the Chinese with chopsticks;" and Van Braam, the celebrated Dutch traveller of the eighteenth century, says, "such spoons as were used by the Chinese were of porcelain or

valour of the Goths and Huns had crushed not only the power but also the luxury and refinement of the empire of the west; when our filibustering Saxon forefathers were gradually making this country the home of the most adventurous of their race, and every man had to maintain his foothold at the venture of his life, it could scarcely be expected that amongst any of the uncultured peoples who then dominated nearly the whole of Europe any great number would be possessed of spoons of much value, whether by reason of the preciousness of the material, or the elaboration of the workmanship bestowed on them. There is, on the contrary, every reason for supposing that during the first few centuries which succeeded the fall of Rome, the material of which by far the greater number of these articles were formed was that which was most easily procured, and could be shaped with the least expenditure of labour, and that the workmanship was of the rudest description.

The word "spoon," derived from the Anglo-Saxon *spōn*, a chip, points to wood as the material of which the spoons of our Teutonic ancestors were commonly formed. But in all probability spoons were also made of horn and bone

during what is known as the Anglo-Saxon period. There, however, appear to be no sufficient grounds for saying that spoons of metal, or at any rate of the precious metals, were in use to any appreciable extent during this period. For, although spoons of precious metal have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, they have occurred but rarely, and these have generally been of that particular kind which has small perforations in the bowl, and cannot be considered as ordinary domestic spoons. One of such spoons, now in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 31), which was found at Chatham, is described by Douglas^a as "a silver spoon, ornamented with garnets; the bowl perforated and washed with gold, which is in some places much worn off. The garnets are encased in a projecting socket of silver. They are set on a gold foil, which . . . seems embossed in chequers, by a stamp or milling instrument, to add lustre to the stone. On the edges of the handle is a delicate beading,



Fig. 31. ANGLO-SAXON SILVER SPOON IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, JEWELLED WITH GARNETS. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

earthenware." This was so probably from early times (the Chinese being a very conservative people), it is unlikely therefore, having regard to the fragile nature of the material, that many very antique examples have escaped destruction. Possibly the traditions of the Chinese refer to spoons, as well as other objects of great antiquity, but how frail a staff tradition is to rely on, for anything approaching accuracy in regard to dates, has recently been made manifest in the case of the "Pudsey" spoon.

^a *Nenia Britannica*, 6, 7. See also Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, 66.

and in the interval of the setting are small circular marks, so often found on ornaments of the lower empire. . . . The reverse of the spoon has a neat brace fastened with six rivets, to mend a fracture near the handle, on the edge of which is impressed a chain of the above circular marks. The silver of the bowl is as thin as the silver pence of some of our early Saxon kings. The back of the handle is worn very smooth, particularly the edge, which circumstance, with the perforation at the top, shows it to have been pendant to some part of the dress. The handle and bowl has been hammered out of one piece of silver, and the sockets of the stones are fastened with rivets, which penetrate the handle." It was found in a grave "a little below the *os sacrum*, between the femur bones." Douglas thought it was a magical implement, but of this there appears to be no proof.

A somewhat similar perforated spoon, but with five small holes only and a slighter handle, was found in an Anglo-Saxon barrow at Stodmarsh, Kent. At the junction of the bowl with the handle it is ornamented with a flat triangular-shaped garnet, but beyond this the handle is plain. Its description was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the late Mr. J. Y. Akerman, and is illustrated in *Archæologia*.^a Saxon spoons of another form are figured by Mr. Roach Smith in *Collectanea Antiqua*.^b In *Archæologia*^c is illustrated a Saxon spoon of silver found together with some coins of Ethelwulf and Ethelstan at Sevington, North Wilts. Its total length is 8½ inches. The bowl is only an inch in width and somewhat fig-shaped. The long flat handle has a circular disc in the middle, and at the end it is broadened out into an ellipse, being ornamented with an interlaced pattern over its entire length.

A spoon found at Desborough, North Hants (fig. 32) appears somewhat Roman in character in that



Fig. 32. EARLY SPOON FOUND AT
DESBOROUGH, NORTHANTS.^d
(Full size.)

^a Vol. xxxvi., plate xvi., fig. 6.

^b Vol. iv. 58.

^c Vol. xxvii., plate xxiv., p. 302.

^d See also *Archæologia*, xlv. 468.

the lower part of the stem where it meets the bowl is strongly suggestive of its having been a modification of the common form of Roman spoon, although the ornamentation shows no mark of classic design, but on the contrary, so far as the upper part of the stem is concerned, resembles the rude form of baluster sometimes found in Anglo-Saxon work. Whether this spoon is late-Roman, Anglo-Saxon, or Norman Romanesque, is an interesting speculation. It measures $6\frac{1}{10}$ inches in length over all, and is of base silver or white metal; both extremities are imperfect, having been broken off.

Of medieval spoons, one of the earliest and perhaps the most interesting example in existence is the coronation spoon preserved among the regalia in the Tower of London (Plate V.). Mr. Shaw, in *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, referring to this spoon, says it "has most probably been used in the coronation of our monarchs since the twelfth century. Its style of ornament seems to prove that it was made at that period. It is of pure gold, with four pearls in the broadest part of the handle. The bowl, which is thin, has an elegant arabesque pattern engraved on its surface. Unfortunately the enamel has been destroyed, either accidentally or wilfully, but the rough surface between the filagree work proves its former existence. It is used to hold the oil for anointing the monarch at his coronation, and the bowl is divided by a ridge down the middle, into two hollow parts It has been stated, and documents brought forward to substantiate the assertion, that the old regalia of England had entirely disappeared in the troublous times of Cromwell, and that a new set was made in the time of Charles II. It appears, indeed, that the coronation of that monarch was obliged to be delayed on account of the absence of these necessary articles belonging to the ceremony. Some of the old jewels, however, appear to have been recovered; and we can have little hesitation in considering our Spoon as having belonged to the ancient regalia. There can, of course, be no doubt of its antiquity; and it is not at all probable that an article of this kind should have been obtained from any other source."^a

The document referred to by Mr. Shaw, as having been adduced in proof of the assertion that this spoon is of the time of Charles II., is probably that which was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1852.^b It is dated Feb. 23, 1684-5, and contains in a list of the regalia provided for his (then) late Majesty's coronation, the item "the anointing spoon, poiz 3 oz. 5 dwts., for silver and workmanship £2." Mr. Cripps in *Old English Plate*, seems to rely on this entry

^a Vol. i.

^b *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st S. ii. 222, and *Archæologia*, xxix. 265.



THE CORONATION SPOON (FRONT, SIDE AND BACK VIEWS).
(Full size).

for asserting that the coronation spoon "was at all events remade, for the coronation of King Charles II."^a

The spoon, which is $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, is really of silver-gilt and not of pure gold, but Mr. Shaw's view that it is of the twelfth century appears to be much more accurate than the one adopted by Mr. Cripps, and may be supported by the following facts :

Its ornamentation is totally unlike goldsmith's work of the time of Charles II., while it so closely resembles the pattern on a mitre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, preserved at Sens, as almost to suggest that the design of both originated in the same source. The same kind of ornamentation may be seen also on the drapery of the statues of Clovis I. and his queen, which formerly stood at the entrance of the church of Notre Dame at Corbeil, which is twelfth-century work. Again, there is somewhat similar ornamentation, but ruder, being earlier work, on a gold frontal or table, presented to the cathedral church of Basle in the eleventh century by the emperor Henry II., and now preserved in the Cluny Museum. Moreover the same style of ornament is frequently found in the architecture of the twelfth century, but in none of the seventeenth century. It should however be observed that the shape of the bowl differs from that of the earliest known medieval domestic spoon, and except that it is wider in proportion near the stem, and altogether more shovel-like in form, it resembles somewhat the shape of the spoons of Charles II.'s time. On the other hand the manner in which the stem is joined to the bowl looks like a modification of the "keel and disc" feature of the early Christian spoons.

In the entry of 1684-5 the sum (£2) set down for silver and workmanship seems very inadequate for such a highly ornate spoon, even at that time. Moreover, the fact that no mention is made of the pearls, the gilding, and the enamelling, with which it was enriched, seems to indicate that the entry in question referred to another spoon made for the occasion, but which was probably discarded on the original spoon being subsequently brought to light.

Taken altogether the weight of evidence seems to point to the twelfth century, rather than the seventeenth, as the date of the fabrication of this important item of our coronation regalia.^b Its present weight is 3 oz. 8 dwt.

^a *Old English Plate*, third ed. 197.

^b Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to lend the spoon to the Society of Antiquaries on the occasion of the reading of this paper, it was by a general consensus of opinion attributed to the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests that it may have been made as a chalice spoon for use at the coronation of Henry III., for whom new regalia were made owing to the loss of the old crown jewels by King John when crossing the Wash.

The domestic spoons in common use in the Middle Ages appear to have been made either of wood or horn, for while bone, ivory, serpentine, rock-crystal, and glass were occasionally wrought into spoons, and sometimes garnished with metal, more or less precious, these can only be regarded as "fancy spoons," and certainly not such as were in common use. Gold spoons, except in rare instances, seem to have been confined to the use of the monarch, and spoons of silver were to be found only in the homes of the wealthy.

Spoons of pewter, brass, and tinned iron, appear to have been very common from about the fifteenth century, and probably earlier. There was also a compound metal called "latten," something like brass in its nature and colour, of which spoons and other domestic utensils were made.^a

But although spoons of metal of various kinds were in use in this country from the thirteenth century, when we find authentic records of silver spoons,^b there is still abundant evidence to prove that spoons of wood and horn were the kinds most commonly found in this country down to a late period in the sixteenth century,^c and on the continent of Europe the spoons in general use about the same period appear also to have been of wood.^d It is however to silver spoons

^a In regard to spoons of this metal there is an anecdote related of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson in Hone's *Every Day Book*, i. 179. Shakspeare, who is said to have been godfather to one of Jonson's children, on being asked after the christening why he appeared so melancholy, replied "Ben, I have been considering a great while what should be the fittest gift for me to bestow upon my godchild, and I have resolved it at last." "I prithee what?" said Ben. "I' faith, Ben," answered Shakspeare, "I'll give him a dozen good latten spoons, and thou shalt translate them."

^b 1259. Will of Martin de St. Cross, "xij coclearia argenti." *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Society 2), i. 9.

1296. "ix. coclearia auri, j cocleare argenti magnum pro coquina, pond. xxj s. ij d." *Wardrobe Accounts*, 24 Edw. I.

^c In 1552 Gabriel Lofthouse of Richmond, chaplain, bequeathed "a wod spone tipped with silver" *Richmondshire Wills and Inventories*, 144 n.

In Harrison's *Description of England*, written in 1586, prefixed to Hollingshead's *Chronicle*, "the exchange of wooden spoons into silver or tin in a good farmer's house," is spoken of as "a sign of the prosperity of the times."

Hone's *Every Day Book* (ii. 21) contains a reference to a curious tenure, whereby several townships adjoining Hutton Conyers Common, in Yorkshire, were entitled to a right of estray or sheep-walk on the common. The lord of the manor held his court on the first day in the year, which the shepherd of each township was required to attend and do fealty by bringing a twopenny sweet cake and a wooden spoon. The bailiff of the manor provided furmety, cheese, and mustard; the furmety being in an earthen pot placed in a hole in the ground. Every shepherd was obliged to eat of the furmety as a proof of his loyalty to the lord, and for that purpose the spoon was carried to the court, for if any neglected to carry a spoon he was obliged to lay himself down on his belly and sup out of the pot, when, by way of sport, the bystanders dipped his face into the furmety.

^d "Oh!" said Sancho Panza, "what spoons! what neat wooden spoons will I make when a shepherd." See *Don Quixote*.

that we must chiefly look for the purpose of fixing upon with accuracy the form which prevailed at any particular time during the past 500 or 600 years, because, unlike gold, silver has not been so very scarce and valuable as to make its use practically prohibited, while on the other hand it has been sufficiently valuable to render the possession of "a few articles of silver" very desirable in the homes of even the "well to do," as conferring a *quasi* distinction on the possessor, and such articles appear to have been taken great care of, and specially referred to in wills and inventories, for a period extending over several centuries. To the care with which they have been preserved is attributable the fact that so many excellent examples of antique silver spoons are to be found through the country in public and private collections, and by means of the system of stamping plate, we are enabled, with the aid of the date letter in the case of the London hall-marks since 1478, to fix the very year in which any fully marked specimen of gold or silver was assayed.

The earliest entry relating to English spoons appears to be that in the will of Martin de St. Cross, of the year 1259.^a It simply refers to a dozen silver spoons. There is nothing from which any conclusion can be drawn as to their size, weight, or shape, but in the following entries, for copies of which I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, there are many instances in which the weight is given, accompanied by a description, whereby the forms of many of the spoons referred to may be identified as resembling examples which, through the course of centuries, have been handed down to our own time.

An entry in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. of the year 1300 mentions seven gold and eight silver spoons marked in the stem with the mark of Paris (the fleur-de-lis), which shews they were brought from France.

An inventory of the crown jewels of Edward III. taken in the year 1329 mentions "36 silver spoons plain white stamped with the leopard, value 59*s.* 10*d.*^b" Another entry in the same inventory mentions five spoons of gold weighing 10*s.* 10*d.*, value 9*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* From these two entries together we get this fact established, that the spoons of the time of Edward III. were much lighter and less bulky than those of the Tudor and Stuart periods generally were.

In a will dated 1392,^c registered at York, 6 silver spoons "*cum acrinse de auro*" are mentioned, doubtless referring to spoons with gilt knops shaped like

^a See note ^b, on the preceding page.

^b *Archæologia*, x. 241-258. Reduced into the present standard we get an average price of 5*s.* 6*d.* of the present currency for each spoon, the weight of which was probably about an ounce.

^c *Test. Elor.* (Surtees Soc. 4) i. 177.

acorns. Similar spoons are mentioned in a will of the year 1459, "dim. dos. coclearium cum akehornes."^a

The earliest published reference to what are known as "maidenhead spoons" occurs in an inventory of Durham Priory of the year 1446: "ij Coclearia argentea et deaurata, unius sectæ, cum ymaginibus Beatae Mariæ in fine eorundem."^b

Six silver spoons "de fradelett," mentioned in a will of the year 1440,^c and an entry dated 1490^d of six silver spoons "cum fretlettez," refer to spoons knopped with a bunch of grapes or other fruit.^e

Two silver spoons marked with "lybbard hedys and square knoppys" are found in an entry of 1474-5.^f

In an inventory in the British Museum of the year 1487 of Robert Morton, gentleman, there is an entry of "ij dosen and vj sponys with dyamond poyntes," weighing 41 oz. and 1 qr. at 3s. 2d. = 6l. 10s. 7½d.^g Here we get 1 oz. 7½ dwts. as the average weight of each spoon, which being of silver would be about double the bulk of the gold spoons of Edward III. of the year 1329, which we have seen averaged 1 oz. 6 dwts. each.

It is remarkable that concerning Apostle spoons, which were very popular during the Tudor period, and probably earlier, no entry appears to have been found of date anterior to the year 1494-5, when "xiiij coeliaria argenti cum Apostolis super eorum fines" are mentioned in a will in the York Registry^h; yet a spoon of this description stamped with the London hall-marks for the year 1490-1 is in the possession of Mr. Staniforth, and it is scarcely likely that this spoon was the first of its kind made in this country.ⁱ

In the will of Thomas Rotheram, archbishop of York, dated 1498,^j mention is made of a dozen silver spoons described as "slipped in lez stalkes" and "pond. inter se xiiij. unc.," which appears to be the earliest published reference to this particular form of spoon. The smallness of the weight of these spoons, as compared with others of the same period, may be accounted for by the absence of a knop at the end.

^a *Test. Ebor.* ii. 235.

^b *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc. 2), i. 91.

^c *Test. Ebor.* ii. 74.

^d *Ibid.* iv. 54.

^e Cf. Laborde, *Glossaire Français du moyen âge*, 325; "FRETTEL, Fretel et aussi Fruitelet, Bouton en forme de fruit, de fruitelet ou petit fruit, qui surmonte les couvercles, soit d'un vase, soit d'une chasse, et qui se met à l'extrémité d'un couteau."

^f *Test. Ebor.* iii. 215.

^g *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxiii. 321. According to the standard then in force (30 shillings per 12 ounces of sterling silver) the price would be equivalent to 6s. 11½d per ounce present currency.

^h *Test. Ebor.* iv. 106.

ⁱ The spoon mentioned in *Old English Plate* as of 1493-4 is in reality marked with the stamps of the years 1533-4.

^j *Test. Ebor.* iv. 142.

The will of Robert Wooderove of Norwich, dated 1501, mentions "vj sylver spones w^t square knoppes gilt, and other ij sylver spones w^t Akornes gilt";^a and in the will of Sir Roger le Strange, dated 1505, "a dosen Sponys w^t lyons" are entered.^b

The following is copied from an inventory of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London, dated 1512^c:

6 spones, with Saint John Baptist on the spones endes pois togeders 9 unc. 3 qrs.
 6 gilt spones, with wrethen knoppes^d } pois togeders 15 unc.
 6 gilt spones, with strawbery knoppes }
 6 gilt spones, with acornes, pois togeders 10 unc. quarter di.
 2 gilt spones, with round knoppes and sonnes, pois 3 unc.
 a gilt spone with Saint John on the knoppe, and the stele graven with his name, 2 unces di quarter lesse.
 spones, whyte, with Saint John upon the knoppes, 12 dosen and one spone, pois togeders by the weight of troye 181 unc."

Of the year 1506 are bishop Fox's six spoons with owls at the ends of the stems, preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

In the will of Margaret Grey, dated 1515, mention is made of "ij silver sponys, being in a purse, 1 y^r of being a gemewe spone, and the other a spone w^t a forke."^e

The "gemewe spone" here referred to is probably a hinged or folding spoon, and the "spone w^t a forke" might perhaps have been similar to a small spoon in the British Museum (see fig. 34) with a fork called a sucket fork at its end, used for eating sweetmeats with.

Of the year 1516 are six spoons with gilt balls at the ends of the stems, formerly belonging to bishop Fox, preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The 11 apostle spoons, all by the same maker, bought by the Rev. T. Staniforth at the Bernal sale in 1855 for 62 guineas, are stamped with the hall-marks for the year 1519.

^a *Norfolk Archaeology*, i. 121.

^b *Ibid.* ix. 231.

^c Clode's *Memorials*, 88.

^d Fig. 33, which represents a spoon of the year 1488-9, affords a good example of a "wrethen knop." Cf. the inventory of Robert Morton, 1487, quoted on the preceding page, which also has: "ij dosen spones with wrethyn knoppes."

^e St. John Baptist was the patron saint of the fraternity, which fact accounts for the number of spoons it possessed knopped with the image of that saint.

^f *Norfolk Archaeology*, i. 263.



Fig. 33. SPOON WITH "WRETHEN KNOP," 1488-9. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear)



Fig. 34. SPOON AND FORK COMBINED, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear)

The following entries occur in an inventory dated 1523, of the goods of dame Agnes Hungerford^a:

- Item iij dossen of sylver sponys, with knottes of sykyls on the hed.^b
- Item halfe a dossen of sylver spounys with mayden heedes on the end, gylte.
- Item a dossen of sponys with akornes on the end.
- Item one spone of sylver, wryten on the end *myne assurpd truth*.

In an inventory of Minster Priory in Sheppey, Kent, of the year 1536, there is an item:

"xiiij spones of Chryst and the xij apostells whereof j gylt and the rest sylver with images gylt"^c

And the entry "a dosen of sylver spones with myters, the myters beyng gilt," occurs in the same inventory.^c

An entry of the year 1546, in the Durham Registry, refers to "ij sylver sponys withe angells on the knoppes gyltyd."^d

The following entries, which have been extracted by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope from Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book,^e inform us of the number and description of spoons possessed by the English king in the first half of the sixteenth century:

SPOONS.

Inventory of the King's Jewelhouse.

SPOONS OF GOLDE.

20 Janv.
3 Edw. VI.

| | | |
|----------|---|---|
| f. 22 b. | Item one Spone of golde graven with an .H. and a Roose poiz | one ounce q ^u rt ^r di |
| | Item a Spone of gold w ^t a rubie at the end poiz | ij oz. di quart |
| | Item a Spone of gold with a wrythen stele having a Scripture abowte it the kinges armes crowned in the topp gyven by the lorde Marques of Excetor uppon Neweyeres day anno xxv ^o H. viij poiz | ij oz. iij q ^u t ^r di |
| | Item a Spone of gold with a playne knopp vj squared withowte any graving therein gyven by the Lorde Dawbeney anno xxvij ^{mo} nuper R. H. viij poiz | ij oz. skant |
| | Item a Spone of gold with a playne square stele and a di knopp with a roose at theend half white and half redd receaved of the kinges grace that ded is in lewe of a spone receaved by his grace owte of his pantrye poiz | ij ounces |
| | Item a Spone of gold with a knopp six squared and the stele vj squared gyven by the Ladie Marques Dorsett on New yeres daye anno xxix ^o nuper H. viij poiz | ij oz. di q ^u rt ^r |

^a *Archaeologia*, xxxviii. 361.

^c *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vii. 300, 306.

^e From *Henry VIII's Jewel Book*, MS. XXIX. Soc. Antiq. Lond.

^b The sickle was a Hungerford badge.

^d *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc. 2) i. 124.

- Item a small Spone of gold having a stele six squared and verey small chased the knopp being six squared gyven by therle of Bridgewater on Newe-
yeres daye Anno xxx^o nuper H. viij poiz one oz. di
- f. 23. Item one Spone of gold the stele vj squared the knopp at theend vj squared having thereuppon enameled a roose white and redd gyven by the lorde Stafford the saide daye and yere poiz one oz. iij q^{rt} di
- Item a Spone of gold with a wrethen stele and a double roose white and redd at theend poiz ij oz.
- Item a Spone of gold with a knopp six squared therein the kinges armes graven gyven by the lorde Dawbeney anno xxviii^{mo} nuper H. viij poiz ij oz. quart'
- Item one Spone of gold with a iiij square stele twooe squares thereof graven or chased with a three squared knopp iu the myddes and on a plate at theende the kinges armes graven and enameled poiz iij oz di quart'
- Item one Spone of gold with a flatt stele twoo partes thereof enameled blacke likewise parte of the knopp having a plate therein the kinges armes graven and enameled thereuppon poiz iiij oz. di q^{rt}'
- Item a Spone of gold with a stele chased and a rounde knopp having a dyamonte sett in the ende poiz iij oz. d q^{rt}'
- Item a Spone of gold the stele turned rounde with a rounde knopp and a redd roose and a white at the end weying ij oz.
- tem one other Spone of gold the stele six squared the knopp also six squared with a Lion graven uppon the end poiz ij oz.
- f. 23 b. Item twoo Spones of gold the haftes of theym being writhen one of theym bathe the kinges armes at thone ende and thother a roose poiz togethers iiij oz. iij q^{rt} and ij^s vj^d w^t
- Item one Spone of gold wrought uppon the stele wth leaves and a redd flower uppon the topp poiz iij ounces
- Receaved of Sr John Gate knight parcell of the plate carried in the removing cofers for bankettes as before.
- Item a Spone of gold with a flatt stele the kinges armes enameled uppon the knopp poiz iiij oz.
- Item a Spone of gold the handle rounde embossed with leaves like chesemen and a rounde knopp poiz iiij oz. iij q^{rters} di
- Item a Spone of gold having a roose in the knopp enameled white and redd poiz ij oz. quart' di
- Receaved of Wiffm Sayntbarbe one of the gromes of the kinges Ma^{tes} pryvey Chamb^r ix^o July Re E. vjth p^{mo} parcell of the dyett plate
- Item a Spone of gold the handle being wrythen the kinges armes enameled at the ende poiz ij oz. di
- f. 24 Item a Spone of golde foure squared the kinges armes enameled at the end poiz ij oz. di quart'

Receaved at Hampton Courte of the saide Sr Thomas Cawarden as before.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Item twoo Spones of gold with twoo Lions holding twoo Seutchions w th the kinges armes enameled at thendes poiz | viiij oz. |
| Item one Strayner ^a of gold with a roose at thende poiz | iiij oz. |

Receaved the xjth of July 1547 peell of the night plate founde in a square house in the long gallorie at Westminster.

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Item a little Spone of golde with a perle at thende poiz | j q ^{rt} er dī of an ounce |
|--|-------------------------------------|

Receaved at Hampton Courte owte of the kinges owne Juelhous as before.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Item viij Spones of golde of sondrie sortes whereof one hathe a knopp of perle poiz together | xxij oz. dī |
|--|-------------|

Receaved at Hampton Courte late in the Custodie of David Vincent.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Item a Spone of golde poiz | iiij oz. |
|----------------------------|----------|

f. 24 b.

Receaved at Windesor as before.

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Item one Spone of gold the stele being wrought with leaves and a Scripture enameled having a white Martlett in the topp poiz together | ij oz. iiij q ^{rt} ers |
|---|---------------------------------|

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Item one Spone of gold with a wrethe abowte the stele and a roose in the topp poiz | ij oz. quart. |
|--|---------------|

Receaved at Otelandes of the saide Sr Thomas Cawarden knight.

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Item twoo Spones of gold thone having a roose at thend and thother a ffawcon crowned poiz together | iiij oz. dī q ^{rt} ' |
|--|-------------------------------|

Receaved owte of the saide Secrete Juelhous in tholde gallorie at Westm^r as before.

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Item xv Spones of cristall garnished with gold thone of theym lacking the boll poiz together | xvj oz. dī dī q ^{rt} ' |
|--|---------------------------------|

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Item one Spone of gold the stele enameled and a white Lyon at thende thereof poiz | j oz. iiij q ^{rt} ers |
|---|--------------------------------|

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Item one Spone of gold the stele wrought w ^t an Aungell bearing a libbardes hedd uppon a Seutchion poiz | ij oz. dī dī q ^{rt} er |
|--|---------------------------------|

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Item a Spone of golde the stele enameled blacke with the kinges armes enameled at thende thereof poiz | iiij oz. quart' |
|---|-----------------|

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Item one Spone of golde the stele enameled blacke with a roose at thende thereof poiz | ij oz. quarter |
|---|----------------|

f. 25.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Item one Spone of golde with the kinges armes enameled at thend poiz | ij oz. quart' dī |
|--|------------------|

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Item one Spone of gold having a Lion holding a ring in his clawe weying | one oz. dī dī quart' |
|---|----------------------|

| | |
|---|------------|
| Item one Spone of gold the stele having a ragged thing abowte it and a white and a redd roose at thend thereof poiz | one oz. dī |
|---|------------|

^a In another list of king Henry VIII.'s gold spoons is found "a strayner of golde for orrenge waying x oz. d^a q^{rt}'." This could hardly be described as "a spoon." The strained juice of oranges being at that time used as a beverage, the "strayner" of king Henry VIII. was probably something like the double-handled strainer of the last century.

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Item one Spone of gold the stele partly enameled blacke and a rounde knopp poiz | one oz. quart' di |
| Item twoo Spones of gold with H. and J. at thendē of theym poiz togethers | iiij oz. di di quart' |
| Item a Spone of gold with H.A. crowned at thendē thereof poiz | ij ounces |
| Item a Spone of gold with armes of foure birdes and other thinges in yt at thende thereof poiz | ij ounce |
| Item a Spone of gold with a deeres foote at thende of the stele poiz | ij ounces |
| Item one Spone of gold with a playne knopp poiz | ij oz. iij q ^{rt} ' di |

f. 97

SPONES.

Receaved of the saide Remyne

| | |
|--|--|
| Item fourtene Spones well gilt slipped at thendes weing | xxvj ounces di |
| Item . xvij . gilt . Spones w ^t half knoppes and Staffordes knottes at thendes weing | xxxij ounces iij quarters |
| Item five Spones gilt w ^t Rooses in the knoppes poiz | ix oz. iij q ^{trs} di |
| Item five Spones gilt w ^t Buddes of the knoppes weing | vij ounces |
| Item xj Spones gilt weing | xxij oz. |
| Item vj Spones w ^t knoppes vj squared at thendes marked w ^t a Crossbow and Esses bought of Cornelis poiz | xj ounces q ^{rt} er |
| Item two gilt Spones w ^t the tre R the knoppes like Rooses and rounde bought of John Freeman goldsmith the thone spone to make up vj Spones with the v th entered in this Booke before and there weing ix oz. iij q ^{rt} ē di and thother spone to make upp xij Spones w ^t the xj th entred in this Boke before weing xxij oz. thes two Spones poiz | iiij ounces iij q ^{rt} ers di |
| Item five gilt Spones w ^t thappostells at ther endes poiz | x ounces quarter |
| Item xij silver Spones w ^t gilt Columbynes at the endes weing | xxiij ounces di |
| Item eight Spones white with thappostells at the endes gilt weing | xiiij oz. |
| Item tenne other Spones white slipped at thendes weing together | xv ounces iij quarters |
| Item twelve Spones white slipped at thendes gilt weinge | xxviij ounces |
| f. 97 b. Item twelve Spones white w ^t diamoundes knoppes weing together | xj ounces iij quarters |
| Item vj white Spones slipped at their endes poz | [no weight given] |
| Item foure white Spones w ^t thes tres graven at thendes H and R weing together | viiij oz. di |
| Item lxxvj Spones gilt of divers sortes and sundrey makinges weing together | Cxxxij ounces iij quarters |
| Item twelve gilt Sponez w ^t vj squared knoppes and squared steeles all striken w ^t the tre E poz. | xxiij oz. quarter |
| Item twelve gilt Spones w ^t vj squared knoppes and squared steeles all striken w ^t the tre C. poz. | xxiij oz. quarter |
| Item twelvē gilt Spones w ^t vj squared knoppes at thendes and all striken w ^t a small B. poiz | xxx oz. di |

| | | |
|----------|--|---------------------------|
| | Item ix gilt Spones w ^t gilt Apostelles at the endes one being of another sorte striken with an H and eight striken w ^t an A poz together | xix oz. dī |
| | Item ix gilt spones w ^t vj squared knoppes at the endes and roses graven theruppon striken with H and one with a harte weing | xix oz. |
| | Item foure gilt spones of severall sortes thone with Christ at thende another w ^t one of the Apostelles at thende the thirde w ^t an Angell at thende and the fourth w ^t a Crowne at thende weing together | x oz. dī quarter |
| | Item five Spones sumtyme gilt: gilt (<i>sic</i>) three therof w ^t womens heddes and faeces and thother two with Lyons poz. | vj ounces |
| | Item tenne spones parcell gilt w ^t thapostelles at thendes poz. | xv ounces iij quarters |
| f. 98. | Item foure Spones gilt thone w ^t a Columbyne at thende striken w th a D tother two with squared knoppes striken with a T or R: the fourthe being almost white. slipped at thende weing | vij ounces quarter |
| f. 98 b. | Item xxiiij Spones of Silver gilt wherof xij hathe Sieles at ther endes weing | xlix oz. |
| | Item one Suckett Spone w ^t a forke Joyned together of silver gilte weing | ij oz. |
| | Item one Spone of Silver gilt. thandle w th a Roose poz. | ij ounces |
| | Item one Spone w ^t a suckett forke uppon one stele gilt poz. | ij ounces |
| f. 99. | Item ix Spones of silver and gilt with the Lorde Crumwelles armes at their endes poz. | xxiiij ounces quarter |
| | Item foure Spones of white bone the steelez of Imagies of white bone in Tabernacles of silver and gilt the rest of the steelez of silver and gilt poz | vij ounces dī quarter |
| | Item eight Spones of mother of peerle thaftez of silver and gilt poz | vij ounces dī |
| | Item one spone of Christall garneshed and thaftes of silver and gilt poz together | one oz. |
| | Item one Spone of Cerpentyne the steele and part therof of silver and gilt w ^t a Crosse at thende and wordez graven poz | one ounce quarter |
| | Item one spone of silver and gilt w ^t thaftes of glasse at thende therof a Columbyne of silver gilt poz | one ounce iij quarters dī |
| | Item three spones of pied bone garneshed withe silver gilt poz together | ij oz. quarter |
| f. 99 b | Item twelve Spones of mother of peerle the steeles of Silver and gilt and twelve forkes of silver and gilt poz together | xvij ounces quarter |
| | Item two spones of cristall the steelez of silver and gilt of sundry sortes weing together | ij ounces |
| | Item vj Spones of welke shelles every of them garneshed slightlie w ^t silver poz together | [no weight given] |
| | Item one spone w ^t suckett forke at thende of silver and gilt poz | one o3 iij quarters |
| f. 197. | Item v Spones of Cristall garnysshed w ^t golde enameled. | |

In an inventory of Thurston Tyldesley, dated 1554, the following entry occurs :

xiiij sylver spones wth the image of God apou one of them and the images of xij apostells apou the others, xxiiij ounces at iiij s. viij d. v^{li} xij s^a

^a *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills* (Chetham Soc. xxxiii.), 108.

In the will of Robert Bennett, prebendary of Durham, dated 1558, occur "xij silver spones w^t skallap shells on ther heads," and "one silver spone kilt wth an accorne on the head";^a and two other wills, dated 1546 and 1559 respectively, mention "three silver spones withe mayden heids" and "foure sylver spoones with lyons off th'ends gilt."^b

An inventory of Sir Thos. Ramsay, lord mayor of London, dated 1577, mentions "iij dossen of postle spoones parcell gilt," and "two dossen and fower postle spoones, parcell gilt."^c

And an inventory of Archbishop Parker, of the year 1575, contains :

xij spones, withe mayden heddes,
xij spones with square knoppes,
xj spones with rounde flatt knoppes, & one other gilte,
viij other olde spones.
A dosen of pewter spones.^d

From the descriptive records and extant specimens already referred to, it appears clear that whatever may have been the form of the English domestic spoon prior to the fourteenth century, from that time till about the middle of the seventeenth century, it consisted of a fig-shaped bowl, curved upwards to such an extent as to be incapable of holding a complete spoonful of liquid; the wider part of the bowl being at the base, and the narrower next the stem or "stele." This was commonly hexagonal, or, in the language of the period, "six-squared," terminating in most cases with a knop, the shape of which varied greatly, and consisted, as we have seen, of acorns; square, or, as they are sometimes called, "six-squared knops"; hexagonal spear-heads, or "dyamond poyntes"; strawberries, balls, or scallop shells; busts of the Blessed Virgin, or, as they are sometimes called, "maidenheads"; birds of some kind, such as owls, falcons, or columbines; mitres (as in the case of the Minster Priory spoons); the figure of an angel, saint, or apostle; an ornamental knob with a flat end, which we know as the "baluster and seal head"; and, during the Tudor period, a lion sejant holding a shield with its fore paws. From the time of the Tudors till shortly after the Restoration, the stems were often cut off at the end in a diagonal line sloping outwards from the face, and so finished without a knop of any kind. Spoons with such stems were generally referred to as "slipped in the stalkes."

^a *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc. 2) i. 172, 173.

^b *Richmondshire Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc. 26), 62, 128.

^c *Archaeologia*, xli. 336, 337.

^d *Archaeologia*, xxx. 27, 28.

One of the earliest English domestic spoons known to the writer is a London-made silver spoon with fig-shaped bowl, "six-sided stele," and gilt "dyamond

poynte" (fig. 35).

Mr. A. W. Franks and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope having examined a spoon almost identical in form, attributed it to the fourteenth century. This spoon is much slighter in the stem and altogether less bulky than the spoons of later date. The only mark it bears is an uncrowned

leopard's head, stamped (chin upwards) in the bowl or "spoon-self." The leopard's head is surrounded by a circle of raised dots, a reproduction, as it were, in miniature of the dotted circle on Edwardian coins. Every feature seems to point to the fourteenth century as the date of this spoon. It may, however, possibly belong to the early part of the fifteenth century, but the fact of the leopard's head being uncrowned favours the earlier period, and at the same time qualifies the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Cripps, to the



Fig. 35. SPOON WITH "DIAMOND POYNT" OF 14TH CENTURY DATE. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear)



Fig. 36. SILVER FOLDING SPOON FOUND AT SCARBOROUGH. (Full size.)

effect that "the leopard's head was crowned from the first."^a

The Scarborough folding spoon (fig. 36) appears to be a typical example

^a *Old English Plate*, 3rd ed. 45.

of a description of spoon made probably for the use of persons travelling who carried their own spoons in their pockets.^a It is of silver, and terminates with a diamond point. Its date has been assigned to the fourteenth century. Making allowance for the shortness of the stem, the grotesque head which slides over the joint, and the more clumsy finish of the provincial workmanship in the Scarborough spoon, its general character will be found to resemble very closely that of the "diamond poynted" table spoon just described.^b

A base-metal spoon, knopped with the bust of a lady in a horned head-dress of the time of Henry V. (fig. 37), belonging to Mr. R. Drane of Cardiff, is a most interesting relic of the middle ages, for there can be no doubt, having regard to the style of the head-dress, that it belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century.^c It is interesting also, as confirming what has been said regarding the slender make of the spoons of this period, as compared with those of later date.



Fig. 37.
SPOON WITH BUST OF A
LADY, temp. HENRY V.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

The acorn, which is the earliest form of knop that has been found described in any published document, was, it seems, much favoured during the fifteenth century, but not so much afterwards. In the acorn-knopped spoons of later date the acorn is of larger size.

Although, as we have seen, the termination of the stem varied considerably, the common forms appear to have been but few, the most popular being the apostle termination. These spoons were often made in sets of thirteen, twelve being knopped with the apostles, each distinguished by his emblem, the knop on the thirteenth being an image of Christ, the left hand holding the orb and cross, the right hand raised in blessing. The set of the year 1626, presented to the Goldsmiths' Company by Geo. Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., although of somewhat late date, appears to be the most complete set known, in that each of the thirteen spoons was made at one time and by the same maker.



Fig. 38.
EARLY FORM OF
APOSTLE SPOON.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

^a The will of Joan Wickliffe, 1562, mentions "on falden sylver sponne." *Richmondshire Wills and Inventories*, 157.

^b See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd S. xii. 308.

^c This spoon was bought at Christie's in June 1889 by Messrs. Dobson and Son for £5 10s., and sold by them at a profit to Mr. Drane, to whom it now belongs.

In the earliest apostle spoons the nimbus is set at the back of the apostle's head (see fig. 38), while in those of later date it is a flat circular disc fixed on the top of the head (see fig. 39). Sometimes it is perforated like a Catherine wheel.



Fig. 39.
LATER FORM OF
APOSTLE SPOON.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 40.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

The baluster and seal-headed knop appears to have occupied the second place in popular favour. Of the other forms which have been referred to, those described as "slipped in the stalk" seem to have been the most common.

In the case of nearly every genuine "knopped" silver spoon, a careful examination will reveal the fact that the stem and bowl have been hammered out of one piece of metal, and that the knop has been cast and secured to the stem by a soldered joint, usually of the form which architects describe as a "V-joint." A notch of V-shape having been cut out of the top of the stem, and a small piece of the cast metal attached to the knop, shaped to fit into this notch, the two parts are united in such a way that the lowest part of the moulding of the knop rests on the edges of the hammered metal of the stem, the joint being strengthened

by the two prongs of hammered metal gripping the cast burr of the knop, which fits into them. There may be genuine examples with their knops affixed in a different manner, but they are not often found.

Of "maidenhead" spoons an excellent example of the year 1520-21 was exhibited to the Society in 1880^a (see fig. 41). Another specimen, with the London hall-marks for the year 1553-4, is shown in fig. 42.

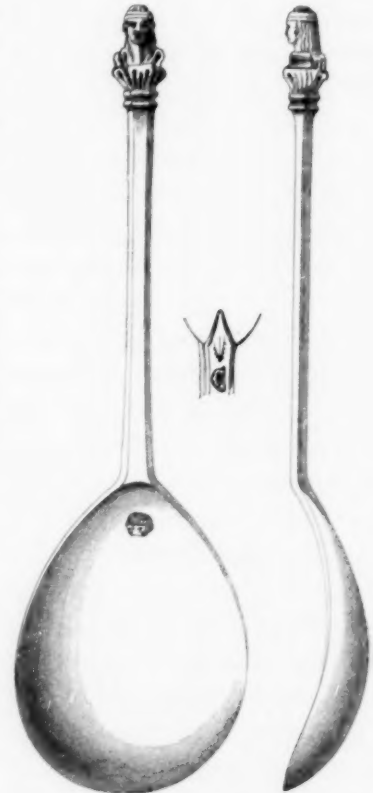


Fig. 41.
MAIDENHEAD SPOON.
LONDON, 1520-1. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

^a *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd S. viii. 405.

In my own collection is a baluster and seal-headed spoon, by an Exeter maker. This spoon is a little worn in the bowl, but is a fairly good example of the commonest form of seal-headed spoon, viz., that with the acanthus leaf ornament beneath the lobes, on which the flat seal end rests.



Fig. 42.
MAIDENHEAD
SPOON.
LONDON, 1553-4.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

Fig. 43 represents a London seal-headed spoon of the year 1560-1. It has a somewhat uncommon form of baluster, in that its lobes are larger than usual, and there is a rather long shank or neck between the lobes and the torus moulding at the end of the shaft. Another spoon (fig. 44), of the year 1562-3, has a baluster under the seal-head, somewhat like the last named but without the long neck. This is a form of seal-head frequently found in sixteenth century spoons. In large seal-headed spoons of later date the baluster is often much elaborated,



Fig. 43.
BALUSTER AND SEAL-
HEADED SPOON.
LONDON, 1560-1.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

and occupies a greater length of stem than in examples of the sixteenth century.



Fig. 44.
BALUSTER-HEADED
SPOON. LONDON, 1562-3.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 45.
MAIDENHEAD SPOON IN
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 46. PEWTER SPOON WITH
STRAWBERRY KNOP, IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.
Fig. 47. SPOON WITH ACORN
KNOP. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 48.
BASE-METAL SPOON (PRO-
BABLY FRENCH), WITH
HALF-LENGTH FIGURE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

There are in the British Museum two English medieval spoons; one of silver knopped with a "maidenhead" (fig. 45), the other (fig. 46) of pewter with a

strawberry knop. They differ somewhat in form from the majority of the spoons of their respective types.

The well-known "Pudsey" spoon is a good example of an early sixteenth century seal-headed spoon, but the revelation recently made regarding its date has deprived it of much of the interest which tradition formerly attached to it.

Fig. 47 represents a spoon knopped with an acorn, sometimes described as "cum acrinse," "cum glandibus," and "cum allepovis."

The base metal spoon with ornamental stem knopped with a figure in a plumed hat (fig. 48), appears to be of continental work, probably French, of the time of Francis I.



Fig. 49.
SPOON KNOPPED WITH
A LION SEJANT.
LONDON, 1592-3.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

The silver spoon knopped with a lion sejant (fig. 49) has the London hall-marks for 1592-3. It is an interesting example of a type described in contemporary documents as a "silver spone with a lyon, holding a scutcheon at the end gilt;"^a a type which is found only from the time of Henry VIII. to James I.

The spoon of silver "slipped in the stalk" (fig. 50) is of the year 1598-9. It is a good Elizabethan specimen of this form of spoon, a form sometimes referred to as the Puritan spoon, not because it was developed during the Puritan ascendancy, for we have seen it mentioned in various documents from the year 1500 downwards, but because during the period when puritanism was dominant, under the name of "Commonwealth," this form, probably by reason of its severe plainness, appears to have been the most favoured.

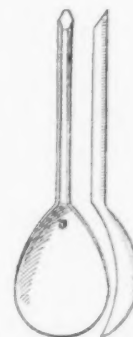


Fig. 50.
SPOON "SLIPPED IN
THE STALK."
LONDON, 1598-9.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

Fig. 51 represents a spoon like one "of silver-gilt, the stele six sided, with a scripture upon it, the knop being round and wrought with leaves, and the letters W. and P. graven at the end." This spoon, which is fully marked for the year 1610-1, is a fine specimen of the commonest baluster and seal-headed type which prevailed during the century preceding the Commonwealth, but is rarely found of later date. It is evidently a christening spoon, for the "scripture" on the stele, which reads "Margaret Austen born

^a See *Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book*, and *Richmond Wills*, anno 1558.

the 11 day of September 1610," corresponds with the date letter stamped on the back.^a

Fig. 52 represents a silver "master spoon," of the year 1637-8, such as that referred to in the 1554 inventory of Thurston Tyldesley,^b in the entry "xiiij sylver spones w^t the image of God apou one of them." At the extreme end of



Fig. 52.
"MASTER SPOON," OR
SPOON WITH THE FIGURE
OF OUR LORD.
LONDON, 1637-8.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

nearly every spoon knopped with either an apostle or a baluster and seal-head, there will be found a plate or flat piece of metal, either circular or hexagonal in outline; but the master spoon differs from others in that it has the figure of a dove, symbolical of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon God the Son, raised in low relief on the upper surface of this plate.

Before taking leave of the spoons of the sixteenth century there is a brass spoon in the British Museum, from the collection of Mr. Cook of Parsonstown, which calls for a word or two, as it probably belongs to that period. From fig. 53 it will be seen that the bowl is of the early type. The stem, however, is four-sided and moulded crosswise like a square baluster. At the end of the stem is a long notch, in which it would appear, judging from the pin-hole near the extreme end, a wheel must have formerly revolved. It is probably a cook's spoon, the wheel being very likely for the purpose of decorating pastry.

It is a remarkable feature in the spoons of the seventeenth century, that as they get later in date the shape of the bowl changes from what it was in the reign of James I., and had been for at least two centuries previously, and becomes wider



Fig. 51.
SEAL-HEADED SPOON.
LONDON, 1610-11.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)



Fig. 53.
BRASS SPOON IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

^a The custom, therefore, which obtained during the Tudor and Stuart periods for sponsors to present their god-children with spoons at their christenings may in view of this spoon be taken not to have been confined to apostle spoons, as some writers appear to suggest. *Vide Brand, Popular Antiquities*, i. 48, and Cripps, *Old English Plate*, 3rd ed. 193. It is in allusion to this custom that Shakespeare makes Henry VIII. say in reply to Cramer's declaration of his unworthiness of being sponsor to the young princess, "Come, come, my lord, you'd spare your spoons." *Henry VIII.* v. 2.

^b *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, 108.

in proportion near the stem and narrower at the base. This change, which appears to have proceeded gradually, is very noticeable in three spoons in my collection. The first is a Puritan spoon of the year 1638-9, the bowl of which, except for being somewhat narrower in proportion at the lower end, does not differ

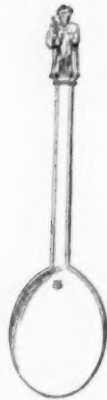


Fig. 54.
APOSTLE SPOON WITH
BOWL OF LATER TYPE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear)

greatly from that of the sixteenth century. But in the second, an apostle spoon (fig. 54), from which the date letter has been worn away, but which, judging from the other marks, particularly that of the maker, I·L, in a plain shield, was probably made between 1640 and 1657, the outline of the bowl is very nearly a true ellipse; while in the bowl of the third, a Puritan spoon (fig. 55) of the year 1662-3, there is not the least semblance left of the fig-shape which had prevailed from the fourteenth century down to the time of Charles I. The wider part of the bowl is next to the stem, the narrower at the base, and generally its form approaches towards that which came into fashion soon after the Restoration. This gradual change in the shape of the bowl may be noticed in nearly every London-made spoon, from about the commencement of Charles I.'s reign right through the Commonwealth, and

until the reign of Charles II.

The exception to this general change of form during this period is to be found in the case of spoons which appear to have been made to match others of earlier date; just as, whilst it may be stated as a general proposition that knopped spoons such as those with apostles or baluster and seal-heads were not made after the Restoration, the exception may be found in the case of those which have been made to follow suit with earlier spoons, as for instance the seal-headed spoons of the Armourers' Company, one of which is of the year 1687, a second of 1690, and a third as late as 1745.

The bowls of the spoons of continental Europe appear to have assumed the egg-shaped form, with the small end downwards, at least a quarter of a century before this form became general in England.^a

^a The new form of spoon occurs in a French silver-gilt spoon of about the end of the sixteenth century, illustrated in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*. A Dutch silver spoon with "Rowland Bowles de Burcombe, Wilts, 1623" engraved on the back of the bowl, belonging to Mr. Drane, is also of the new form. The stem of this spoon, which is triangular in form and apparently of cast metal, is surmounted by an arquebusier holding with his right hand the arquebus, his left hand resting on his hip. Hanging from a band on his chest is a supply of ammunition, and on his head

Shortly after the Restoration the English spoon became completely changed in form, and the modifications which have been referred to as having taken place in the bowl are now seen to have been not the only changes to which the spoon of about the middle of the seventeenth century was subjected; for, by the year 1670, the stem, which had been hexagonal and nearly as great in thickness as in width, is now seen to have become quite flat, much wider and thinner than formerly, and still wider and thinner at the extreme end, where it is curled slightly upwards and cleft into three parts, and the lower part of the stem, which was in earlier spoons finished off in a short angle at the top of the bowl, is now continued in the form of a tongue more than half way down the back of the bowl. But before the new description of spoon became established in general favour, some of the features of the old form continued to struggle for existence, as may be seen in many examples of the period.

Whether the new form was introduced from the continent, or was developed in this country from the earlier spoon described as "slipped in the stalk," is a question which, like that with reference to the development or introduction of the pointed arch, will probably find advocates ranged on either side. The view that the new fashion was imported, may be argued from the fact that the new form of bowl appeared earlier in continental spoons than in those of this country, and that the latter, when ornamented, partook of the characteristics of continental rather than English work. On the other hand, the "home-development" theory may be supported in the following manner.

Take, for a starting point, a Puritan spoon of the end of the sixteenth century, *e.g.*, that of the year 1598-9 (fig. 50), the stem of which is hexagonal, like that of almost every other contemporary English spoon. But in a similar spoon of forty years later the stem is perceptibly wider at the extremity than near the bowl. Whilst in the Puritan spoon (fig. 55) of still twenty years later, that is to say, at the termination of the Commonwealth, the stem is increased to nearly double its former width, and this increased width is obtained, not by any addi-

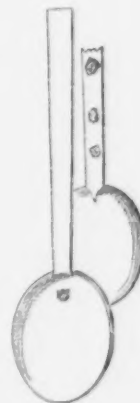


Fig. 55.
PURITAN SPOON,
LONDON, 1662-3.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

is a morion, or helmet, of the period shortly antecedent to the engraved date. A German spoon of gilt metal in the British Museum, also of the early part of the seventeenth century, has a bowl of the new form, and the stem, which is round and ornamented with spiral fluting, is continued halfway down the back of the bowl in the form of a triangular tongue, somewhat like the rat-tail, as it appeared in its earliest form in English spoons.

tional metal, but by hammering thinner the amount formerly used. The stem of this spoon is as wide as that of the trifold-ended form which immediately succeeded it. A slight stretch of the imagination will suffice to supply the reason for an intelligent silversmith making the stem a little thinner and wider still at the extremity, and ornamenting it by inserting two cuts and curling the ends upwards, as seen in the spoon of 1673-4 (fig. 56). The tongue on the back of the bowl was an addition not found in all spoons of the new form, as evidenced by an Exeter spoon dated 1676.

The theory of the insular development of the new fashion having been considered it may be worth while to examine the form and ornamentation of a continental spoon (fig. 57) lent by Mr. R. Drane. The tongue is made to form the centre of an acanthus leaf which is chased on the bowl. Unfortunately it has no mark indicating its date, there can however be little doubt that it is seventeenth century work, and its outline and ornamentation so freely, albeit coarsely, wrought, suggest very forcibly that it, or some spoon like it, inspired the fabrication of more than one English spoon of the latter part of the seventeenth century.

A peculiar Tyrolese spoon (fig. 58), belonging to Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum,

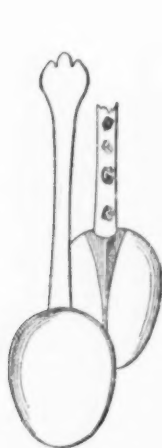


Fig. 56.
SPOON WITH SPLIT END.
LONDON, 1673-4.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 57.
SPOON OF FOREIGN
MAKE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



Fig. 58.
SPOON OF TYROLESE MANUFACTURE.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

V.P.S.A., has a substantial tongue under the bowl, so constructed as to afford a support whereby the spoon, even when filled with liquor, may be made to stand of itself upon a table. It has a massive stem curved sharply outwards from the

tongue, which extends considerably beyond the bowl. The stem itself terminates with a flat scutcheon affixed to the end.

The tongues on the backs of the bowls of English spoons of Charles II.'s time vary considerably in pattern. In a child's spoon of 1670-1 the tongue is much raised, and closely resembles the rat-tail of later date, while in two large spoons of 1674-5 and 1677-8 it is but slightly raised, and is accentuated more by being hollowed on each side of a central ridge than by additional substance. There is no surface ornamentation on either of these spoons, but one of 1683-4 is ornamented with raised foliated work in low relief on the face of the stem and the back of the bowl. A spoon of 1692-3, similarly ornamented on the face of the stem, has no ornament on the back of the bowl, except the tongue, which is, however, more elaborate than usual, being composed of a series of ribs with beads in the centre, decreasing in size as they approach the point of the tongue. A Queen Anne spoon of thirteen years later has a tongue almost identical in pattern.

Some Scandinavian spoons belonging to Colonel Hill, M.P., seem to occupy a position midway between the medieval type and that of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The most interesting specimens are shown in figs. 59, 60, 61. It is difficult to fix the date of their manufacture, and in the absence of evidence other than they bear on their face it might be rash to hazard a conjecture. Colonel Hill, referring to these spoons, says: "Those with little rings were for being carried about attached to the watch chain; they were used for drinking strong liquors. The Scandinavians were hard drinkers, and at their drinking parties the liquor was served in bowls of wood or silver, which were passed round the table. Each man having brought his own spoon, when he came to the end of the liquor took up the bowl and, draining the remains into his spoon, exclaimed 'skål!'" i.e., Your good health.

A handsome silver-gilt engraved spoon (fig. 62) calls for a little attention. It is of London make, and stamped with the leopard's head and lion passant of the cycle commencing 1678 and ending 1696, but it has not, and never had, either date-letter or maker's mark. It might, therefore, have been made in the reign of Charles II., James II., William and Mary, or William III. But, having regard

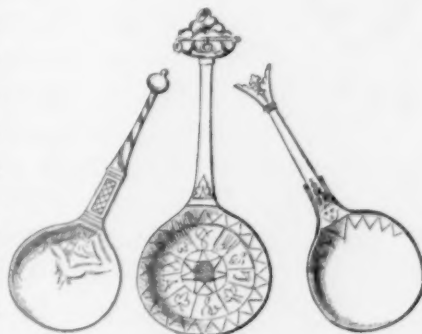


Fig. 59, 60, 61.
EXAMPLES OF 17TH CENTURY SCANDINAVIAN
SPOONS. (1 linear.)

to a somewhat similar spoon, in the collection of Mr. R. Drane, with the date-letter for 1689-90, it is probable both spoons were made about the same time.

The engraved work on both is rich and elegant, but continental in character, and more likely to have been suggested by French work of the Louis XIV. period, than by any English work of contemporary date.



Fig. 62.
SILVER-GILT ENGRAVED
SPOON, *circa* 1690.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

During the reign of William III. the English spoon seems to have undergone an almost continuous change, or modification of form. A spoon of 1697-8 has the trifid-ended stem, similar to that of the Charles II. spoon of twenty years earlier, but the tongue is very like the ordinary rat-tail, which succeeded the more elaborate form. The stem of a spoon (fig. 63) of 1699-1700 is without the clefts at the end, which is finished off in a waved line, the centre part of the wave only being turned slightly upwards; the tongue at the back of the bowl is the common



Fig. 63.
SPOON WITH WAVY END.
LONDON, 1699-1700.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)



Fig. 64.
SPOON WITH ROUNDED
END.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

form of rat-tail, which obtained for about thirty years from this date. The bowl itself is narrower in proportion to its length, than in earlier spoons, and this change appears to have been pretty general at the end of the seventeenth century. A spoon of 1706-7 is marked by another change, in that the stem, instead of being flat throughout its entire length, is rounded on the face for half the distance from the bowl upwards. This spoon and the one last mentioned may well be called "transitional," for they have features in some respects common to the spoons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the later spoon, however, the only seventeenth century feature is the flatness of the stem in the upper half, while in the other, which is only a few years earlier, with the exception of the clefts, nearly every feature of the Charles II. spoon is still preserved.

The next modification was made in the upper half of the stem (see fig. 64) where the flatness which marked it for about half-a-century is no longer seen. The waved line at

the extreme end with its projection in the centre has also disappeared, and for the first time apparently, in the case of English spoons, the outline of the end is continued round from side to side in one unbroken curve. The centre part of the end of the stem is now made thicker, instead of as formerly thinner, than any other part, as if the extra thickness had been got by hammering back the central projection to obtain the continuous curve. The end is still turned upwards towards the face, where a sharp ridge is formed, which is continued from the thick part at the extremity to about half way down the stem, where it dies away into the lower or slightest part, which is rounded on the face. On each side of this ridge a concavity is made to slope towards the edge, which near the edge is quite thin and sharp. The upper half of the face of the stem, therefore, now presents the appearance of two long narrow concave channels, divided by a sharp ridge curving upwards at the end, and terminating in a small raised plateau. The assumption that this small raised part of extra thickness at the end of the stem was got, in the first instance, by hammering back the

projecting part which existed in the transitional spoon of immediately antecedent date, seems borne out by the fact that a spoon (fig. 65) in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries has this projecting part so hammered back or curled over, without being united to the main body of the stem.

This new variety of rat-tailed spoon with the ridged and channelled stem (fig. 64), which continued to be made in England for about a quarter of a century, was, it appears tolerably clear from the facts adduced, of English growth, or at any rate was not due to introduction from Hanover by the court of George I., for spoons of the new description were made in this country as early as 1705, nine years before the accession of the Brunswick dynasty. Besides which, it is much

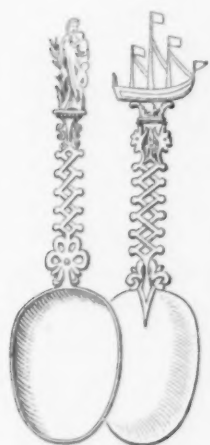


Fig. 66.
FLOLID DUTCH SPOONS,
circa 1700. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

more probable that the spoons brought over by the Hanoverian monarch were of the flolid type which prevailed in Germany and the Netherlands at this period (see fig. 66) than that they were of the rigid simplicity of the English variety just considered.

Early in the reign of George II., while the face of the spoon continued



Fig. 65.
SPOON BELONGING TO
THE SOCIETY OF ANTI-
QUARIES. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

unchanged, a variation was made in the back, the rat-tail disappears, and the whole of the back of the bowl, except a small part near the stem, is made quite plain, but below the rounded drop from which the rat-tail formerly sprang, another drop, about half an inch in width and the same in length appears (see fig. 67), a reproduction as it were on a reduced scale of the form of the end of the face of stem.



Fig. 67.
SPOON SHOWING GRA-
DUAL DISAPPEARANCE
OF THE "RAT-TAIL."
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

Spoons of this variety continued to be made till nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, when several new forms of outline and ornamentation appear to have been introduced. The variety last described underwent a modification in its stem, the ridge and channel disappeared, except for about half an inch at the extreme end, where it curls forward. A spoon of the year 1753-4 illustrates this modification.

But before the middle of the eighteenth century a totally new description of spoon was made which seems to have been much favoured in some circles for about thirty years. It is a form known by silversmiths as the "Onslow" pattern (fig. 68), probably so called after Mr. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of George II. In the earlier examples



Fig. 68.
SPOON OF THE "ONS-
LOW" PATTERN.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

of this spoon, the bowl has all the general characteristics of the other spoon of the period, with the double drop at the back ; the outline of the ellipse is however somewhat more graceful, a little wider near the stem and a trifle narrower at the point, and the different gradations of the curve die away more easily one into the other than is the case in earlier spoons. But the stem is the remarkable feature of the "Onslow" pattern spoon. It is different from every spoon which preceded it in this country. Instead of being turned up at the end it is turned down, and curled in the manner of an Ionic volute, the upper side being moulded with a series of deeply-cut curved members which converge to a point about half-way down the stem. Two examples of this pattern of the years 1748-9 and 1772-3 have the double drop termination of the stem at the back of the bowl, but in one of 1752-3 the second or lower drop is absent, and a raised foliated scroll-ornament is substituted for it. This description of scroll-ornament is frequently found on the

backs of spoons with stems of different form and of various dates, but in most cases the stem is turned upwards. Sometimes a shell ornament, the ribs of which radiate from the drop, takes the place of the scroll on the back of the bowl, and in other instances the shell is surrounded by a scroll which extends half-way down the back of bowl. Four spoons, ranging in date from 1760 to 1776, illustrate the kind of ornamentation now referred to, which was much favoured at this period. The scroll work on a spoon of 1776-7 is in outline very like the richly gilt ornamentation of the finest scale blue Worcester china of contemporary date.

The turned down end of the stem of the Onslow pattern spoon was the precursor of the general turning down which followed in the reign of George III. to the exclusion of the turned-up end, which by the year 1780 appears to have gone quite out of fashion. A spoon of 1769-70 with a punched or incised zigzag ornament running round the face of the stem is an early example of that form of spoon with the turned-down stem known as the "Old English" pattern, which either plain or ornamented has been made almost continuously for the last 120 years. Two examples of 1782-3 and 1783-4, are like the last-mentioned in form, but the incised ornament is varied in each case.

One variety of the Old-English pattern has a beaded ornament running round the face of the stem, another has a feathered edge and a raised scutcheon for arms or monogram surrounded with scroll work on the face of the stem, which for this purpose is made wider at the end than usual. The two examples now exhibited are of the years 1773-4 and 1792-3.

The modern "fiddle-pattern" spoon and its numerous varieties, consisting of the plain, the threaded edge, the thread and shell, the lily, and that type of nineteenth century florid vulgarity known as the "king's" pattern, call for no comment in a paper such as this, for they are now in fashion, and one or other of them may be met with in almost every house in the kingdom. But there is one form of spoon (fig. 69) which occupies a position midway between that of the "Old English" pattern of the eighteenth century and the "fiddle" pattern of the nineteenth, which should be mentioned. The resemblance to the fiddle-pattern lies in the shoulders on the stem near the bowl. Every other part corresponds with the "Old English" pattern.

Of those now exhibited one is quite plain and of the year 1774-5, the other



Fig. 69.
SPOON WITH SHOULDERED
STEM.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

two are of 1768-9, and 1772-3, and are ornamented with a feathered border. The stems of some of the eighteenth century spoons were fashioned for other uses than that of handles. Table spoons may be seen of various dates in the Georgian era with stems formed as marrow spoons which might have been used for the double purpose of an ordinary table spoon, and for extracting the marrow from a bone. A spoon of the year 1790-1 has both ends formed for extracting marrow from differently sized bones.

The tea-spoon, like tea itself, is of comparatively modern introduction into Europe. Tea appears to have been imported into England soon after the Restoration, but it was regarded as a strange kind of herb for a number of years after, and its decoction was for a considerable time used more on account of its medicinal properties than as an agreeable beverage.^a By the end of the seventeenth century however, it appears to have been consumed by the fashionable world in much the same manner as to-day, but in smaller quantities, and sipped out of cups so small as to look like toys when compared with cups now in ordinary use.

We have seen that the oriental tea-spoon was of porcelain, and it is not improbable that spoons, as well as cups and saucers of oriental porcelain, were brought to England with the introduction of tea. We, however, find that silver tea-spoons were made in this country about the end of the seventeenth century. Small silver spoons of Charles II.'s time are sometimes spoken of as tea-spoons, but in most cases these are probably children's pap or porridge spoons, or were used for eating eggs, or sweetmeats. Having regard to the very small size and fragile nature of the very earliest teacups used in England, the small silver spoons of earlier date than the end of the seventeenth century will generally be found heavier than tea-spoons are likely to have been at that time.

From the first, the form of the tea-spoon appears to have followed that of the larger or table-spoon already described. The earliest have the flat trifid-ended stem with rat's-tail at back of bowl, and the various changes which succeeded that form appear reflected in the smaller spoons of contemporary date.

The same may be said of the intermediate sized spoon, now called "dessert" spoon, which appears to have come into use soon after the Restoration.

So, too, in regard to spoons of base metal, we see from numerous examples that from the earliest times to the latest, the fashion of the silver spoon was followed in the less costly metals.

^a See *Pepys' Diary*, June 28, 1667.

There is a somewhat peculiar spoon of the eighteenth century the bowl of which is perforated and the stem round and long, with a barbed and pointed end (fig. 70). It has been variously described as an olive or strawberry spoon, and as a tea-pot spoon, the last named being the most generally accepted description.^a It is supposed that the tea was poured into the cups through the perforations of the spoon and the tea-leaves which came out of the spout replaced in the tea-pot, and that the long pointed stem was used for clearing the spout before the introduction of the fixed strainer. It seems, however, by no means clear that any one of the descriptions referred to correctly classifies this particular spoon. The tediousness and impracticability of holding a tea-pot with one hand and pouring the tea through the perforations of a small spoon held in the other, becomes obvious upon a single trial. One of the spoons of this type has the date stamp of 1781-2, by which time a fixed strainer had been universally placed at the union of the spout with the pot, and there was then no necessity for straining the tea in the clumsy manner which has been suggested. Again, many of the eighteenth century tea-pots were furnished with S-shaped spouts, into which it would have been impossible to thrust a straight spiked stem more than half-way down. Moreover this description of spoon was made in three sizes, the largest being the size of an ordinary table-spoon, the next that of a dessert-spoon, and the smallest the size of a tea-spoon, as illustrated by the three examples in my collection, the dates of which range from 1720 to 1781.

All these facts seem to suggest that the proper use of spoons of this description was something other than that in connection with the tea-pot.

The writer was once present at a court-leet dinner in an old-fashioned provincial hotel, where, after the table-cloth was removed, a steaming bowl of punch with cloves and slices of lemon floating on the top of the liquor was placed before the steward of the manor, who presided as host. The steward ladled the punch from the bowl into a jug which was then passed round the table. In addition to the punch ladle the host was provided



Fig. 70.
SILVER TEA-SPOON, WITH
PERFORATED BOWL
(Full size).

^a See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd S. xii. 420, and Cripps, *Old English Plate*, 3rd ed. 293.

with a large perforated silver spoon, and the guests were provided with similar spoons of the smallest or tea-spoon size. The perforated bowls were used for taking the floating cloves and lemon-pips from off the surface of the liquor, and the pointed and barbed end of the stem was used for fishing out the slices of lemon. Are not these spoons then in reality punch spoons? Is not the large spoon for the bowl, the intermediate size for the jug, and the smallest for the glass?

The fact that such spoons are sometimes found in tea-caddies proves no more than many other incongruous associations, such, *e.g.*, as the "Cow and Snuffers,"^a or, at any rate, no more than that the tea-caddy was a convenient place for keeping such spoons.

The origin of salt-spoons, like that of tea-spoons, is so modern as to call for very little comment. They do not seem to have been used before the eighteenth century, and their form appears to have followed on a small scale that of larger spoons of contemporary date, at any rate as far as their stems were concerned. Their bowls are, however, generally round, or nearly so, except where by some eccentricity they have been made in a fantastic form which has had no appreciable effect upon any prevailing fashion.

There remains to be considered one description of spoon intimately associated with a habit which obtained in the world of fashion from the commencement of the eighteenth century until very near our own time. The habit referred to is that of snuff taking, which was introduced into England in the reign of Queen Anne, and was consequent upon the capture of vast quantities of snuff by Sir George Rooke in Vigo Bay. The manner in which many a fine lady, and, indeed, many a fine gentleman also, titillated their nostrils with the pungent dust required the use of the snuff-spoon, which was generally carried in an *étui*. With the spoon a small quantity of snuff was extracted from the box, and either taken between the thumb and forefinger, or placed on the back of the left hand, whence it was sniffed into the nostrils. The disagreeable sensation caused by the snuff getting under the finger-nails in taking a pinch out of the box being thereby avoided.

Snuff-spoons were of very small size. So small are the examples which have survived that as to be frequently mistaken for toy spoons. The earliest appear to be of the transitional form which immediately succeeded the trifid-ended stem of the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, and in every case of change of form they follow the fashions of the larger spoons, both in stem and bowl, so closely as to be a perfect reproduction in miniature of the table-spoon of the period, and when the *étuis* to which such spoons belong are without date mark the date may be fixed approximately by the fashion of the snuff-spoon.

^a The sign of a tavern at Llandaff, Glamorganshire.

V.—*Further Excavations at Lanuvium.* By LORD SAVILE, G.C.B., F.S.A.

Read May 22, 1890.

SINCE the last communication on the subject of my excavations at Lanuvium, which the Society of Antiquaries did me the honour to publish in 1886,^a those excavations have been carried on continuously, but very slowly, in consequence of the difficulties arising from the necessity of devising some means for disposing of the earth extracted in the course of excavation.

The neighbours would not allow it to be placed on their land although the soil was admirably adapted for renewing that of their vineyards; the municipal authorities possessed no ground on which the soil could be shot, and the alternative of finding some waste land at a great distance, with the necessity of hiring carts and horses for its transport, was too expensive to be thought of.

The only course that remained open was to place the earth in the vineyard itself by raising a mound. This was done, but not without great trouble, labour, and expense, for owing to torrential rains the work had to be done over and over again, and at last it was found necessary to surround the mound with masonry.

The quantity of earth hitherto employed in making this mound is 4,828 cubic metres, and 1,000 cubic metres more will be required to complete the work; the length of the mound, which has now become a beautiful terrace, is 230 feet and its greatest height 132 feet.

The panoramic view from this terrace includes the whole chain of the Volscian mountains extending to Terracina with Monte Circeo, to the south the coast line from Nettuno to Pratica, and westward in the direction of Civita Vecchia.

^a *Archaeologia*, l. 58—65.

On removing the earth under which the western front of the villa was buried, the ruins of a portico or colonnade came to light; fragments of half columns or pilasters of reticulated work were scattered in every direction, while the bases and portions of other pilasters were found *in situ*, together with fragments of arches, cornices, and capitals, as well as an immense number of diamond-shaped wedges, employed in the reticulated work with which the columns and other parts of the building were formed.

It then occurred to me that if a portion of this part of the villa could be reconstructed with the original materials which were so plentifully to hand, some idea might be formed of the appearance which this villa offered in ancient times.

This restoration was accordingly undertaken and has been admirably carried out by the very able clerk of the works, Signor Vincenzo Seratrice, who has charge of the excavations.

Plate VI. fig. 1, shows the condition in which the ruined colonnade or portico was found when the earth with which it was covered, in some places to a depth of from 15 to 20 feet, was removed by excavation.

At the extreme distance on this plate is seen a column crushed under a mass of concrete which apparently formed part of the vaulted support of the upper story of the villa.

The portico evidently formed an ambulatory, the pleasure and comfort of which were greatly enhanced by the veranda of vines planted in front of it, where the stone sockets are seen which supported the wooden uprights of the pergola; acting on this hint I have caused vines to be planted in the places indicated.

The length of the restored portico is 83 feet, that of the unrestored portion on my property is 80 feet, while in the neighbouring vineyard the ruins extend to 152 feet, making a total as far as discovered of 314 feet. There is, however, reason to believe that this ambulatory may have continued along the west front and round to the north, in fact it probably enclosed two sides of the hill on the summit of which the upper stories of the villa were built.

The restored part of the portico consists of six complete arches and two lateral closed half arches; the height of the portico from base to summit of the cornice is 15 feet 2 inches, of the parapet 2 feet 2 inches.

The wall behind the portico must have supported another elevation which, however, it has been impossible to restore, as no architectural documents (if they may be so called) have been found to permit of such an attempt.

A large stone channel of peperino which ran along the above-mentioned wall seems to have been intended for carrying off the rain from the presumed upper building.



Fig. 2. Colonnade as reconstructed with the old materials.



Fig. 1. Colonnade as excavated.

The general effect and noble character of the portico as restored is well seen in Plate VI. fig. 2, but it must be borne in mind that this restoration comprises but a small portion of the building.

The vast extent of this ancient villa and the simple grandeur of its style leads one naturally to enquire who may have been its owners.

It is known that Antoninus Pius was born at Lanuvium A.D. 86, his father, Aurelius Fabius, must therefore have been in possession of a villa at Lanuvium long before that date and in all probability inherited it.

Marcus Aurelius, the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, who changed his name from Annius to Aurelius on entering the Aurelian family, appears to have passed much of his time at the Aurelian villa, of which, in writing to his old tutor Fronto, he speaks, as the quiet retreat to which he returns with so much pleasure; here he lived very happily with the Empress Faustina and their numerous family, Faustina the much maligned, if we may judge from the words of the Emperor himself, who, in his work entitled *Meditations*, says that he thanks the gods for having given him such an amiable, affectionate, and simple wife.

It was here that several of their children were born, amongst them Commodus, who was particularly attached to Lanuvium, for it was here that he was able later to indulge in his favourite pastime of slaying wild beasts in the arena, which still exists beneath the "Grand Place of Civita Lavinia," not ten minutes walk from the villa on the hill above.

There can be no doubt therefore that a villa existed at Lanuvium which, during three reigns was inhabited by the imperial family, and the question has arisen whether this may not be the Aurelian villa "Lorium," from which the philosopher Fronto dates a letter, in his correspondence with his former pupil Marcus Aurelius, giving him an account of his boys. "I have seen your little brood," writes Fronto, "and nothing ever gave me greater pleasure, they resemble you to such a degree that no greater likeness ever was seen. I seemed to see you double, it was you on the right, it was you on the left I thought I saw. They have, thanks to the gods, a fine healthy colour, and good lungs to judge from their voices when they cry; one of them held in his hand a piece of white bread, like a royal child; the other, a piece of brown bread like the true son of a philosopher. Their little voices were so sweet and pretty that I seemed to recognise in their prattle the clear and pleasing sound of your own voice."

These children were the twins Commodus and Antoninus, who were born at Lanuvium, and probably in this villa. Ernest Renan considers that the villa "Lorium," from which Fronto wrote to Marcus Aurelius, was at Lanuvium; this

appears from his defence of the Empress Faustina in his work, *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Voyages*, in which he speaks of *cette villa de "Lorium," cette belle retraite de "Lanuvium."*

There is, however, reason to believe that "Lorium" was the name of another villa, of which at present no trace exists, but which belonged to Antoninus Pius, and was situated twelve miles from Rome between that capital and "Alsium," now Palo, the actual favourite summer bathing place of the modern Romans, which is one hour distant from Rome by railway.

In the correspondence above referred to, in a letter from Marcus Aurelius to his old tutor Fronto, he says he proposes remaining some time longer at "Lorium," as the season is not favourable for residing at Lanuvium. It is evident therefore that there were two villas and that Lorium was not at Lanuvium.

Be this as it may with regard to the *name* of the villa, the fact seems to be established that an imperial villa existed at Lanuvium, which belonged to the Aurelian family for at least four generations, and that this was the villa in question may be inferred from the circumstance that there is no other site in Lanuvium where a villa large enough for an imperial residence could have been built.

Another argument that may be adduced in favour of this view is the fact of the villa having been adorned with such an important work or copy of a work of Greek sculpture as the equestrian group of Parian marble of which fragments of seven horses have now been found; showing that the composition probably consisted of a chariot with four horses with two attendant warriors on horseback on either side, as may be seen on some Roman coins, for instance on one of Trajan in the British Museum, the reverse of which shows the Basilica Ulpia, on the entablature of which is represented a quadriga with horses led by genii and attended on each side by two warriors on horseback.

A similar group surmounts the triumphal arch seen in the background of the alto-relievo representing the procession of the spoils taken from Jerusalem on the arch of Titus at Rome.

The excavations have disclosed five torsos in armour and a sixth dressed in a tunic and mantle, which may have been that of the charioteer, in addition to which have been found the pendant sandaled foot of a rider, part of a saddle-cloth, numerous legs and hoofs and portions of tails of horses.

The fragment of the seventh horse's head was only discovered a few days ago, and it may be of interest to know what is the opinion with regard to it of the well-known sculptor in Rome, Mr. Macdonald, who kindly takes charge of the pieces of sculpture that are found in the excavations. Writing on the 28th April

he says, "I have just received the fragment of the seventh horse's head, found at Civita Lavinia a few days ago; it is even more beautiful than any of the others. The bold style of execution and the highly-finished details confirm the importance of the magnificent group in its original grandeur. This fragment differs from the rest, as it is broken off near the jawbone, and the fracture runs close to the eyes, so that it cannot possibly belong to any of the heads yet found; the expanded nostrils and the delicate work of the mouth are superior to anything I have seen, and it is certainly a very valuable discovery. If we had the good chance of finding the other pieces, this would be the best specimen of the equestrian group. One side of the marble head has been discoloured by fire and rendered almost like limestone."

Specimens of architecture and masonry of every period of Roman art are found at Lanuvium, but the latest excavations have brought to light some still more remarkable examples of what may be considered as prehistoric architectural decoration; these are terra-cotta antefixals, or finial ornaments of the "imbrices" or semicircular pipes which covered the tile-joints of the roof of a temple.

They represent female heads, each crowned with a tiara, above which rises a further elaborate head-dress.

The character of these heads is unmistakably archaic Greek, resembling in a remarkable way the archaic marble statues discovered a few years ago under the foundations of the Acropolis at Athens, which are supposed to be fragments of groups that formerly adorned the pediments of more ancient temples.

Plate VII. reproduces one of these heads, the only one of six that was found intact. The hair, eyes, and eyebrows have been painted brown, while deep red and purple have been employed in giving colour to the outer ornaments forming the aureole, if so it may be called, which surrounds the head.

This elaborate head-dress has at the back a support in terra-cotta which is connected with the "imbrex" covering the tile joints.

There is one remarkable feature in the head-dress of these antefixals which, as far as I am aware, is unique; a space 2 inches in width above the tiara is pierced with two rows of perforations; by this ingenious and beautiful contrivance the effect is produced of a halo of light surrounding the head, while, when the sun is shining upon it, the sky seen through the perforations would resemble turquoises or sapphires in a setting of gold. It is difficult to imagine a more beautiful and original decoration than these antefixals would present along the skyline of the roof of a temple in dazzling sunlight against a dark blue sky.

There are in the British Museum several antefixals in terra-cotta from Capua

of archaic Greek character, but they have not the remarkable head-dress which distinguishes those from Lavinium.

Recent discoveries at Olympia and elsewhere have produced numerous specimens of an original style of decoration in which the system employed in painting vases has been applied to protective slabs of terra-cotta, proving that in the archaic period Greek architects made use of painted terra-cotta slabs to cover the upper portions of temples, enabling them at the same time to obtain a polychrome ornamentation of great beauty.

What is known of the primitive architecture of the Greeks explains this method; in distant ages, when the Greek temples were built of wood, it was necessary to protect against bad weather the projecting parts, such as the cornice, the pediment, &c., and this was effectually done by terra-cotta coverings or casings. Later on, when the architects made use of stone in building temples, the necessity for covering portions of the building with terra-cotta no longer existed, but the custom continued, perhaps from habit, perhaps from a feeling of a want of colour. This is the case, not only at Lanuvium but also in the remains of the Artemision at Nemi, which I had the good fortune to discover in 1885, and where slabs of painted terra-cotta friezes were found with holes for the nails by which these slabs were fixed to the stone walls of the interior as well as the bronze nails themselves. When, however, marble was used in the temples the architects abandoned the system of terra-cotta protective decoration, which appears to have been employed only when the material was of a calcareous and porous character. With these antefixals were found several slabs of terra-cotta with friezes of bold and beautiful design purely Greek in character, which bore traces of having been painted, and which were pierced with holes for the bronze nails with which they were fixed to the interior walls of the temple.

It is almost impossible to give a date to works like these of pre-historic character; the date of the antefixals in terra-cotta from Capua, in the British Museum, has been ascertained to be of the sixth century before Christ, that is to say, about the time of Cræsus; but if I may venture to hazard a conjecture I think there is reason to believe that the antefixals of Lanuvium are of a more ancient date.

According to tradition Lanuvium was founded by a Greek colony under Diomedes after the fall of Troy, 1184 B.C.

There is no record of a Greek colony having been established at Lanuvium *after* the foundation of Rome, we are therefore led to the conclusion that Lanuvium must have existed before the time of Romulus.



TERRA COTTA ANTEFIXAL FOUND AT LANUVIUM.

That this was the case may be gathered from the circumstances attending the death of Tatius (king of the Sabines and co-regent with Romulus after the death of Remus), who was murdered at Lanuvium, B.C. 742, for having insulted the ambassadors of the Laurentini, Lanuvium being then the frontier town of the Latin confederation in the direction of the Volsci.

Lanuvium, therefore, must have been a place of some importance when Rome had been only eleven years in existence.

The date of the foundation of Rome being 753 B.C. it is evident that these archaic Greek antefixals, if they were ornaments of a temple built by Greek colonists, must be of a date prior to the foundation of Rome.

Given the time required for the rise and growth of a town that possessed such an important position as Lanuvium held at the date of the foundation of Rome, one hundred and fifty years would not seem too much for the requisite development of such town; this would bring the date of the foundation of Lanuvium to within three centuries of the traditional period given to it, and supposing the temple to have been built during the last fifty years of that period the date of the antefixals would be about 800 B.C.

This is, of course, mere surmise based upon what may be looked upon as mythical data. Still they are data that were accepted by the early Romans themselves, nor can we afford too lightly to discard traditions of even pre-historic and almost fabulous character, since the discovery of these archaic Greek works may prove that the *tradition* of Lanuvium having been founded by a Greek colony has been converted into a fact.

I had prepared several other photographs to accompany this paper but I have thought that it would be more interesting for the Society to see one of the original *antefixæ*, which I am glad to have been able to produce this evening, and which I am happy to think will find a place in that magnificent storehouse of archaeological treasures, the British Museum. I am aware that it was the custom of the Emperor Hadrian, and perhaps of other emperors, to introduce in the buildings with which they adorned their villas specimens of architecture and architectural ornaments from Egypt, Greece, and other countries; these *antefixæ* might therefore come under the head of such imitations were it not for two circumstances which are opposed to that supposition, for they not only differ in substance and colour from all the Roman terra cottas with which I am acquainted but in the manner in which they are painted.

The question of the employment of terra cotta in roof decorations by the early Greeks is one that has engaged the serious attention of the celebrated German

Professors Dörpfeld, Graeben, Siebold, and Bowman, who in 1881 travelled through Greece and Sicily for the express purpose of studying the employment of terra cotta in the roofs of ancient Greek buildings. In the course of these studies they came to the conclusion that the difference between the early Greek and the Roman terra cotta ornaments employed on roofs and exposed portions of buildings consisted in the mode of painting these ornaments; while the Romans painted them on a stucco preparation or white ground which gave the colours great brilliancy, the Greeks laid their colours on the clay itself, which was afterwards fired; but while the former proved unsuitable for external use, and the colours, like paintings on stone and marble, disappeared after a time, the colours employed by the Greeks have lasted for centuries, like those on the Gelo Treasury at Olympia, which are still fresh although they have been exposed to wind and weather from a date about 900 years before the Christian era.

The colours in the Greek mode being absorbed by the porous nature of the clay when burnt in the furnace, become so intimately connected with it that the colour can only be removed by scraping it off with the clay, whereas in many cases by the Roman system the colour can be lifted off in pieces with a knife. This is the opinion of Professor Bowman, and, if this test be a true one, there can be no doubt that the antefixals of Lanuvium are ancient Greek works, since they offer no trace of the intervention of stucco or white ground beneath the colours with which they have been ornamented.

It is impossible to say at present what was the temple to which these antefixals belonged, but the interest attached to them would be greatly increased if it could be proved that they adorned the celebrated shrine of Juno Sospita, for which Lanuvium was so renowned. At all events since the excavations are being continued on the site where the antefixals were discovered we may hope that some clue may be found ere long to these enigmatical specimens of archaic Greek art.

VI.—*On the draft of a Letter from King Charles I. to his Queen, Henrietta Maria, December 3, 1644; and on a Vow made by the King on April 13, 1646; the originals of which Documents are now in the Library of St. Paul's cathedral church. By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of St. Paul's cathedral church.*

Read November 27, 1890.

IN the spring of 1889 a large series of documents formerly in the possession of Edmund Gibson, the learned prelate who for a quarter of a century presided over the see of London,^a were offered to me for purchase. I at once recognised their interest and importance, and, as it seemed to me that such documents should not remain in private hands, I secured them, not for my own collection but for the library of St. Paul's cathedral church. The papers comprised about ninety volumes in folio or quarto, together with a considerable mass of loose sheets of manuscript matter.

The most valuable portion of this acquisition consisted of the original Returns from parishes in the dioceses of Lincoln and of London to the Bishop's Visitation Questions, returns which from their authentic character throw great light upon the state of religion in those dioceses in the first half of the eighteenth century. Many of these papers had already been bound in volumes, and the remainder have been arranged and bound under my own superintendence. They now form no less than thirty-one quarto volumes.^b

^a Dr. Gibson was bishop of Lincoln from 1715-16 to 1723; bishop of London from 1723 to 1748.

^b The Lincoln Returns include the Visitations for 1717, 1718, 1720, and 1721. The London Returns comprise the Visitations for 1723, 1727, 1738, 1741, 1742, and 1747. Two volumes relate to the stipends of curates, and other interesting matters, in 1736.

Other volumes comprise some of Bishop Gibson's collections for his *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, and for his edition of Camden's *Britannia*; and in addition to these there is a series of letter books containing original letters addressed to the bishop, together with copies of his replies; these copies are generally in his own hand.

Besides these volumes there are also a few common-place books, in which Dr. Gibson has collected together some original documents, and a great many miscellaneous notes such as are wont to accumulate in almost unmanageable quantity in the study of a laborious and learned man, *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis*.

From one of these common-place books I select two documents which seem to me to be of more than common interest.

The book itself, I may say in passing, is a very rough contrivance. A sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has been taken—it still retains its cover of marbled paper—it has been disembowelled; the text of the sermon has been cut away, and the broad inner margins left as guards to which the contents of the book are affixed. As the date 1758 appears in type at the back of the portion of the title page which remains, it is evident that the volume was made up after Bishop Gibson's death.

The first document which I select is the draft of a letter from King Charles I. to his queen Henrietta Maria. It is entirely in the king's own autograph, as are also the numerous alterations and corrections. The letter is dated Oxford, December 3, 1644.

It was a very critical period. On the 16th of June, 1644, at Exeter, Queen Henrietta Maria had given birth to a daughter; in less than a fortnight afterwards the army of the Earl of Essex advanced to besiege the city. The queen, who was in a very precarious state of health, requested permission to retire to Bath for the completion of her recovery. Lord Essex refused to allow her even this poor privilege. The story of her flight from Exeter is told very graphically by Miss Strickland^b—how the fugitive was constrained to hide in a peasant's hut, where she passed two days couched under a heap of litter—how she heard the parliamentary soldiers defile on each side of her shelter—how she listened to their oaths, "that they would carry Henrietta's head to London"—how, at length, and after hairbreadth-escapes, she reached Pendennis Castle, on its picturesque

^a Measuring 9½ by 7½ inches.

^b Agnes Strickland. *Lives of the Queens of England*, edition 1865, iv. 232. The whole of this paragraph is derived from Miss Strickland.

headland commanding a glorious view over the broad Falmouth harbour; and how, after having rested here a single night, she set sail on the 30th of June in a friendly Dutch vessel only a fortnight after her accouchement. The little vessel was chased by a cruiser which fired several shots at her, almost disabling her by one successful shot. At last some vessels from Dieppe came to the rescue, and the unhappy lady effected her landing safely at Chastel.

Early in November, 1644, Henrietta Maria arrived in Paris, still in delicate health "but sufficiently recovered from her long illness to apply herself intermittently to business." She was in Paris on January 16 of the following year,^a and here probably received the king's letter, which was sent "by Talbot" (that is, I suppose, by Mr. Sherington Talbot, whose brother Sir Gilbert Talbot was then at Venice) on the 4th of January. Charles was at Oxford on November 23rd, 1644, having on that day returned from the relief of Donnington Castle. He was at Oxford on December 17.^b

Here is the letter, drafted as it appears on December 3, 1644. It is written on a single leaf of paper,^c and occupies the whole of one side and a quarter of the *verso* of the leaf.

Oxford, 3 Decem. 1644.

Deare hart not that I am more diligent, but that I haue more occasion to show it, is the reason of my wryting oftner to thee of late, then heertofore :^d I haue sent bearer Mr. Talbot to try if he can procure me from Venice that w^{ch} for the present I haue most need of, Mony, for the speedy & hansom conueyance of part of w^{ch} hither he will propose to thee somewhat wherein thou may assist, wherfor I desyre thee to giue him a fauorable hearing, he will lykewais giue thee a full account of my Affairs heere, (whose report thou may trust, both for his knowledge & honesty)^e and laying other things asyde I will intend nothing now,^f but how to stand cleare in thy thoughts^g of being nether negligent in wryting to thee nor inconstant to my grounds, for the first, I know thou wilt be satisfied, before this can come to thee, for the other, I hope Digbys^h long Dispatches will satisfie thee, that what I haue done in naming those at London L^d inⁱ a Par^{nt} is at most a Ceremoniall not reall error : & of this I will assure thee that if I had not done it, the breach of the Treaty had beene layd upon me, euen by my owen party; now whether I had not reason to doe as I did rather then to incur that sencure, I leaue thee to judge espetially when all my Councell unanimously avowed, that by it I did no waies acknowledg them to be a Par^{nt} w^{ch} accordingly is registered in the Councell Bookes; of this I will say no more, but asseure thee that no danger, or (w^{ch} is wors) necessetus condition shall make mee recede from any of

^a Gardiner. *Great Civil War*, ii. 121, 125.

^b Ibid. ii. 23, 40.

^c Measuring about 12 by 7½ inches.

^d The words in italics are erased.

^e An erasure here.

^f An erasure here.

^g An erasure here.

^h That is, George Lord Digby, one of the King's Secretaries.

ⁱ That is, Lords in a Parliament.

my owld grounds; of this, if thou be not confident, & make others by tymusly so too, I may possibly be comended too late for my Constancy, when my misfortunes shall make me capable of nothing else, but I shall sooner feele then belive any such misfortune knowing the justice of my Cause and that I am

Copie to my wyfe 4 Jan. 1644,
by Talbot

The second paper is more interesting than the first. It is a Vow made and signed by King Charles I. at Oxford on April 13, 1646, of which we possess the original manuscript, and also a copy of it in the handwriting of Archbishop Sheldon.

The document has been printed by Echard, in the *Appendix* to his *History of England*,^a but with some slight verbal variations from the text of the original. He prefaces it with these remarks: "In the midst of these uncommon Difficulties, the pious King, as it were, reflecting upon his Concessions relating to the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, and being extremely tender in Case of Sacrilegious Inroachments, wrote and sign'd this extraordinary Vow, which was never yet publish'd."

Before printing the Vow itself, it will be well to preface it by a few words from Professor Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*.

"Whatever inferences Charles may have drawn from the communications of the London commissioners, he would be now wilfully blind if he misunderstood the peremptory nature of the demand for the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. Yet it was this which he had firmly resolved to oppose to the uttermost. On the 13th [April, 1646] he delivered to his chaplain, Gilbert Sheldon, a written vow declaring his resolution that if ever he was restored to power he would give back to the Church its right to all impropriations and to all Church lands hitherto in possession of the Crown, and would thereafter hold them from the Church at such fines and rents as might be fixed by a conscientious arbitrator. It is impossible to suppose that Charles intended to restore this property to any Presbyterian body. The paper on which this solemn obligation was written was buried by Sheldon, and remained in the earth till after the Restoration."^b

^a *An Appendix to the Three Volumes of Mr. Archdeacon Echard's History of England*, by the same Author. Folio, London, 1720, pp. 5—6.

^b Gardiner. *History of the Great Civil War*, 1642—9; II. 463. Note: The King's Vow, April 13. *Clar. MSS.* 2,176. Printed in the *Appendix* to Echard's *History*, p. 5.

Here follows an exact transcript of the manuscript.

VOW OF KING CHARLES I.^a

I, A.B. doe here promise and solemnly vow in the presence, and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please His Divine Ma^{ty} of His infinite goodnesse to restore Mee to my iust Kingly rights, and to reestablish Mee in my Throne, I will wholly giue backe to His Church all those Impropriations w^{ch} are now held by the Crowne: and what Landes soeuer I now doe, or should enioy, w^{ch} haue been taken away either from any Episcopall See, or any Cathedrall or Collegiate Church, from any Abby or other religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the Church, vnder such reasonable fines and rents as shall bee set downe by some conscientious personns, whom I promise to choose wth all vprightnesse of heart to direct Mee in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to blesse Me in the designes I haue now in hand through Jesus Christ Our Lord.

CHARLES R.

Amen.

Oxford 13. Ap. 1646.^b

The Vow itself (Plate VIII.) is written in a small but clear clerkly hand on the first page of a small sheet of paper; ^c the three following pages are blank. The signature and the date are in the well-known hand of Charles I.

It will be observed that the Vow commences with the words, "I, A. B.," and not, as might have been expected, "I, Charles, &c." It seems probable that the King may have signed what was meant to be the *draft* of a vow, submitted to him, perhaps by his chaplain, for approval; not waiting till the words could be fairly engrossed on vellum. The days were very stormy, full of hurry and excitement, and it would not be matter of surprise if such a course were taken.

Much additional interest attaches to the Vow if it be remembered that a few days later Charles fled from Oxford, plunging deeper and deeper into that sea of troubles from which he never again emerged.

On April 22, Charles resolved to escape to Lynn. On April 26, late in the evening, he assembled his council, and assured them that he had made up his

^a This line is written in a much later hand than the body of the document.

^b The variations in Echard's printed copy of the Vow are very unimportant, but still it may be as well to note them here. I give Echard's readings:—

Line 2, *the* Divine Majesty.

Line 4, I *do now*.

Line 8, whom I *propose* to chuse.

Line 10, in the *Design*.

^c Measuring seven inches by six.

mind to go to London. On April 27, at three in the morning, "Charles, disguised as a servant, with his beard and hair closely trimmed, passed over Magdalen bridge, in apparent attendance upon Ashburnham and Hudson. "Farewell, Harry!" called out Glemham to his Sovereign, as he performed the Governor's duty of closing the gates behind him. We need not follow him in his wanderings. By May 5 he had reached Southwell, whence he was removed to Kelham, the head quarters of David Leslie. "He was there treated as a prisoner, sentinels being placed before his windows, lest he should communicate with his friends by letter."^a

The original vow is followed, in bishop Gibson's *Common Place Book*, by a transcript of it, on a somewhat larger sheet of paper,^b entirely in the autograph of Archbishop Sheldon; who, at the end of his copy adds the words:

This is a true Copey of y^e Kinges
Vow w^{ch} was preserved thirteen
yeers vnder ground by me
Gilb. Sheldon
1660. Aug. 21.

Gilbert Sheldon was consecrated bishop of London on the 28th of October, 1660, two months after this transcript was made. On the death of archbishop Juxon,^c he was translated to Canterbury, being confirmed in that see on August 31 in the same year. He died at Lambeth, November 9, 1677.

Echard does not mention the source from which he derived his copy of the King's vow, but as he was archdeacon of Stow in the diocese of Lincoln at the time when he published the *Appendix* to his *History*, and as Edmund Gibson was at that time bishop of Lincoln, it is natural to conclude that his transcript was taken from the original, then in the possession of the bishop. This view receives confirmation from the fact that Echard prints the words which Sheldon has added to his copy of the vow, recording the preservation of the document by himself, and its concealment "thirteen yeers vnder ground." Once more the document sees the light after a still longer concealment.

^a Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, ii. 464, 471, 472, 478.

^b Eight inches and a-half, by six inches and seven-eighths.

^c Which occurred at Lambeth on the 4th of June, 1663.

{Vow of King
Charles 1st.}

I *Charles* doe here promise and solemnly vow in the presence,
and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please
his Divine Majesty of his infinite goodness to restore mee to my
just Kingly rights, and to establish mee in my Throne, I
will wholly give backe to his Church all these Appropriations
wh^{ch} are now held by the Crowne: and what Landes f^{or}ever
I now doe, or should enjoy, wh^{ch} have been taken away in-
t^{er}med from any Episcopall See, or any Cathedral or Collegiate
Church, from any Abby or other religious house, & likewise
promise for hereafter, to hold them from the Church under
such reasonable fines, and rents as shall be set downe by
some Conscientious persons, whom I promise to choose
with all uprightness of heart to direct mee in this particu-
lar. And I most humbly beseech God to accept
of this my Vow, and to bless mee in the discharge I
have now in hand through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Charles

Amen.

Oxford 13. Apr. 1646.

VOW OF CHARLES I.

From the original in the Library of St Paul's Cathedral Church.

VII.—*On a Filtering Cistern of the Fourteenth Century at Westminster Abbey.* By
J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

Read November 27, 1890.

THE way into the cloister of Westminster Abbey from the west is through what in the old days was the *parlour*, a place where the monks coming from their cloister on the east met those from outside with whom they might have business, who came from the court called *The Elms* on the west. Now, with its windows blocked up, its walls bare and weather-stained, and its carved and moulded work all decayed and broken, it seems a rather gloomy passage. But it was a light and beautiful room after the general rebuilding of the domestic part of the abbey, which Abbot Litlington completed with the legacy of his predecessor Cardinal Langham. It is in a line with the south walk of the cloister, and lies between the deanery—once the abbot's house—on the north, and the western part of the frater on the south. This end of the frater was walled off from the rest below and formed the pantry and buttery, above which was a gallery.

In the thickness of the frater wall between the buttery and the parlour is a narrow stair with a small doorway at the bottom from the parlour, and another at the top from the leads of the cloister, both of which are blocked. The plan and section of this are shown in figs. 1 and 2. I believe the place was first described in a paper on the *Abbey Buildings of Westminster*, which I wrote in 1875, and which is printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxiii. In that paper will be found a view of the stair with a plan and sections from drawings made by Mr. Somers Clarke, who got into it through a loop at the top of the stair.^a

^a The stone has perished much during the last fifteen years and the loop is much larger than it was. An attempt to get in that way now would probably bring the wall down.

Last summer the lower doorway was opened and so I had an opportunity to make a thorough examination of the place. Considering the difficulties under which Mr. Clarke's drawings were made they are remarkably accurate and complete, and they serve again to illustrate this paper with only some additions which a search under more favourable conditions now enables us to make.

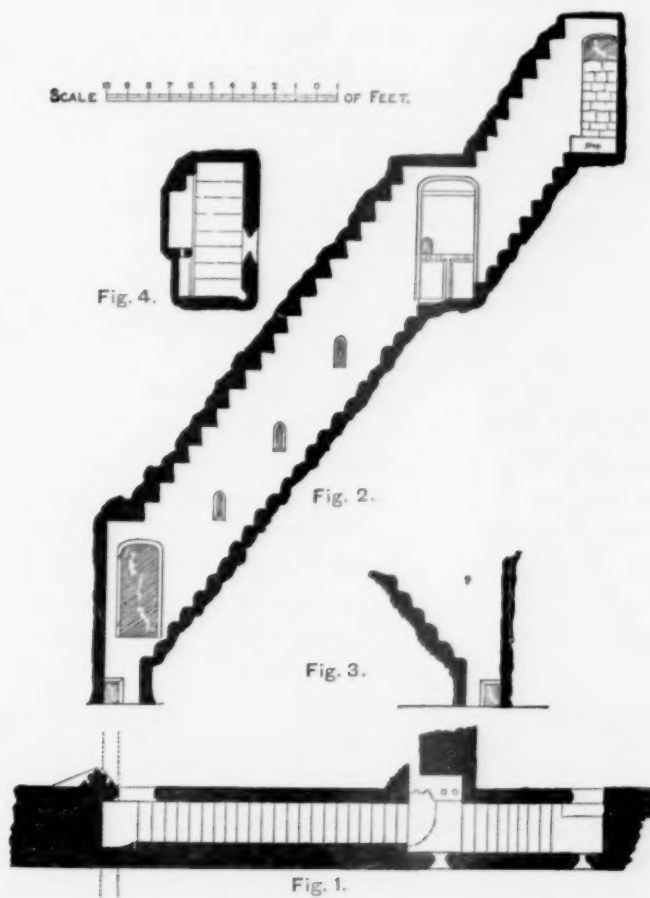
It is a strange-looking place, just the one to excite the imagination of antiquaries of the melodramatic school, and some gruesome theories have been broached as to its use. The suggestion that it might have served for the distribution of alms, which I put forth with much hesitation in my former paper, is less picturesque than some of these; but I am well satisfied that it is as wide of the mark.

The lower doorway from the parlour is only 3 feet 9 inches high and less than 2 feet wide, and its sill is raised slightly above the pavement, which itself is above the original floor level. The door was hung on the west jamb and has opened inwards directly over a shallow well or cesspool, on the north and south sides of which are the openings (about 9 inches by 12 inches) of a drain which has run through it. From the well there rises eastwards a very steep stair of twenty-one steps only 20 inches wide with three narrow loops towards the parlour, now blocked up. Then there is a landing, of which more shortly, and the stair widens a little towards the south, and is continued with nine more steps to a second landing at the top. From this landing there is a doorway to the leads of the cloister on the north, and a hole, the decayed stone round which retains just enough of its form to show that it was once a narrow loop with a trefoiled head. This looks towards the frater, and is over its door from the cloister.

It is very evident that the explanation of the place must be sought on the middle landing. There, towards the south, is the hole much broken and decayed, which I once suggested might possibly be a hatch, but a close examination shows that it was a small trefoil-shaped opening which can scarcely have served any other use than to give a little light and air from the frater. Opposite, on the north side, in the thickness of the east wall of the abbot's chapel, which there joins that of the frater, is a shallow recess something like a doorway, with a stone shelf about 2 feet 2 inches from the floor, above which the recess becomes deeper and the width of the shelf is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A kind of mullion rises from the floor below the shelf, and through the shelf in each division is a pair of round holes side by side and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The western half above the shelf has been blocked with rough masonry, which seems to have been put there in comparatively recent times to give support to the lintel, which is cracked through.

It is not of any use now, and the weight of it has broken off the front of the shelf on that side.^a See figs. 2 and 4.

As soon as I saw the place it seemed to me that these two pairs of holes must have been connected with the old water supply of the abbey, and I wondered



PLAN AND SECTIONS OF CONDUIT CHAMBER AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

that I had not thought of it before. The condition of the lower flight of steps and the presence of the drain below confirmed this opinion. But, assuming that we had here the site of an ancient conduit, it was not evident how the water got

^a The break passes through the holes and the piece broken off was found by Mr. Wright, the clerk of the works, in clearing out the cesspool at the bottom of the stair.

to it or how any but the waste got away from it. So we^a sought about for an inlet and an outlet, and soon succeeded in finding both, the former behind the blocking in the west corner of the recess just above the shelf, and the latter in the end of a lead pipe near the bottom of the stair, cut off flush with the wall, through which it evidently passed towards the buttery. The place of this pipe is shown by the dot in fig. 3, which is the section of the bottom of the stair, looking south.

Thanks to the accidental preservation of a plan of the Monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, made in the twelfth century on purpose to be a record of the positions of the various pipes and drains, we know how a great medieval abbey was supplied with water. That plan is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a copy of it was published by this Society as long ago as 1755. Its intricacies have been unravelled and the whole clearly explained by Professor Willis in his *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christchurch in Canterbury*.

The system is that used by the Ancient Romans, and it is pretty certain that the engineers of the waterworks of our English abbeys had Vitruvius for their text-book. The water was first collected into a reservoir or conduit-head, which might be near at hand, as it was at Rievaulx Abbey and at Canons Ashby, in both of which places these conduit-heads remain. Or it might be some distance away, as it was at Canterbury and at Westminster. From the conduit-head the water was taken through a series of settling tanks and thence by pipes to a cistern or conduit in some convenient place amongst the abbey buildings, and from it to a succession of other conduits at graduated levels. In each cistern were two standing pipes, a taller by which the water was supplied, and a shorter which regulated its level and conveyed the superfluous water to the cistern next below, to which it served as the supply pipe. And so to the next till the lowest, the overflow from which was discharged into a drain. The water was thus always moving and the waste helped to flush the drains.

Cocks and service pipes gave water for use from each cistern, and service was also taken direct from the supply pipes where that was most convenient. The highest conduit in an abbey seems generally to have been in or near the infirmary, and the most important architecturally was that in the cloister, which served the lavatory there. This was sometimes a work of much magnificence.

Water was brought to Westminster from a source in what is now Hyde Park, and the first conduit was in the middle of the infirmary cloister, where it

^a Mr. John Richmond was my companion in the search.

is still represented by a fountain. The cloister lavatory opened out of the west walk of the cloister in the bay next north of the parlour. The arch that led to it may still be seen, though it is blocked up; and the chamber within it contained the cistern which served the neighbouring houses until a few years ago. The place seems to have been much altered in the sixteenth century when the abbot's house was enlarged and extended over the cloister, covering over the yard which had before given light to the north side of the parlour.*

The cistern must have been outside the cloister wall and rather high up, for it is evident that the overflow from it served the conduit which is the subject of this paper. The parlour is vaulted, and over it is a room which I believe to have been the abbot's chapel. And the opening through which the supply pipe was brought is close against the inside of the east wall, between the vault of the parlour and the floor of the chapel, which shows clearly how and whence the water came.

The arrangement of the cistern itself is not so certain, but I venture to offer a diagram (fig. 5) showing a restoration of it as a filtering tank, which at least fits the existing evidence and accounts for what has been found. I suppose the cistern to be divided in the middle for about three-quarters of its depth and half filled up with some filtering substance,

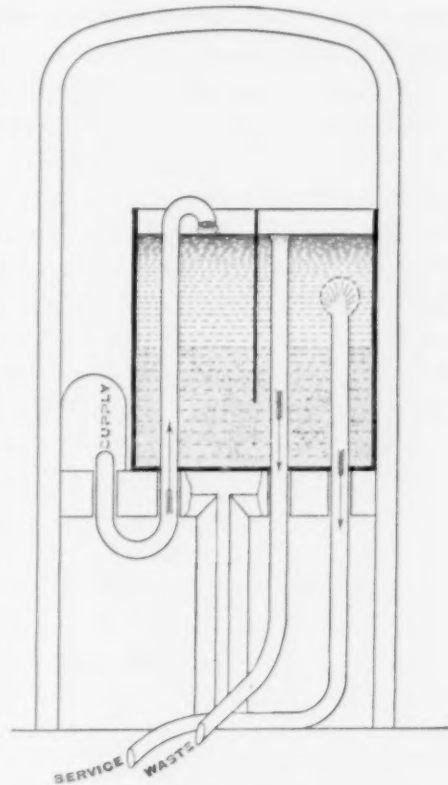


Fig. 5. SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF THE FILTERING CISTERN. ($\frac{1}{8}$ linear.)

* This was done before the suppression of the abbey, for the king's letters patent, dated 20th January, 32 Henry VIII., which grant the late abbot's house to the newly appointed bishop of Westminster, include in the grant "quartam partem totius magni claustrum dicti nuper monasterii cum edificiis scituatis et existentibus super eadem; quaedam quarta pars contigue et proximo adjacet eidem domui mansioni et habitacioni."

The Benedictine rule seems to have been only nominally observed at Westminster in the sixteenth century; and, although the monks then had perhaps not quite advanced to the state reached in some French abbeys a little later, where each man lived in a suit of rooms of his own, receiving a pension from the common fund, yet they seem to have been not far from it; and their life

which seems to have been sand,^a so that there will be free passage for the water from one side to the other, but only through the filtering bed. The supply pipe entering the chamber from the north passes downwards through the first hole in the bench and then upwards through the second and through the first division of the cistern, at the top of which it discharges itself.^b Two standing pipes pass through the eastern pair of holes into the second division, and are respectively the waste and the service pipe.

The same arrangement of pipes might indeed have existed with an undivided cistern and no filter. But, if it were so, there seems to be no sufficient reason why this chamber, the provision of which was a matter of much contrivance and considerable cost, should have been made at all. For the two taps, which seem to have been all that it supplied, might have been served as well direct from the cloister conduit only about twenty-five feet away on the other side of the parlour.

The course of the pipes on leaving the cistern can be traced almost with certainty. It seems that the waste was at first simply discharged on the floor, and the water left to find its way down the steps to the drain at the bottom. This must soon have caused damp to show in the wall below, and a sort of gutter of lead was made, crossing the landing in a curve and going down by the south side of the stair, where a chase was cut in the wall for it.

The service-pipe seems to have followed the same course to nearly the bottom of the stair, where it turns through the wall towards the buttery. There was a draw-off on this pipe before it entered the wall, and the tap of it was found with many other things in cleaning out the cesspool. The collection is what might have been expected in such a place: fragments of pottery, some modern, thrown in through the loop-holes which were open till about fifty years ago, and some old

was more like that of secular canons or the fellows of a college than that of real Benedictine monks. I think, therefore, that the privacy of the cloister so necessary to the true monastic life may have been given up, and with it the use of the parlour, and that even before the suppression both of them had, to a great extent, become the mere passages which they are now. And so the darkening of the parlour was a matter of little importance.

^a The holes in the iron and lead objects which were found were filled with sharp sand such as could not have got into them from the drain, and I have no doubt it was part of the filtering substance with which they got mixed up when the cistern was destroyed. In Venice, which till lately depended for fresh water on collected rain-water, it used to be passed through a bed of sand before entering the cistern or "well" in which it was stored.

^b It may be objected that the passing of the pipe twice through the bench is unnecessary, as it might have been taken directly into the cistern or over the top. But the old plumber was accustomed to make his supply pipes rise up directly from the bottom of his cisterns; and, if he had been asked why he did so here, he might have answered, as his modern brother often will in like case, "That is the way it is always done."

enough to have belonged to vessels broken in fetching water from the tap; a quarry of window glass; the head of a hammer, perhaps used when the place was dismantled^a; that of another tool, like a spud; a number of other pieces of iron and some of lead; some solder, which may have been lost when the cistern was fitted up or repaired; and a piece of hard bronze of strange shape, which seems to be a "runner" from some considerable casting.^b

Many of the fragments evidently formed part of the cistern and its appurtenances, although it is only possible to find the exact places of a few of them. The cistern itself appears to have been formed of lead of about 12lbs. to the square foot, and to have been cut to pieces with an axe. The free play which the destroying axe had, as recorded by the marks on one of the fragments, shows that the lead was not fastened as a lining to a wooden cistern. It was, indeed, quite strong enough to stand by itself. There is an iron bolt of proper length to have been a tie from front to back of the cistern, which no doubt it was, and another shorter and very strong bolt, the use of which does not now appear.

The gutter into which the waste pipe emptied itself was also of strong lead, and one of the fragments seems to have been the lip by which it discharged into the cesspool. No pieces of pipe have been found, probably because it was easy to take pipes away without cutting them up.

Amongst the rest are the remains of an ornamental lock and of a key of the fifteenth century, which may have belonged to one another, and to the little door at the bottom of the stairs. There is also what may be the staple into which the bolt of the lock worked.

The tap (fig. 6) is a "half-inch full-way bibcock," and it has a rather modern look at first sight. But the barrel is so exactly like that of a tap found on the site of Kilburn Priory, and figured in our *Proceedings* (2nd. Series, xi. 260), as to suggest that they must have been cast from the same pattern. The connection between Westminster and Kilburn makes this not unlikely. The treatment of the handle of the Kilburn tap, which is made to serve also as the spout,

^a This was probably done by Guy Gasken, "servant unto the dean and chapter," who on the 5th November, 1544, received orders from them to take down the frater house. Only the roof was taken off, as the sole object was to get money, and lead and timber could be sold, but stone walls would not pay for the pulling down. Our conduit, too, must have been destroyed for the sake of the lead.

^b This has not had anything to do with the filtering cistern, and its presence in the drain was accidental. But I think the thing is ancient. It seems to be a bit of waste produced in casting by the wax process, and it may be a scrap from the workshop of Torrigiano, or of one of them to whom we owe the figures of Richard II. and his queen and Edward III. For several reasons I think it did not belong to Torel.

caused it to be dated when it was exhibited to the Society as the twelfth or early thirteenth century. Perhaps that may be too early, and the Westminster tap



Fig. 6. LATTEN WATER-TAP FOUND AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (Half-size.)

The tap has lost its handle, which was very likely broken off by the blow that knocked the tap out of its place and into the cesspool below, and so preserved it for us. It is open, showing that the work of destruction began by running off the water through it.



Fig. 7. LATTEN WATER-TAP FOUND ON SITE OF KILBURN PRIORY. (Half-size)

Although the evidence is not in every respect quite perfect, I think there is enough of it to justify the title I have ventured to put to this paper, and to support the conclusion that this odd-looking chamber in the wall was made and used simply to contain a filter for the drinking water used in the abbey. The cistern is small, and would hold only about six gallons of filtered water. But it would fill itself as quickly as the water could be drawn off, and there was really no limit to the supply. Of the two taps, that in the buttery would supply what was wanted for the use of the monks' table in the frater, and the other would serve the abbot's house. The door at the bottom of the stair is small because a larger was not wanted, and the small one fitted the place better. It was not intended for anyone to pass through, but only to hand in a pitcher or other vessel to receive water drawn off at the tap.

I do not regard it as a serious objection that no such arrangement as that which I have supposed has been found elsewhere. For none such has been looked for. The number of us who have studied monastic buildings is not very large, and, though we know more now than we did a few years ago, a good deal still remains to be learned, and I have hope that now the subject has been proposed further search will discover other examples. There is a little closet under the dorter stairs at Easby Abbey which I have long thought was made for a cistern,

and it would not surprise me now if it were shown to have been a filter. It would have served the guests' dining hall,^a and, like that at Westminster, received its supply from the cloister conduit.

The want of written evidence as to the use of filters in the middle ages does not prove that they were unknown, for, as we have no regular treatise on water supply of that period, any such mention could only be accidental.^b Of the ancient writers on the subject, Frontinus^c seems to make no mention of filtering. His *piscina limaria* is a settling tank; and it is very likely that settling was the only method of cleansing water used on a large scale. But Vitruvius,^d after treating of settling tanks, adds, "ea autem loca si duplicia aut triplicia fuerint, uti percolationibus aquae transmutari possint, multo salubriorem ejus usum efficient." Here the word *percolatio* seems to imply the use of some medium through which the water must pass from one tank into another; and Pliny, who was a writer thought much of by our ancestors, plainly mentions it. He, also writing of cisterns, says,^e "Utilius geminas esse ut in priore vitia consistant et per colum in proximam transeat maxime pura aqua." If *colum* might be translated *filtering bed* this passage would exactly describe the arrangement which is suggested by the remains found at Westminster.

^a It is mentioned by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope in his excellent description of the abbey buildings in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. x., p. 150, and his section of the *Cellarium* passes through it.

^b Dr. Andrew Boorde, a physician who wrote in Henry VIII.'s time, advises that water for drinking be boiled as well as strained. But he did not recommend the free use of it even so. Speaking for himself he says plainly, "I can not away with water . . . wherefore I do leve al water and do take myself to good ale." Nevertheless he gives his professional opinion, part of which is this:

"Water is not holsume sole by it selfe for an Englysshe man, consyderynge the contrarye vsage, whiche is not concurraunt with nature: water is colde, slowe, and slacke of digestyon. The best water is rayne-water, so be it that it be clene and purely taken. Nexte to it is ronnyng water, the whiche doth swyftly ronne from the east in to the west upon stones or pybles. The thyrd water to be praysed is ryver or broke water, the which is clere, ronnyng on pibles and graunyl. Standynge waters, the whiche be refressed with a fresshe spryng, is commendable; but standynge waters, and well-waters, to the which the Sonne hath no refflyxon, althoughe they be lyghter than other ronnyng waters be, yet they be not so commendable. And let euery man be ware of all waters the whiche be standynge, and be putryfyed with froth, duckemet, and mudde; for yf they bake, or brewe, or dresse meate with it, it shall ingender many infyrmytes. The water the which euery man ought to dress his meat withall, or shall use bakynge or bruyng, let it be ronnyng; and put it in vesselles that it may stande there ij or iij houres or it be occupyde; than strayne the vpper parte throughe a thyeke lynnyn cloth, and cast the inferyall parte awaye." *A Compendyous Regyment or a dyetary of Helth*, by Andrew Boorde, of Physicke Doctour, 1542. Early English Text Soc.: Reprint, p. 252.

^c *De Aquaeductibus Urbis Romae*, Art. xv. See also Art. xix.

^d *Lib. viii. cap. vi.*

^e *H. N. lib. xxxvi. cap. 52 (28).*

The following is a List of such of the objects found in the cesspool as appear to be ancient :—

OF BRONZE.

A tap, and a "runner" weighing $18\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

OF IRON.

A $\frac{3}{4}$ " bolt with a welded head diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". The distance from the head to the hole through which the wedge passed is $13\frac{1}{4}$ ", which probably gives the external width of the cistern.

A $1\frac{1}{8}$ " bolt with head diameter 2". From head to hole of wedge just 6".

A piece of inch round iron 8" long.

Two hooks : one 8" by 3", bent at right angles, the long end spiked as for driving into the wall ; the other 9" by 3", not spiked, with the turned-up part formed like a leaf.

A strong square nail $6\frac{1}{4}$ " long with a clout head ; and a slender nail $4\frac{1}{4}$ " long.

A slender rod $10\frac{1}{4}$ " long, which seems to have had a hook at the end.

A $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch round rod 11" long, bent to the shape of an S., probably a pot hook.

One plate, two "buttresses," and a bolt, probably parts of the lock of the lower door.

A staple and key, probably belonging to the same.

The head of a hammer ; the head of a "spud" ; and a spur and an iron spike of doubtful antiquity.

OF LEAD AND SOLDER.

Two pieces which seem to have formed part of the cistern, one showing marks of the axe used in cutting it up.

Three pieces which seem to have belonged to the gutter. One apparently the lip at the bottom. The other two pierced by iron nails.

A piece of solder, cast like a grate, and three lumps of lead from the melting pan.

OF POTTERY.

Three fragments of a bowl 10" in diameter with green glaze inside ; one smaller fragment of similar ware ; a piece of the lip of a vessel of red ware glazed inside ; and five paving tiles.

OF GLASS.

A fragment of window glass with the hand and branch, the rebus of Abbot Islip, and part of his name.

VIII.—*Notes on the Church of St. Francis, or Tempio Malatestiano, at Rimini; more especially as regards the sculptured decorations.* By ALFRED HIGGINS, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 5 and 12, 1891.

COMPLAINTS have been not infrequent of late years that the history of the Italian Renaissance is a subject that is worn rather threadbare. So far as popular and picturesque writing is concerned there may be some truth in this complaint, but it can hardly apply to serious studies, and it certainly does not apply to one branch of the subject, the history of the revival of the national style of architecture in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century. Due homage has, indeed, been paid to the genius which raised aloft the splendid dome of S. Maria del Fiore, and the history of that achievement has, I believe, been thoroughly investigated. But Brunellesco was something more than an engineer, and the history of his purely architectural works, so remarkable for their severe and noble style, seems not unworthy of being studied in the same spirit and with the same scientific method as the Gothic architecture of the north. Nor are the buildings of Alberti, Antonio di San Gallo, Bramante, and other early architects less worthy of antiquarian research, and much of their history remains very obscure.

I have been attracted to one of the earlier and more important of these buildings rather by its sculptured decoration than by its architecture, and I hope to be allowed to say something about the sculpture in the second part of this paper. By way of introduction, I shall commence with some preliminary remarks upon the architectural history of the building, so far as I have been able to make it out. I must leave to abler and more experienced hands the task of a thorough investigation of the subject, which derives a very special interest from the fact that the principal architect employed was Leon Battista Alberti, the Leonardo da Vinci of the earlier Renaissance.

PART I.—ARCHITECTURE.

The mention of the name of Rimini probably recalls at once to all our minds the story of Francesca and Paolo Malatesta, as told by Dante in a few lines of immortal verse, and this inseparable association of the city of Rimini with the family of the Malatestas may fitly remind us of the historical connection which existed between them from the middle of the twelfth century down to the year 1503. In the history of the Malatestas the name which stands out before all others is that of the famous condottiere Sigismund Pandulph, who was a grandson of Pandulph I., the brother of Francesca's husband and of her lover. An energetic leader in war at the almost incredibly early age of 13, Sigismund Pandulph succeeded his brother in the lordship of Rimini in 1432, when he was only 15, and his reputation as a soldier was already so well established in 1435 that Eugenius IV. then conferred upon him the command of the papal troops, although he was still only in his nineteenth year. The adventurous career of a condottiere, or leader of mercenary troops, to which he had thus early devoted himself, continued to be the main occupation of his life down to the time of his death, at the age of 51, in the year 1468. Shifting in the most shameless manner from side to side in the turbulent politics of the time, fighting now for the Venetians against the Pope, and then again for the Pope against the Venetians, taking service with Alphonso of Naples, and then suddenly turning round and attacking him, entering into an agreement with the Florentines, or the Sienese, only to plot against his employers, he obtained the worst of reputations in his own age, and he has been singled out in later times as a type of the moral degradation of public life in Italy in the fifteenth century. Moreover, the stains upon his private life would appear to have been of the blackest dye, although it must be borne in mind that some of the accusations against him may be nothing more than the malicious inventions of his personal enemies. There is no trace now, except in the pages of history, of the terrible crimes which were charged against him by common report, and for which he was condemned, *in absentia*, by Pius II. and the College of Cardinals to be burnt alive; but of his enthusiastic love of art and learning, and above all of his love of fame and self-glorification, there still remains a most impressive monument in the transformed church of St. Francis at Rimini, commonly and rightly known as the Malatesta Temple. The story of Sigismund's life has been admirably told by Mons. Charles Yriarte, in his brilliant monograph "*Un condottiere au XIV^e. Siècle*" (Paris, 1882), and the same volume gives an excellent account of the Tempio Malatestiano, based upon a considerable amount of original research.

Documentary Evidence.

Unfortunately Mons. Yriarte's persistent endeavours to trace the family records of the Malatestas (which would doubtless have shown us the details of Sigismund's lavish expenditure upon the Tempio and also upon the castle of Rimini) were unsuccessful, and we are forced to accept the melancholy conclusion that these records were destroyed in the popular outbreak in the city in 1527. This loss is, however, compensated to some extent by the fortunate preservation in the archives of Siena of the correspondence which was seized by the authorities of that city when Sigismund's treasonable practices were discovered in 1454. Mons. Yriarte disclaims the honour of bringing this correspondence to light, but the merit of seeing its bearing upon the authorship of much of the work at the Tempio certainly belongs to him. He has fully established the interesting fact that Matteo de' Pasti of Verona, the famous medallist (one of whose medals bears on its reverse a representation of the Tempio (see fig. 3), was the resident master of the works; and he has thus accounted for the influence of the great Veronese medallist which many observers had detected in the character of some of the marble reliefs at Rimini. He has also proved that the finest and most characteristic of those reliefs are from the hand of the Florentine sculptor, Agostino di Duccio, the author of the exquisite façade of the chapel of San Bernardino at Perugia. Finally, he has shown that the capital architectural feature of the Tempio did not form part of Alberti's original design, but was an after-thought on the part of that master.

It will be convenient here, at the outset, to give a list of the contemporary evidence afforded by the Siennese archives on the subject of the history of the operations effected and contemplated by Sigismund, in converting the church of St. Francis into what was practically a temple to his own honour and glory, rather than the temple to the Immortal God which he had taken a vow to erect when he was in peril of his life. The evidence consists of four letters addressed to Sigismund from Rimini in December, 1454, when he was engaged in the siege of Sorano on behalf of the Republic of Siena.

The first, bearing date the 17th December, is a letter from Matteo de' Pasti, signed by the chancellor Pietro de' Genari, and countersigned by Matteo. It discusses a new design for the lateral façades of the Tempio, which had recently been sent from Rome by Alberti to Sigismund, and had been referred to Rimini for examination and report. It also mentions a project of Maestro Alvise for covering the main building with a single roof.^a

^a Yriarte, *l. c.* p. 419.

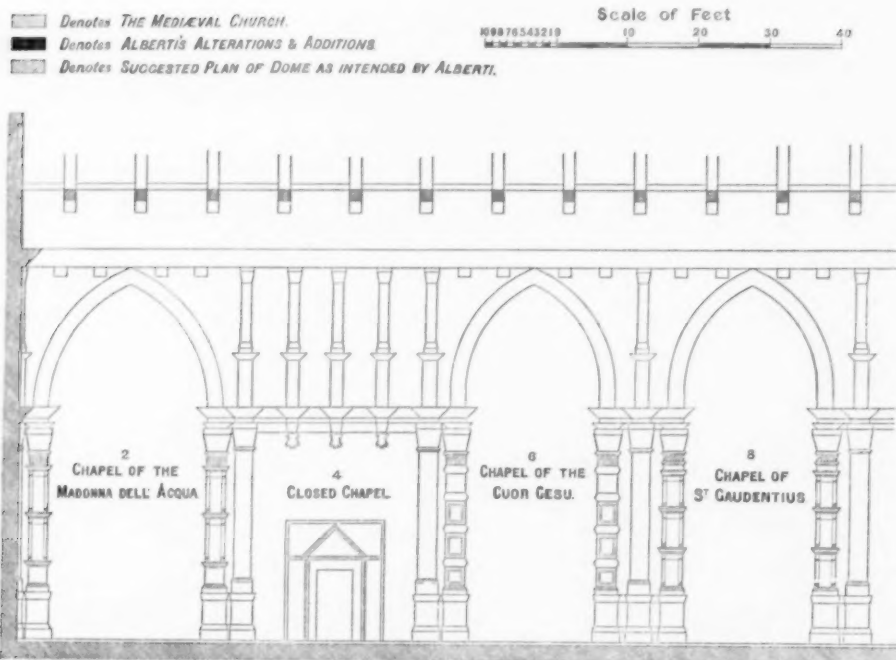


FIG. 1. SECTION OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHURCH.

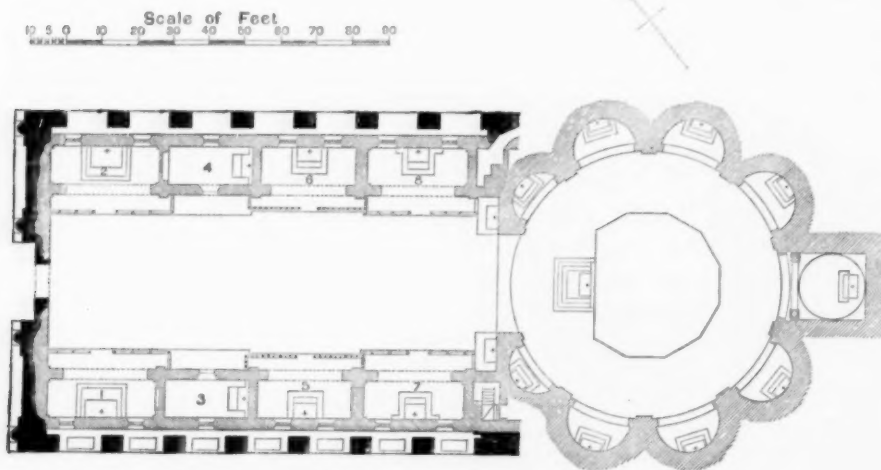


FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE CHURCH.

PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TEMPIO MALATESTIANO IN RIMINI.

The second letter, from the Chancellor alone, is dated the next day, the 18th December.^a It reports the arrival of a ship-load of Verona marble and states that the work in the chapel of the Madonna was suspended on account of the frost, and because the elephants^b (of porphyry or basalt) which were necessary in order to admit of certain measurements being taken, had not arrived in Rimini.

The third letter, dated the 21st December, is from Maestro Alvise on the subject of the roof. In a postscript he proposes to go to Rome to consult "Miser Batista" (meaning of course Alberti) as to the pitch which the roof should have.^c

The fourth letter, dated the 22nd December, is from Matteo Nuti, an architect of Fano, who reports (1) on the design for the nave of the church, shown to him by Maestro Alvise, and (2) on Alberti's new design for the lateral façades.^d

So far as I know, there are only two other contemporary documents published relating to our subject: the first a letter^e by Alberti of the very highest interest (addressed to Matteo de' Pasti) discussing certain criticisms of Gianozzo Manetti, secretary of the Florentine Republic, as to the lighting of the rotunda of the church and as to the lateral façades. The other document is a contract for the supply of Verona marble for the screens of the chapels, and dates from June, 1455.^f

I do not intend to discuss these important documents at full length, but I shall have occasion to refer to them in support of some remarks I propose to make upon the transformation effected in the church of St. Francis, under the orders of Sigismund, and upon the part taken by Alberti and some other masters in the work. I shall have to take exception to some of Mons. Yriarte's statements, more especially with regard to an assumed foundation in 1446 and an imaginary inauguration or partial completion in 1450.

In order that my remarks may be intelligible I have had two diagrams prepared, one showing the plan of the existing church so far as the changes carried out in Sigismund's time are concerned (see fig. 2), and the other a longitudinal section of the same part of the church (see fig. 1). The ro-



Fig. 3. Reverse of Medal by Matteo de' Pasti of Sigismund Pandolph Malatesta, dated 1450, shewing western view of the Tempio Malatestiano with dome surmounting the choir as projected by Alberti.

^a Yriarte, p. 406.

^b The expression "capella de li martori" used in this letter, as published by Yriarte, is evidently a mistake, either in the original or in transcription. There were no elephants in the chapel of the Relics (3, fig. 2).

^c Yriarte, p. 420.

^d *Ib.* p. 421.

^e This letter will be found in extenso in the Appendix to this paper.

^f Yriarte, p. 398.

tunda shown at the end of the plan has never existed at Rimini, but we know from Matteo de' Pasti's medal as shown in fig. 3, and from Alberti's own letter (see Appendix) that the original plan included a rotunda and dome. It must not be imagined that this feature as introduced in the diagram (fig. 2) is intended for a conjectural restoration. It is simply a copy of the plan of the rotunda of the SS. Annunziata in Florence, designed by Alberti, and it has been introduced here in order to show that there was a rotunda and dome in Alberti's original model.

The diagram is copied from a photograph I purchased in Rimini, and agrees with the plan given by Yriarte, which is no doubt derived from the same source. The dimensions given on the plan agree with the rough measurements I took with a two-foot rule.

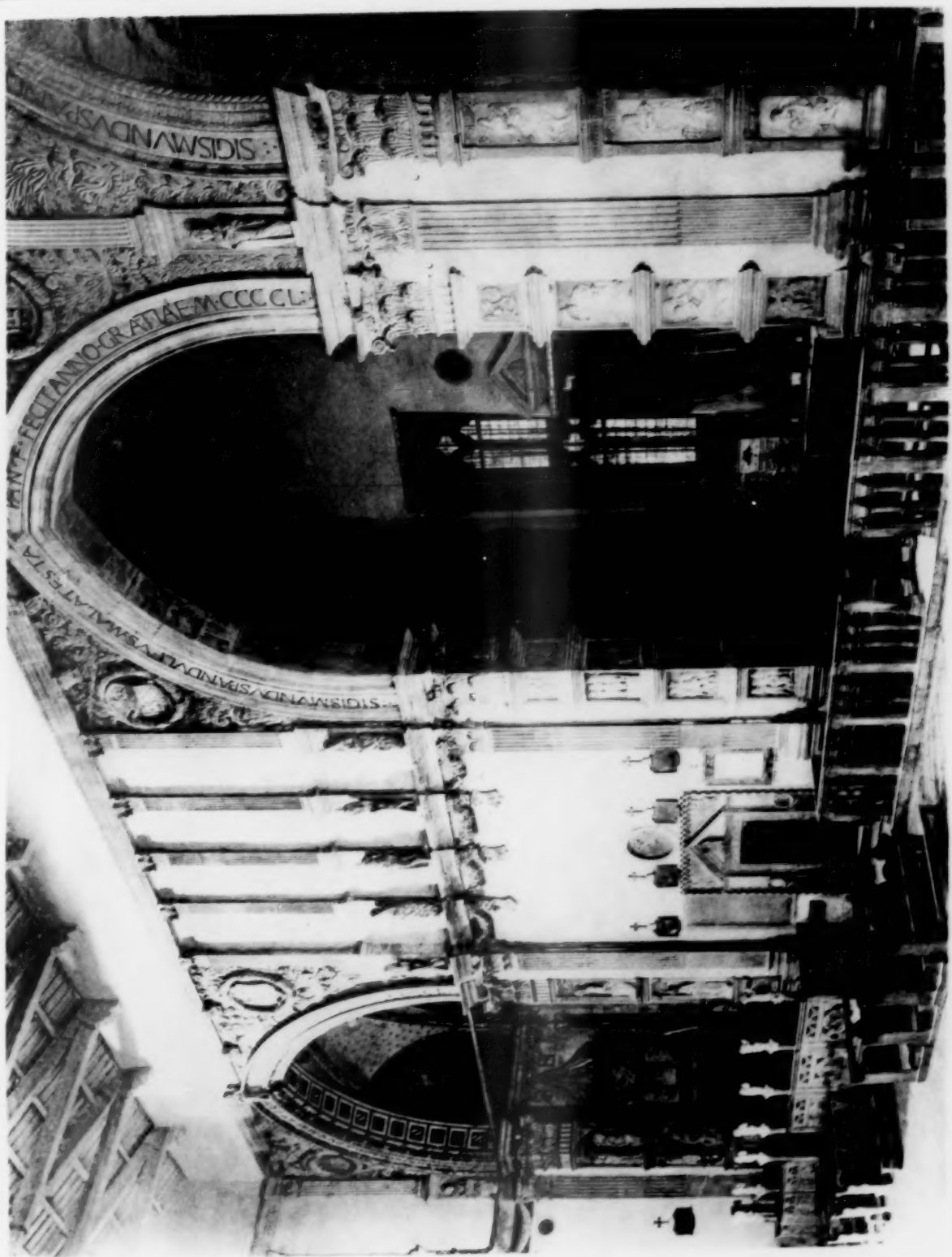
My measurements are as follows :

| | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|-------|---------|
| Total length of west front - - - | 96 | 8 |
| Length of podium on left hand side - - - | 37 | 3 |
| Length of podium on right hand side - - - | 37 | 2 |
| Diameter of space between the podia - - - | 22 | 3 |
| Projection of podium in front of great arch - - - | 2 | 8 |
| Depth of great arch - - - | 3 | 10 |
| Length of bases of the columns of west front - - - | 4 | 0 |
| Total length of northern façade, <i>i.e.</i> including the whole of Alberti's work - - - | 139 | 4 |

The section (fig. 1) is based upon the plan and upon a photograph of the interior of the church.

General Description of the Tempio Malatestiano.

At some time during the latter part of the thirteenth or earlier part of the fourteenth century the site of the church of St. Francis at Rimini, which was then occupied by a chapel of S. Maria in Trivio, was granted to the Franciscans, who enlarged or perhaps entirely reconstructed the building; preserving, however, the tombs and the privileged altar of S. Maria dell' Acqua. The result was one of the characteristic, plain and bare friars' churches, built of brick, in the Italian Gothic style; a building consisting of a spacious nave with a series of chapels running the whole length of it on both sides (see fig. 2), and terminating, probably, in a very small choir with one or more chapels on either side of it. I say "probably," because the arrangement of what would be the east end, if the church had the strict orientation usual in England, is conjectural; as that part of



NORTH SIDE OF INTERIOR OF THE NAVE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT RIMINI (TEMPIO MALATESTIANO).

the original building no longer exists. There was and is, neither clerestory nor triforium. The nave has a plain open timber roof, and the chapels, of which there are now four on each side, belonging to the original building, are covered with a simple quadripartite vaulting in brick. The second chapel on each side, counting from the west end of the church, is smaller than the others, and is walled off from the nave and entered by a small door. The other six chapels open out to the fullest extent into the nave, with which they are connected by means of lofty pointed arches. Each of the open chapels has two tall lancet windows, one on either side of the altar; and these windows serve the purpose of lighting the nave as well as the chapels. There is only one small window in each of the two closed chapels, and the altar in those chapels has the same orientation as the high altar. From this description it will be clear that the irregularities of the north and south elevation, due to the varying width of the chapels, and the differences in the height and size of the windows, presented a most serious difficulty to an architect whose mission it was to convert the Gothic church into a Renaissance temple. It is, therefore, a remarkable fact that this transformation was carried out without any structural alteration either of the nave or of the chapels. In the interior of the building the architecture of the original church was not masked in any way, but only enriched. (See Plate IX.) All the arched openings from the chapels into the nave received a highly elaborate architectural framework in marble or fine limestone, including panels filled with sculpture and arranged one above the other after the fashion of Gothic niches. The spandrels of the arches were filled with foliated ornament and heraldic devices. A cornice, with hanging garlands below, was carried round the building, at the level of the spring of the arches of the chapels; and from this cornice there was carried up a decorative series of pilasters having figures, in the round, in front of their stilted pedestals. These pilasters connect the cornice with an upper cornice or string-course; and the whole scheme of decoration is, in fact, a connected framework inserted within the nave. It is very well described in Matteo Nuti's letter to Sigismund, of the 22nd December, 1454, as the nave which comes into the body of the church. He calls a drawing of it, which had been shown to him by Maestro Alvise, "*el disegno de la nave che vene nel corpo della chiesa.*"^a

Four of the chapels, those of the Madonna dell' Acqua (2) and St. Sigismund (1) to the west and those of St. Gaudentius (8) and St. Jerome (7) (now called the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament) to the east (see fig. 2), were selected for

^a Yriarte, p. 421.

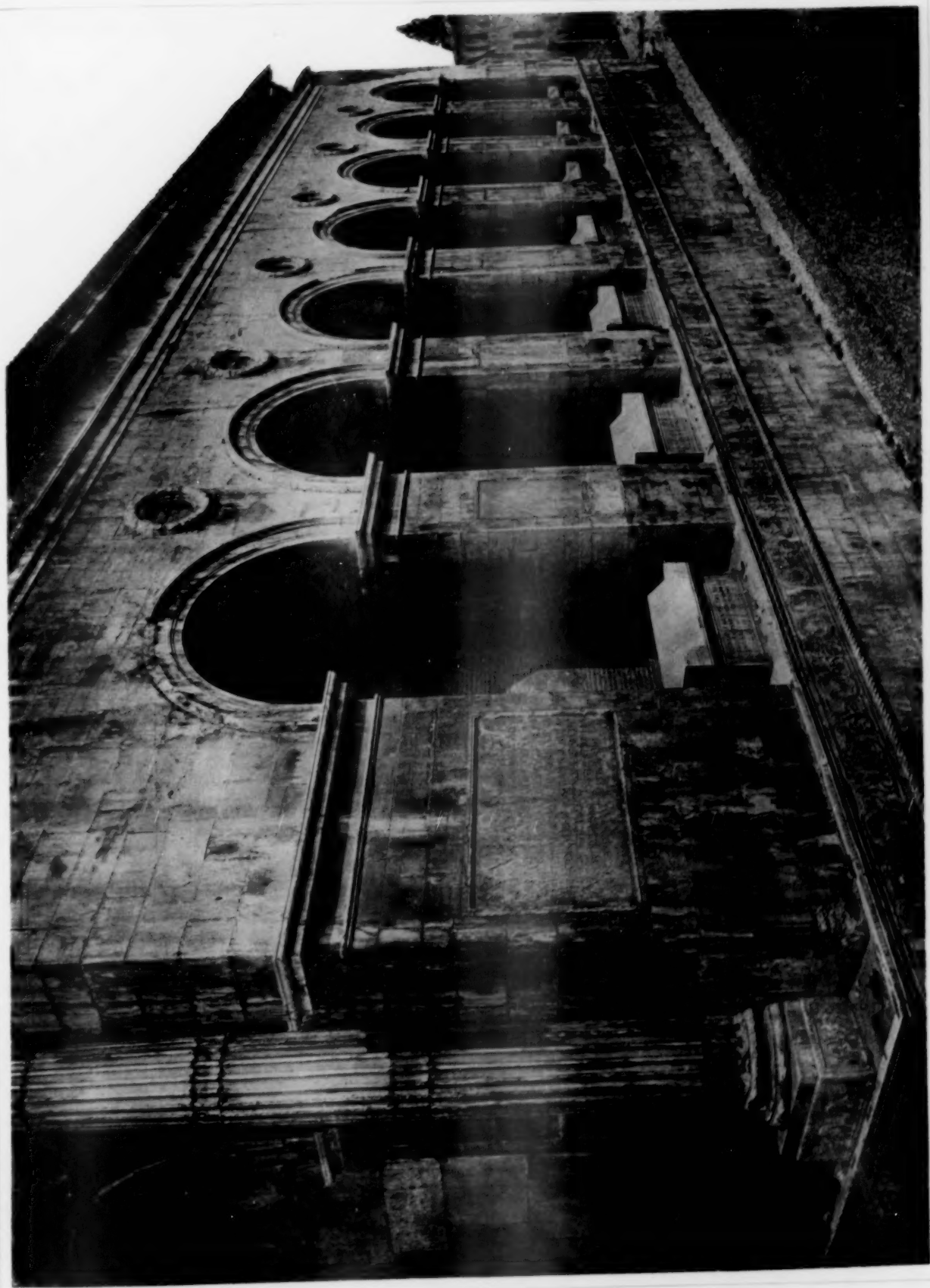
special honour, being lined with costly marbles and enriched with elaborate sculptured ornament.

The exterior of the church has been dealt with on entirely different principles from the interior. Instead of emphasizing the structure of the building, the architect has concealed it as far as possible. The whole of the west front (see fig. 3) is occupied by a massive structure of fine white marble, after the fashion of a triple triumphal arch, with details borrowed from the fine arch of Augustus, erected at Rimini in the year 27 B.C., and still in a fair state of preservation.

The lateral façades and Alberti's change of plan with regard to them.

But the splendid and original feature of the exterior of the Tempio is the free standing arcades of white marble which form the sides of the structure (see Plate X.) and are so skilfully arranged as not to interfere with the windows of the Gothic church, notwithstanding that the latter are placed at irregular intervals, owing to the difference in the size of the chapels, as already explained. Alberti's device for giving his elevation that symmetry which he deemed essential to classical architecture appears to have met with adverse criticism at once. His letter to Matteo de' Pasti, in reply to the objections of Manetti, the secretary of the Florentine Republic, who had been to Rimini on a political mission, has, I think, been hitherto understood to apply to the rotunda of the church and its dome. But an attentive reading of the letter shows that the middle part of it refers to the lateral façades of the church, and the context renders it probable that the objections replied to, with regard to the façades, were Matteo's own, rather than Manetti's. As I read the letter, Alberti explains that the reason for these façades being designed as free standing erections is the varying width and height of the chapels; and in justification of such a proceeding as the concealing of the original form of the building, he points out that he had to do a similar thing when he devised the side-pieces connecting the upper and lower stories of the western façade, in order to hide the line of the roof, *i. e.*, to cover it up on the outside, in front, just as it would eventually be covered in, on the inside, by the insertion of the ceiling. This allusion to a special feature of Alberti's west fronts is very interesting. My reading of the letter will be best explained by a literal translation of the part which concerns us. The letter, which is in Italian (the superscription only being in Latin, in accordance with the practice of the time), begins as follows: ^a

^a The original will be found in the Appendix to this paper.



SOUTHERN FAÇADE AND PART OF THE WEST FRONT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT RIMINI (TEMPIO MALATESTIANO).

Praestantissimo viro Matthæo de Bastia amico dulcissimo, Ariminum, salve.

Your letters were very acceptable to me in many ways, and I was very pleased that my lord has done as I desired, and has got the best advice from everybody. But as to what you tell me, that Manetto affirms that domes should be two diameters high, I believe more in those who made the Thermæ and the Pantheon, and all these mighty things, than in him; and much more do I believe in reason than in him; and if he governs himself by current opinion I should not wonder if he frequently went wrong.

This is only by way of introduction. He appears to return to Manetti later on, when he replies to an objection as to the dome being lighted from above instead of from the sides.

With regard to the matter of the piers in my model, remember that I told you: This facade (*faccia*) must be a work by itself, because these widths and heights of the chapels perplex me (*mi perturbano*). Remember, and fix your mind upon the fact, that in the model, at the side of the roof on the right hand and on the left, there is a similar thing; and I said: I put this here to hide that part of the roof *id est* of the [external] covering, as will be done inside the church, since this length inside [*i. e.* the span of the roof] could not adjust itself to our facade; and what is required is that we should assist what is done already, and not spoil what remains to be done. You see the origin of the dimensions and proportions of the piers: whatever you change makes a discord of all that music. And let us arrange about covering the church with something light. Do not trust those piers to bear any heavy weight; and for this reason it seems that a barrel-vault made of wood would be most suitable. Well then, if these our piers do not correspond exactly with those of the chapel it is a matter of no consequence, because the piers of the chapel will not have any need of support on the side towards our facade, and if they should require it, it is so near and, as it were, connected, that they would have much support from it; and if this seems to you to be otherwise, follow my drawing, which, in my judgment, does very well.

This letter is dated 18th November, but no year is given. Probably it was written in the same year as the Sienese correspondence of Sigismund, *i. e.* 1454, or just a month before Matteo de' Pasti's letter of the 17th December reporting on the new design, in which letter Matteo states that Alberti had already sent him a copy of the drawing. In Matteo de' Pasti's letter, as well as in Alberti's, given above, mention is made of the original wooden model which Alberti had constructed for the guidance of the works, in accordance with the practice he himself recommends to others in the *De Re Edificatoria*. Vasari states that such a model was made by Alberti for Sigismund, and it is very possible that it still existed in Vasari's time. The placing of the tombs of the scholars, poets, and other illustrious men of the court of Rimini in recesses outside the Tempio (see Plate X.) was part of the original idea; but in the model they

were in square recesses, which were quite shallow, so that the monuments could have been only partly protected from the weather. This is clear from the letter of the architect Matteo Nuti, dated the 22nd December. He advises that the original square form might be retained, if Sigismund does not mind the tombs being partly exposed; or that the wall could be carried forward so as to give the necessary protection; and that this would be the better arrangement, as no change would be needed in the work already carried out. The original arrangement was evidently a mere incrustation of the walls, and involved cutting into the ancient piers of the chapel, as is mentioned in Matteo de' Pasti's letter. Large slabs of marble, with reliefs representing the castle of Rimini, formed part of the scheme of decoration. A reminiscence of this is perhaps seen in the fresco of Piero della Francesca, painted in 1451, in the chapel of the Relics (3, fig. 2), where Sigismund is represented kneeling before his patron saint. The background of the picture has, as part of the marble wall-decoration, a representation of the castle within a roundel.

*Origin and progress of the changes in the church of St. Francis effected under
Sigismund's orders.*

It was very natural that the Lord of Rimini, who had served the Venetian Republic, and was familiar not only with the splendours of St. Mark's at Venice, but also with the more sober richness of the baptistry, cathedral church, and campanile of Florence, should have conceived the idea of encrusting with marble the bare brick walls of the church, which was specially associated with his family, and contained the bones of his ancestors. It seems, however, probable that the original idea was confined to the founding of a single chapel of great splendour in honour of Sigismund's patron saint, St. Sigismund of Hungary. Sigismund had early experience of building operations. In 1437, when he was only twenty years of age, he had begun the rebuilding the castle of Rimini from its foundations. The exterior of the castle seems to have been substantially complete in 1446, as appears, not only from Matteo de' Pasti's medal, which bears that date, but also from the inscription over the principal gate of the castle on a slab of white marble:

SIGISMUNDUS PANDULPHUS MALATESTA PAN. F. MOLEM
HANC ARIMINENSIVM DECUS NOVAM A FUNDAMENTIS
EREXIT CONSTRUXITQUE AC CASTELLUM SUO NOMINE
SIGISMUNDUM APPELLARI CENSUIT MCCCCXLVI.

Mons. Yriarte supposes that the idea of reconstructing the church of St. Francis

was conceived in 1445. On the authority of Ughello's *Italia Sacra*, a work of the eighteenth century, he asserts that the first stone of the new structure was laid on the last day of October, 1446 (p. 189). Milanesi,^a on the other hand states, on the authority of Clementini, that the event took place on 31st October, 1447. The latter date is confirmed by a MS. copy I possess of a contemporary Riminese chronicle, by an anonymous writer, for the years 1400 to 1452; but the foundation that was laid was, it seems, only for the chapel of St. Sigismund, the first chapel to the right as one enters the church (fig. 2). There is no evidence whatever that any more extensive work was at that time contemplated. On the last day of October, 1447, according to my chronicle, the bishop of Rimini (St. Francis's was not a cathedral church, and did not become so until 1809) "went to bless the foundation-stone of the chapel which our Lord Messer Sigismundo Pandulpho is having made at San Francesco, and so blessed it *cum dei gratiâ*." Nothing is recorded of any foundation in 1446; and the date mentioned by Ughello for the foundation of the church is evidently a mistake for the foundation of the chapel of St. Sigismund. The chronicle I have just quoted, which unfortunately ends with the year 1452, enables me to supply one or two details with regard to the further work in this chapel. Under the year 1450 it records that on the 15th October two elephants were placed in the chapel of "our Lord" at San Francesco, and were blessed by the abbot of San Gaudenzio; also that two other elephants were placed in the same chapel, and were similarly blessed on the 23rd of the same month. These are the elephants of black porphyry or basalt (I am not sure which) that still support the piers of the arches in the chapel of St. Sigismund, there being also similar elephants in the opposite chapel of S. Maria dell' Acqua. The elephant was the special *impresa* or device of Sigismund. It is shown on his banner in the miniature representing the surrender of the fortress of Piombino in the MS. of the *Hesperides* and *Argonauts* of the poet Basinio Parmense,^b also on the medals of Matteo de' Pasti, and throughout the Tempio Malatestiano. I suppose that the special blessing of the elephants took place because they were looked upon as gifts of extreme value and rarity, owing to the fact that the art of working the harder stones, such as porphyry, had been entirely lost. According to Vasari it was Alberti who first revived the art.^c

The consecration of the chapel of St. Sigismund did not take place, according to my chronicle, until 1st March, 1452, when the ceremony was carried out with great pomp, and was attended by four bishops and an abbot.

^a Vasari, vol. ii. p. 439.

^b See Yriarte, p. 171.

^c Milanesi's Vasari, vol. i. p. 110.

Greek inscriptions, cut in fine tall letters, on tablets let into the western piers of the north and south façades (see Plate X.) announce that Sigismund when he was in great peril made a vow to erect in the city a temple to the Immortal God; that he built it with great magnificence; and that he left behind him a famous and holy name. This inscription, which probably dates from Sigismund's own time, throws but very little light on our subject.

We have really no precise information as to the origin of the grand scheme of encasing the outside of the nave of the church with marble, and replacing the small choir with a magnificent rotunda covered with a dome; but we may accept the statement that it was done in fulfilment of the vow referred to in the Greek inscriptions. We know that the design was settled, in its main features, not later than the year 1450, or two years before the consecration of the chapel of St. Sigismund. This is proved by the small medal, ascribed to Matteo de' Pasti, bearing on its reverse a representation of the western façade of the Tempio, above which is seen the lofty dome covering the rotunda that was to terminate the church, probably something in the form actually carried out, after another design by Alberti, for the church of the SS. Annunziata in Florence. The medal bears the date M.CCCC.L. (see fig. 3).

On the strength of a passage which he quotes from Dr. Bonucci,^a Mons. Yriarte asserts that Matteo's medal was issued on the occasion of a solemn inauguration of the new church which is supposed to have taken place in November 1450, on the occasion of the Papal Jubilee. Mons. Yriarte states (p. 195) that the building operations were suspended, in order to finish the chapel, and protect the edifice by a temporary roof. But there can have been no occasion for a temporary roof, because the old roof, or rather roofs (for there were separate ones for the nave and for the chapels), were still in their places in 1454, as is evident from the Sienese correspondence. It would seem that Dr. Bonucci thought, judging from the medal, of which he gives a cut, that the dome was to have covered the nave, and that, as the dome was never made, it must have been temporarily replaced by a roof to allow of an inauguration, which appeared to be indicated by the inscriptions on the western façade of the church and over the arches of the nave. The correct reading of the principal inscription is: "Sigismundus Pandulfus Malatesta Pandulfi F. V. fecit anno gratiæ MCCCCL," where F. stands for *filius*, and V. probably for *voto*, or possibly *votum*, which may mean that the vow to erect the Tempio was taken in 1450. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, attempts to correct Yriarte, who

^a *Opere Volgari di L. B. Alberti*, vol. 4, p. 392.

puts the V. before the F., but Heiss leaves out the word "fecit" altogether. The medal has V. F. before the date; and this is taken to mean "voto fecit." The word "fecit" without any qualification, and the date 1450, appear on the arches of the nave, and the same date is seen on the face of the tomb erected for Isotta, the mistress, as she then was, of Sigismund. It is evident that, under the most favourable circumstances, the construction of the chapels, and the decoration of the nave connected with them, must have been the work of many years, and that the date 1450 must indicate rather the commencement than the formal inauguration of the Tempio. Mons. Yriarte affixes the year 1449 to the reproduction which he gives (at p. 370) of the very interesting miniature from the MS. of Basinio Parmense, showing the Tempio in course of construction, complete up to and including the cornice, but before the upper story of the façade had been begun. At p. 88 he gives the date 1454 to another miniature from the same MS. There is, I believe, sure evidence that the first-mentioned miniature cannot be of earlier date than 1454, and is probably later; because it clearly shows a rounded arch on the north (lateral) façade; and the letters from the Sienese archives prove conclusively, as we have seen, that Alberti's original design for that part of the edifice had square openings, and that the round arches were first proposed in substitution for them in 1454.

Did Alberti design the Chapel of St. Sigismund?

From what I have already stated it will be evident that there is no manner of doubt that the design of the exterior of the church of St. Francis, as it now exists, is due entirely to Alberti. Moreover, its noble severity of style, and the close study which it shows of classical examples, agree with what might be expected of the author of the *De Re Edificatoria*, and with what we know of his architectural work in Florence and at Mantua. Assuming that I have established the fact that the Tempio originated with the chapel of St. Sigismund, and that the work in that chapel was begun in 1447, it would be desirable to examine the evidence as to whether Alberti was called in for such a comparatively unimportant work as the chapel, or whether recourse was first had to his assistance when the larger scheme of transforming the whole church was thought of. According to Mazzuchelli,^a "Alberti proceeded to Rimini in 1447 and made the model of the famous church of St. Francis," but whether this statement is founded on contemporary evidence, I am unable to say. If Alberti did go to Rimini as early as 1447, there is reasonable presumption that he designed the chapel of

^a *Le Scritture d' Italia*, Brescia, 1753.

St. Sigismund as well as the exterior of the church; and this presumption is strongly confirmed by an examination of the building. My own impression is that we may safely ascribe the whole design of the chapel to Alberti, including the framing of the arch and of the piers, but that he had nothing further to do with the interior of the Tempio. Mons. Eugène Müntz, in the first volume of the work he is publishing on the history of the Renaissance, will not admit that Alberti is responsible for anything more than the general arrangement of the interior. He expresses his views as follows: "A l'intérieur, Alberti prit le parti de conserver les baies gothiques, et à cela se borne d'une manière générale son intervention. Il m'est impossible, en effet, de croire qu'un styliste de sa force ait présidé à l'arrangement bizarre, incohérent, baroque, des ornements destinés à recouvrir les baies des chapelles, de ces bas-reliefs dont les bordures coupent chaque pilastre en trois ou quatre tronçons informes. Aussi ai-je hâte de laver sa mémoire d'une telle tache."^a

If, however, we examine the decorative details of the chapel of St. Sigismund we find that many of them, such as the shields and the wreaths encircling roundels of porphyry, are repeated on the exterior of the church. It is difficult to believe that Alberti would have copied these motives from another man's design. One of the most pleasing and original features of the exterior is the exquisite frieze in very flat relief which runs round the top of the marble podium (see Plate X.), and consists of a series of wreaths linked together with conventional roses; each wreath encircling a monogram, shield, or device of Sigismund. The effect of this band of ornament is wonderfully heightened by a cable moulding of red Verona marble introduced immediately below it.

In examining the richly decorated chapels of the Blessed Sacrament and St. Gaudentius (7 and 8, fig. 2) I observed a band of sculptured ornament passing just under the windows. From its size and general scheme this band recalled to my mind the frieze of the podium outside, notwithstanding that the sculptured details (which include winged genii bearing garlands) are different, and that the treatment of the relief, as well as the style of drawing, indicates another designer. It occurred to me, at once, as singular that I had noticed no such frieze in the corresponding places in the chapels of St. Sigismund and the Madonna dell' Acqua. In the last-named chapel, which has suffered somewhat severely from the hands of a modern restorer, I found the space just below the windows filled with a band of dark marble, having plain circular discs of a lighter

^a *Histoire de l' Art pendant la Renaissance*, vol. i. p. 463.

coloured marble inserted into it. This was very evidently a nineteenth century invention, and the origin of it became evident at once when I crossed over to the opposite chapel of St. Sigismund. There the corresponding space is filled in with wooden boarding, to which plain wooden roundels are fixed at regular intervals by way of ornament. The clever restorer of the chapel of the Madonna had elaborately copied in marble the poor wooden makeshift of the people who, for some purpose or other, had wrenched out the richly sculptured frieze which originally filled the space. It seemed probable to me, at the moment, that in the dark ages of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries this work had been sold to some enterprising collector of antiquities. But on going to the outside of the church I was much struck with the wonderful state of preservation of the frieze of the podium, considering its exposed situation. Closer examination showed that certain slabs, especially a connected series of them at the east end of the south side, were much whiter in colour than others, and the suggestion at once occurred to me that the disappearance of the friezes from the chapels of St. Sigismund and the Madonna dell' Acqua might be due to their having been used for the repair and completion of the external frieze in modern times; probably at the beginning of the century when the church became cathedral at the command of the Emperor Napoleon. I found that the vertical measurement of the space occupied by the boarding in the chapel of St. Sigismund and by its marble imitation in the opposite chapel (2 feet 8½ inches) exactly corresponded with the same measurement in the outer frieze, including the red Verona marble cable-moulding below. The total length of frieze that would have been available for this repair, supposing that the slabs were all got out uninjured, would be 57½ feet. The fresh-looking pieces in the podium frieze amount, according to my notes, to 67½ feet, or 10 feet more; but my examination was unfortunately rather hurried, and I was not aware at the time that the north side of the church was formerly hidden by buildings and must have been protected from being injured. Moreover, one or two slabs of the frieze seem to be modern copies. Upon the whole, then, I regard it as practically certain that the first-constructed chapel, commenced in 1447, had originally a band of ornament below the windows, exactly corresponding with the frieze of the podium which we must believe to be Alberti's design. I have no doubt the circular discs of the wooden panelling are intended for rude representations of the beautiful wreaths which were the principal element of design in the original marble band.

It seems exceedingly improbable that Alberti would borrow from the chapel, if it was another man's work, such a highly characteristic, indeed I believe

unique, feature as the frieze of the podium; and I therefore come back to my contention that the chapel was designed by Alberti himself. I see no reason for hesitating to ascribe to him either the flat niches which divide up the piers or the porphyry elephants which support them below. Alberti would not all at once divest his mind of the traditional forms of the middle ages, especially of so well-established a form as an arched opening flanked with niches containing sculpture. An interesting illustration of this is seen in one of his latest designs, the façade of the church of St. Andrew at Mantua. There the wide central space, marked off by pilasters, is filled by a single imposing arch, whilst the narrower lateral divisions of the composition are divided up horizontally into three sections, each with a window or door, so that the three apertures have the effect of three superposed niches. Müntz remarks, rightly enough, that Brunellesco would only have put a single window in this place. As regards the elephants, I have already mentioned that Vasari says that Alberti was the first of the moderns who tried to work porphyry.

Who is the author of the scheme of decoration for the interior of the church?

Looking to the general character of the architectural enrichment of the interior of the church, I had long ago arrived at the conclusion expressed by Mons. Müntz, in the passage quoted above, that Alberti cannot be its author. Although the details of the work, if analysed, are classical, the acanthus leaf running through the whole of the ornamentation, the designer has been quite untrammelled by classical precedents. He has designed the foliage, more particularly in the filling-in of the spandrils above the arches of the nave, with great boldness and originality, but with none of the studied refinement of Alberti. The mouldings which divide the panels of the chapels of the Cuor Gesu and St. Michael are altogether impossible for an architect of Alberti's knowledge of the antique; and this remark applies to the bases, if not to the capitals, of the pilasters placed between the piers of the nave. On the other hand, the mouldings of the arches and the capitals of the large pilasters are of great beauty and refinement, and must, as it seems to me, be ascribed to an architect of no lesser rank than Alberti.

Who, then, is the architect to whom the rest of the decoration of the interior can be ascribed if not to Alberti? A single directing mind is indicated by the symmetrical arrangement which has placed the sumptuous chapels at either end of the nave opposite to one another, and has effected a similar correspondence between the plainer chapels of the Cuor Gesu and St. Michael.

That Matteo Nuti of Fano was not the architect employed seems evident from his own letter, already quoted, in which he states that he has been with Maestro Alvise, who had shown him the design or drawing of the nave which is to come into the body of the church. From the way in which he refers later on in the same letter to the drawing that Alberti had sent from Rome with regard to what Nuti calls the matter of the niches (by which he means the arcades for the north and south façades), we may infer that the drawing for the nave was by some other hand than Alberti's. The same letter shows that Nuti had some employment in connection with the decoration of the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua. He mentions that after the holidays (*i.e.* after Christmas) he will set to work upon the cornice (or moulded basement) which goes round the lower part of the chapel within, but that he cannot go on any further until the elephants are made. We have seen that the elephants for the chapel of St. Sigismund were already placed and duly blessed in 1450. It is therefore clear that the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua is referred to by Nuti, and that it was not completed in 1454. We must suppose that the decorations of the nave generally, as distinguished from the chapels, had not been begun in the last-mentioned year, because the design for it was shown to Nuti as something new in December. He was no new comer, except in so far as he had been away on a mission to Sigismund, who was on active service.

Considering the position held by Matteo de' Pasti in connection with the works, it would be a reasonable conjecture that he may have been the author of the design for the nave, but we have no information that would in any way connect him with it. If it had been his invention it is not likely that he would have left Maestro Alvise to show the design to Nuti. We know that Pasti was in Rimini at the time, and we know also from the chancellor's letter of the 18th December, 1454, that another master employed at Rimini, the sculptor Agostino di Duccio, was away just then temporarily at Cesena. If he was the author of the design, we can understand how it came about that Nuti had to go to Maestro Alvise in order to see it. The passage in the chancellor's letter referring to Agostino states that there is nothing wanting to the tomb except a little to the top of it, and that when Agostino returns he (the chancellor) will get him to finish it immediately. There is every probability that the tomb referred to is the great sarcophagus of Sigismund's ancestors in the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua, because this is the only tomb that has not a plain top. If we examine the left hand panel in the front of this fine sarcophagus we find that all the elements of the decoration of the nave are represented in the relief which has for its subject Sigismund and his ancestors assembled at the foot of a statue of Minerva.

Apart from the evidence of the chancellor's letter, we could hardly be wrong in referring this relief to Agostino, upon the strength of the characteristic swirls of the robes of Minerva; having regard to his undoubted work at Perugia and in the chapel of St. Gaudentius. The horses in the right hand panel, too, exactly correspond with those in the chapel of the Sacrament.

Although Agostino di Duccio was an exquisite sculptor, in his own peculiar mode, he was by no means a great architect. There is nothing in his subsequent architectural work at Perugia to disturb the conclusion that he may have been responsible for the inferior work at Rimini; and, in fact, the close resemblance of many of the details of the Porta di S. Pietro and the Cappella of S. Bernardino at Perugia to the architecture of the Tempio Malatestiano is well known to students.

I should like to conclude this part of my paper with a recapitulation of the points I have tried to elucidate.

I first explained the change in the design of the lateral façades, which was proposed by Alberti in 1454; and I showed the bearing which it has upon the understanding of Alberti's letter to Matteo de' Pasti, in which he uses the famous phrase about "making discord of all that music."

I next showed that Sigismund's schemes at St. Francis's began with the founding of a chapel to his patron saint in 1447, and that this chapel was completed and consecrated in 1452.

I produced evidence to show that very little progress had been made with the exterior of the building at the end of the year 1454; that the chapel of the Madonna was in a very unfinished state; and that the general scheme for the architectural enrichment of the nave had not been begun; that the date 1450, which occurs so frequently on the building, is no guide to the dates of the various parts of it; and that there was no inauguration of the Tempio in that year.

Finally, the question was discussed as to whether Alberti was the architect of the chapel of St. Sigismund, and whether Agostino di Duccio was the author of the architectural embellishments of the nave, which serve as a framework for the great series of sculptured reliefs I propose to discuss in Part II. of this paper.

PART II.—SCULPTURE.

In studying the architecture of the Tempio Malatestiano we are stimulated by the interest which belongs to one of the earliest attempts of the Italians to revive their national style, and also by the personal interest attaching to the earliest architectural work of such a famous man as Leon Battista Alberti. But when we come to consider the sculpture, which has been lavished with such wonderful

profusion upon the interior of the church, we have no longer the attraction of a great personality, like that of Alberti; neither have we the charm which belongs to the first rise of fresh ideals in the domain of art. The new ideals in sculpture had been created, earlier in the century, by the powerful minds of those enthusiastic students of antiquity Ghiberti and Donatello, who had both of them reached old age by the year 1450. The impulse given to the sculptor's art by the refined idealism of the one and the noble realism of the other was, however, by no means exhausted. Formalism had not yet taken the place of individuality, and some inspiration was still derived, at first hand, by the younger generation from the discoveries of scholars and antiquaries. The new learning was interpreted by artists in their own way, often with a quaint and delightful result; although it is not to be compared with the grander achievements of the men of the older generation, who had been contented to use their knowledge of the secrets of ancient art for the purpose of giving new life to the treatment of Christian or contemporary subjects.

Luca della Robbia, to whom Vasari attributes the reliefs of children playing musical instruments, on the piers of the chapel of St. Michael at Rimini, belonged to the earlier and greater generation of sculptors. But Vasari's attribution is evidently a mere conjecture, due to the superficial resemblance of some of the figures to those in Luca's cantoria, now in the cathedral museum in Florence.^a Possibly, also, the fact that the backgrounds of the reliefs in the chapel of St. Michael, and those in the opposite chapel of the Cuor Gesu, were coloured blue may have reminded Vasari of the blue and white glazed terra cotta for which Luca della Robbia was so famous. The evidence of dates entirely disproves Vasari's statement.

The other sculptors mentioned by Vasari, in connection with this church, are Simone, whom he calls the brother of Donatello, but who appears to be a certain Simone di Nanni Ferucci, and Bernardo Ciuffagni. Vasari designates Simone as the author of the chapel of St. Sigismund;^b and, with regard to Ciuffagni, he states that that sculptor wrought in St. Francis's at Rimini a marble tomb for Sigismund Malatesti, and executed his portrait there the size of life.^c

Both Ciuffagni and Simone were very second-rate men, whose work deserves

^a The Tempio Malatestiano must have been well-known to Vasari, as he not only painted for the high altar an oil picture of St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, but also executed a painting in fresco in the church of the Olivetan order at Rimini.

^b See Milanesi's *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 460.

^c Bernardo Ciuffagni che lavorò a Rimini in San Francesco una sepoltura di marmo per Gismondo Malatesti e vi fece il suo ritratto di naturale. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 462.

only passing note. It has been left for modern research to show that Agostino di Duccio was the only sculptor of talent employed at Rimini; and of him I shall speak later on. But we must bear in mind the probable co-operation of the distinguished medallist Matteo de' Pasti, who seems practically to have held the appointment of *protomaestro* or clerk of the works under Alberti. The reverse of one of his medals of Sigismund, dated 1446, representing a seated female figure holding a broken column, is repeated on the lintel of the exquisitely carved doorway of the chapel of the Relics (3, fig. 2); and the obverse of another medal, with a portrait of Sigismund, is reproduced more than once. It does not seem to me probable that these reproductions in marble are the work of the medallist himself, as they adhere too closely in details to the medals, whilst at the same time they are inferior to them in expression and sentiment. Dr. Friedländer, the learned author of the *Italienische Schaumünzen*, may have been right in detecting the design of Matteo de' Pasti in one, at least, of the panels in the chapel of the Cuor Gesù; and it is highly probable that the panel in the chapel of the Sacrament, with the relief of Capricorn, which bears so strong an impress of the method of Pisanello, was designed by Matteo.

The Tombs.

Before I discuss the sculptured decoration of the piers of the chapels, I wish to make a few observations on three tombs which may be said to form part of the general scheme of Sigismund: his own tomb, that of his ancestors, and that of his wife Isotta.

The tomb of Sigismund is on the west wall of the church, immediately to the right as one enters the building. Mons. Yriarte infers from the fact that it has above it a tablet with a portrait of Alberti, facing a similar tablet with a portrait of Sigismund, that Alberti must be the designer of the tomb as well as of the church. This is a very slender foundation to build upon, and the only other argument Mons. Yriarte adduces in support of his attribution is the fine style of the honeysuckle ornament on the frieze, in which he thinks he recognises the design of Alberti. I am not at all sure that the portrait is that of Alberti, and it appears to me that the question of the authorship of the tomb must be left an open one, notwithstanding that the point is particularly interesting, owing to the very close resemblance between the general design of the monument and those of the tombs of Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce in Florence, generally regarded as two of the finest sepulchral monuments in Tuscany. The point of interest in this resemblance lies in the fact that the Leonardo Bruni monument is the work of Bernardo Rossellino, and that an intimate connection exists between

the architectural designs of Rossellino and those of Alberti. I refer, of course, particularly to the Piccolomini palaces at Siena and Pienza, the work of Rossellino, and the Rucellai Palace in Florence, of which Alberti was the designer. Perkins gives 1444, the year in which Bruni died, as the date of his monument. This would be certainly earlier than the date of the Sigismund monument, and probably the Marsuppini monument of 1454, which is by Desiderio, was not later than that of Sigismund.

Judging by Alberti's rigid adherence to classical precedent in his book *De Re Edificatoria*, it might be supposed that he was too close a student of the antique to have been the originator of the class of monuments to which the Bruni and Marsuppini tombs belong. Their design is based upon earlier Italian precedents, more particularly the sepulchral monuments of Donatello and Michelozzo; but at the same time it is a distinct development. Such a development requires a master mind, and I am strongly inclined (having in view the intimate connection between Bernardo Rossellino and Alberti) to attribute it to the latter. In his architectural practice he followed Brunellesco much more closely than the antique, as is well seen by the façade of S. Maria Novella, in Florence. It is singular that on the Sigismund tomb the lunette above is rendered meaningless by the omission of the Madonna and Holy Child, which fill the tympana on the tombs by Donatello, as well as on those by Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano; but this is, of course, part of the studied paganism which we might expect from a tomb after the design of Alberti. The same thing is seen in the façade of the cathedral church of Pienza, by Rossellino.

Tomb of Isotta.

The tomb of Sigismund is a development of one of the characteristic forms of monument of the fourteenth century in Italy, that of a sarcophagus under an arched recess. The tomb of Isotta, high up on the eastern wall of the chapel of St. Michael, represents also another common Italian Gothic form in which the sarcophagus is supported on brackets or consoles projecting from the wall. The sarcophagus of Isotta, instead of resting directly on the richly foliated brackets, is supported on the backs of two elephants carved in a manner remarkable for its truth to nature considering the date of the work. The shape of the sarcophagus is identical with that of the corresponding part of Sigismund's tomb; but, in all other respects, the two designs are totally opposed in character.^a The studied simplicity and refinement of Sigismund's monument present a great contrast to the grandiose character of that of Isotta, with its helmet and coronet, its huge

^a Semper assigns the work to Ciuffagni, and we need not quarrel with this attribution.

mantling and wide-spreading crest and motto. It should be noted that the angels bearing a scroll on the front of the sarcophagus are a repetition of a similar motive on the tomb of Pope John XXIII. by Donatello.

Tomb of the ancestors of Sigismund.

The third and most important of the tombs at Rimini is that contained in an arched recess in the western wall of the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua (2, fig. 2). It is a large sarcophagus of a well-known Roman form, constructed by order of Sigismund for holding all the bones of his ancestors which had been disturbed in the reconstruction of the church. The front of the sarcophagus has three panels divided by elegant pilasters; the central panel filled with an inscription and the two side panels with low reliefs of the finest workmanship, containing elaborate compositions with architectural backgrounds. The subject of the one panel is the triumph of Sigismund, conceived after the fashion of the "Triumph" of Petrarch. The other shows Sigismund standing at the foot of a statue of Minerva and surrounded by an assemblage of his ancestors. It is in connection with this remarkable tomb or ossuary that we learn, as I have already mentioned in the first part of this paper, the name of the sculptor to whom we must ascribe the most attractive of the sculptures at Rimini, Agostino di Duccio.

The chancellor, Pietro de Genari, writing to Sigismund, on the 18th December, 1454, concludes his letter as follows: "There is nothing more to be done to the sepulchre, except a little to the cover; and when M. Agostino returns from Cesena I will get him to do it directly."^a Notwithstanding that the term used is merely "la sepultura," without further indication, there can be no reasonable doubt that M. Yriarte is right in concluding, from the simple character of the top of the other two tombs, that the one in the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua must be that referred to. Mons. Yriarte's studies at Rimini and Perugia had already led him to the conclusion that the author of the sculpture covering the façade of the chapel of S. Bernardino in the latter city was also the sculptor of much of the work at Rimini, when he came across the passage in Pietro de Genari's letter I have just quoted. He noticed the close resemblance in design and execution between the reliefs on the sarcophagus and some of those in the chapel of the Sacrament. These latter, again, so far as evidence of style goes, must undoubtedly be ascribed to the sculptor of the chapel of S. Bernardino. The letter of Pietro de Genari comes, therefore, as a welcome confirmation of what was already in the

^a A la sepultura non manca se non uno pocho al coperchio et commo M. Agostino retorná de Zesena subito glie la faro fornire. Yriarte's *Rimini*, p. 407.

highest degree probable; and further confirmation is afforded by the few known facts of the life of Agostino di Duccio. Born in Florence in 1418, he was banished, or he fled, from that city in 1446, in consequence of a charge of theft. He is known to have proceeded to Venice; this fact being mentioned in a petition from his mother, declaring his innocence and begging for his pardon. There is no further trace of him in the Italian records until 1457, when he went to Perugia and commenced the works at S. Bernardino. This gap in his history is very nearly accounted for by the period during which the construction of the Tempio Malatestiano was going forward. The angels in extremely low relief which are sculptured on the east wall of the chapel of St. Sigismund were regarded even by Mr. Perkins, at the time he wrote his *Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture*, 1883 (p. 129), as reasonably attributable to Agostino di Duccio, notwithstanding that they do not, according to Mr. Perkins, recall the sculptor's work at Perugia, owing to difference of scale and treatment of surface.

The Chapel of St. Sigismund (1, fig. 2).

The reliefs which decorate the piers at the two earlier chapels at Rimini, those at the west end of the building, dedicated to St. Sigismund and to the Madonna respectively, are distinguished from the other reliefs in the church by their very high projection. They have, in fact, the effect of figures in the round. Their scale is also larger; and, as a consequence, we have only two superposed series of panels, or shallow niches, instead of three, as in the other chapels (see fig. 1). In the chapel of St. Sigismund the lower series of niches are filled with female figures representing the cardinal and theological Virtues; Justice being omitted from the latter category. These figures do not show any originality of treatment, and the symbolism employed is the ordinary one: Faith with chalice and cross; Hope, with clasped hands, looking upwards; Fortitude, with the pillar, etc. The representation of Temperance, pouring a liquid from a large flask into a smaller one, evidently the qualifying of wine with water, is, perhaps, unusual; but it agrees with the rendering of the same subject in the series of early engravings known as the Tarocchi cards, and a fifteenth-century carved bone casket in the South Kensington museum. The three niches on each side, above those of the Virtues, are occupied by figures bearing shields with various devices of the Malatesta family.

Dr. Hans Semper, who has studied the works of Donatello and his school with great care, ascribes the statue of St. Sigismund over the altar to Ciuffagni, and the reliefs on the piers may have been designed, if not executed, by that sculptor.

Chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua (2, figs. 1 and 2).

The subjects on the piers of the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua are the Sibyls. It is clear that these figures were designed by an indifferent sculptor, brought up in the school of Donatello; as they exaggerate the manner of that master, and are, in truth, very second-rate performances. Mons. Yriarte ascribes them without hesitation to Ciuffagni.

Chapel of the Sacred Heart, or Cuor Gesu (6, figs. 1 and 2).

The second open chapel, on the north side of the church, is now called the Cappella del Cuor Gesu. Its piers are decorated with reliefs representing children's games (*giuochi fanciulleschi*). The children are piping, or dancing, or riding on dolphins, or floating on inflated wine-skins, or carrying one of their number in triumph, or riding a-cock-horse on walking-sticks. Obviously designed by a close student of the method of Donatello, these groups are conceived in a very different spirit from the joyous dances of the pulpit of Prato, or the singing gallery of S. Maria del Fiore.

The grandeur of Donatello's style imparts such a dignity to his conceptions, that no question of their essentially religious character arises in the mind; whilst the children at Rimini seem to have sorrow and apprehension in their faces, and yet their actions are essentially trivial and mundane. Some may think that the touch of sadness and wistfulness, which runs through nearly all the sculptured work I have yet to notice, was due either to the spirit of scepticism abroad, or to the extinction of the old freedom of the Italian cities; but if I am right in regarding Agostino di Duccio as the main author of these works, it may be that the characteristic I refer to is due, in part at least, to the bitterness of an exile's life.

It seems to me that at least three different sculptors must have been employed on the reliefs in the chapel of the Cuor Gesu. Two of the panels of the western pier (three children mounted on an altar and others carrying one of their companions in triumph) and one on the eastern pier (children riding on dolphins) have characteristics in common which suggest the influence of Luca della Robbia. One panel, that of the bathing scene, is remarkable for its gem-like finish; and I call particular attention to it, on account of its striking similarity to some of the panels of the opposite chapel, as regards the types and expressions of the children's heads. In the treatment of the planes it also resembles those works, as well as the reliefs in the chapel of St. Gaudentius. As there is every reason to believe that the reliefs of the last-mentioned chapel are from the design, and most of them from the chisel, of Agostino di Duccio, I conclude that the panel

of the bathing children, and that one only, in the chapel of the Cuor Gesu, is by the hand of Agostino. In comparing the reliefs of this chapel and those in the opposite chapel of St. Michael with the other sculptured work in the church, we must not lose sight of the fact that the material in which these particular reliefs are executed differs essentially from the harder stones on which the other work is sculptured. The stones used for the chapels of the Cuor Gesu and St. Michael are exceedingly soft, and when quite fresh could, no doubt, be cut with an ordinary knife. Unfortunately I do not know the lithological character of the material; but I suppose it to be the stone mentioned by Alberti when treating of gesso or plaster. He says, "near Rimini, a city in the Romagna, there is a kind of gesso so solid that you would say that it was marble or alabaster. This I formerly had sawn with a toothed saw of steel, it being most convenient and suitable for incrusting interior and exterior walls."^a I have already mentioned that the background of the reliefs is coloured blue. From the nature of the stone it takes colour well.

Chapel of St. Michael (5, fig. 2).

As the chapel of St. Michael contains the tomb of Isotta, it may be thought that the children playing musical instruments, who are the subjects of the reliefs on the piers, have some reference to her. In Sigismund's ode to Isotta, published by Yriarte,^b he calls on harps, citherns and lutes, pipes and German trumpets, to aid him with their amorous sounds. It is more probable, however, that these winged children, or angels, have reference to the dedication of the chapel to St. Michael, the archangel, whose statue is over the altar. M. Yriarte may be right in supposing that St. Michael is represented under the form of Isotta, but I cannot myself see the likeness. The photographs I am able to show (these were exhibited at the meeting of the Society) will relieve me of the task of trying to describe the beautiful groups of angels, which are, I believe, all from the design of Agostino di Duccio, and mostly from his chisel. With regard to the musical instruments, I must be content with a bare list of them. I notice

^a Ancora appresso arimino, città in Romagna, si trova una spezie di gesso in tal modo sodo che diresti fusse marmo o alabastro, el quale già feci segare con sega d' acciaio dentata, per essere comodissima e atta a incrustare parete e faccie. Alberti dell' Arte Edificatoria, Bonucci, *Opere Volgari di L. B. Alberti*, vol. iv. p. 305.

^b Arpe sonate citere e lauti
E pifari e trombetti di Lamagna
Sicche col vostro son damor maiuti.

Yriarte, p. 392.

pipes, two descriptions of horns, an organ, a harp, a cither, a lute, two stringed instruments played with the bow, a drum, a pair of kettle drums, a tambourine or timbrel, and a triangle. The organ is remarkable for containing the only sacred inscription in the building, "SPERO IN DEO." It has been supposed to be the name of an artist, "Sperandeo," but without good grounds.

Chapel of the Sacrament (7, fig. 2).

Mons. Yriarte pronounces the eighteen reliefs which decorate the piers of the chapel of St. Jerome, or, as it is now called, the chapel of the Sacrament, to be, certainly, the most characteristic in the whole building, both on account of the nature of the subjects, and also of the mode of treating them.^a The planets and the signs of the zodiac, which really form the subjects of these sculptures (as I shall presently show), are, however, as it seems to me, quite in accordance with the general iconography of the building. If Mons. Yriarte had studied the series of ninety-six reliefs at Rimini as a connected whole, instead of making conjectures as to the subjects of particular panels, he would no doubt have fully cleared up the meaning of the reliefs of the chapels of the Sacrament and St. Gaudentius, which puzzled him so much. The most obvious thing about the whole suite of subjects is its thoroughly secular character. Under the powerful influence of the revival of Greek literature, and the discoveries in the field of Roman archaeology, the minds of artists and their patrons experienced a sudden revulsion against those conventional themes which had for so long furnished subjects for all the arts, whether applied to secular or ecclesiastical purposes. The artists could get no real inspiration for their work from the old stories, in which they had no vital faith: and yet they were unable, for want of assimilation of the new learning, to attempt entirely new subjects. They naturally, therefore, fell back at first upon such secular subjects as had come within the scope of medieval art. Secular, classical, and even ludicrous incidents were by no means excluded from the sculptural decoration of the churches of the middle ages, either in Italy or in the north of Europe; but they were, as a rule, of incidental or subordinate occurrence inside the sacred building. The exteriors, however, as for example in the case of the great French churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were commonly decorated with the signs of the zodiac in a conspicuous manner. The famous Bible of Amiens, as the noble series of sculptures on the west front of the cathedral church of that city has been called, includes not only a zodiac, but also a series of incidents of daily life, illustrating

^a Yriarte, p. 216.

the months of the year. Similar secular subjects were not wanting on the exterior of Italian Gothic churches; and there is some reason to believe that the subjects of the sculptures in the chapel of St. Gaudentius at Rimini were suggested by the reliefs on Giotto's bell-tower in Florence, which represent, amongst other things, not only the medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium*, but also the arts and occupations of daily life.

In Italy the systematic use of secular subjects was first adopted in the fifteenth century in connection with the minor arts. We have an excellent example of this in the art of printing designs from engraved metal plates. I am not aware that attention has been called to the remarkable coincidence between the class of subjects chosen by the earliest Italian engravers, those of the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the series of sculptures at Rimini. The set of prints of the planets in the British Museum is the earliest to which a date can be given. It is admitted that they must have been published before 1465, and it is probable that they were made between 1460 and 1465, *i.e.*, within half-a-dozen years of the date of the reliefs in the chapel of the Sacrament. Of nearly the same, and probably earlier, date are the so-called "Tarocchi cards," in reality a set of engravings embodying a philosophical survey of human activity as controlled by the circumstances of life and the influences of the planets. This set of prints covers nearly half of the subjects of the Rimini reliefs. It embraces not only the Apollo with the nine muses, and the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of the chapel of St. Gaudentius, but the planets of the chapel of the Sacrament, and also the cardinal and theological virtues of the chapel of St. Sigismund. The sibyls of the chapel of the Madonna dell' Acqua are matched by the fine set of early prints of the sibyls ascribed, and probably rightly so, to the design of Botticelli. As the number of the sibyls is by no means determined, it is worthy of note that there are twelve of them in the prints, and also twelve in the chapel. Another very early set of prints of the Triumphs of Petrarch, ascribed by Bartsch to Nicoletto da Modena, further illustrates the treatment of three of the planetary deities in the chapel of the Sacrament, as also the triumph of Sigismund in one of the panels of the great sarcophagus of the Antenati. I do not wish to say, either that the early engravers in Florence or Venice copied from the Rimini sculptures, or that the designers of these sculptures could have consulted the works of the engravers; for the differences of detail forbid such an idea. But I wish to point out that the class of subjects was, as it were, "in the air," at the time, and was naturally seized hold of by the designer when the old theologian themes were exhausted for the moment, or failed to appeal to the minds of the younger artists in touch with the humanistic movement.

The following diagram shows the subjects of the reliefs in the chapel of the Sacrament and their arrangement. It will be seen that the central line of panels, taken vertically, *i.e.*, the panels which are under the soffit of the arch and look east and west, have impersonations of the planets as their subjects, whilst the six outer and the six inner panels, looking north and south respectively, are

Subjects of Reliefs in CHAPEL OF THE SACRAMENT (7, fig. 2).

| EASTERN PIER. | | | Leo | WESTERN PIER. | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | 4 | 7 | | 16 | 13 | 10 |
| <i>Libra</i> | VENUS | <i>Taurus</i> | | <i>Scorpio</i> | MARS | <i>Aries</i> |
| 2 | 5 | 8 | | 17 | 14 | 11 |
| <i>Virgo</i> | MERCURY | <i>Gemini</i> | | <i>Pisces</i> | JUPITER | <i>Sagittarius</i> |
| 3 | 6 | 9 | | 18 | 15 | 12 |
| <i>Cancer</i> | LUNA | <i>Aquarius</i> | | <i>Capricorn</i> | SATURN | SOL |
| Outer Panels. (N) | Panels under Arch. | Inner Panels. (S) | | Inner Panels. (S) | Panels under Arch. | Outer Panels. (N) |

(with one single exception) filled with figures representing the signs of the zodiac. The single exception is the lowest outer panel of the western pier, which contains a thoroughly original representation of the sun. It is evident that in

this scheme only eleven of the signs of the zodiac are represented. The difficulty of getting 19 subjects (7 planets + 12 signs of the zodiac) into 18 designs was not beyond the resources of an artist of the fifteenth century; but here the designer preferred to throw out the sign of Leo and use it elsewhere. On the face of the arch of the chapel near the top, on the western limb of the arch, may be seen the figure of a lion. The exact place is above the word PAN in the inscription that runs along the centre of the moulding. At first sight this arrangement seems a very poor makeshift, but it possibly gives an opportunity for a piece of gross flattery, thoroughly Roman in sentiment. Just above the point of the arch of the chapel is a small panel with a scroll ornament below it. On the panel is represented a triumphal car drawn by horses. The scale is so small that it is difficult to make out the figure on the car. I am inclined to think that it represents Sigismund, and if so, he is evidently intended to have the same relation to the sign of Leo that the planets in the chapel below have to the zodiacal signs placed near them. It is possible, however, that the chariot is meant primarily for that of the sun, and secondarily for that of Sigismund. In the Greek inscription on the robe of the figure of Melpomene in the chapel of St. Gaudentius Sigismund is called the Apollo of Rimini. How far the position of the planets in reference to the signs of the zodiac have an astrological significance I cannot say, having paid no attention to the subject of judicial astrology. But I believe that each of the planets had, in the opinion of astrologers, a special house or constellation in which he was most powerful in his occult influence; and possibly some such principle has determined the placing of the signs of the zodiac about the planets on the piers of this chapel.

Mons. Yriarte finds the whole series of sculptures in the chapel of the Sacrament strangely disquieting, in singular taste, and absolutely inexplicable in a chapel dedicated to St. Jerome. He thinks he has found the key to the enigma in a tasteless poem of Sigismund Pandulph Malatesta, which he discovered in the Vatican. Sigismund addresses it to Isotta as her lover, and in declaring his passion he invokes by name, *seriatim*, not only the planets but the signs of the zodiac, and begs also the animals both wild and tame to plead his cause with his mistress. According to M. Yriarte's view, therefore, the subjects of this chapel, as well as those of the adjoining chapel of St. Michael, are an elaborate special compliment to the halting muse of the lord of Rimini. The general considerations I have advanced above appear to me to show that Mons. Yriarte's conjecture is not well-founded.

The reliefs representing the planets, which are all placed (with the single

exception of the sun) on the central line, *i. e.*, under the arch of the piers, will repay careful examination, if only for the high qualities of imagination and fancy they display; and I propose to describe them in some detail. Three of them, *viz.*, Diana or the moon, Venus, and Mars, are treated in the manner of the Triumphs of Petrarch, of which we have spirited representations in the splendid Flemish tapestries of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth centuries at Hampton Court and the South Kensington Museum. The chariots are shaped like a plain box or chest, mounted on a single pair of wheels. The chariot of the moon has two stages or platforms, the lower one decorated with garlands and the front of the upper one ornamented with a floral design. A railing open in front guards the upper platform, and upon this stands the figure of Diana. With her face thrown upwards, as if to suggest that she keeps her gaze fixed upon the sun, from whom she derives her light, she seems to hurry forward, her mantle blown out behind her like a great sail. The whole design vividly suggests the rapid passage of the moon through the clouds in a high wind. In her hand she holds, as emblem, a large crescent. The boldly foreshortened horses, drawing the chariot, tread on the clouds, which are here represented, as in all these designs, in a curious conventional form, roughly resembling the outline of a fish. A stream, which flows down from the chariot under the horses' hoofs, may be intended to represent the moon's influence over the waters.

Immediately above the relief of Diana is placed the planet Mercury (Plate XI. fig. 2), the most interesting of the series, although not exactly from the point of view suggested by Mons. Yriarte (p. 218), "Mercury," he says, "is the strangest figure of all and indescribable. Not resembling any known myths, it is neither Roman nor Greek nor Assyrian nor Persian," etc.

The mystery which so excited Mons. Yriarte is, however, not very difficult to clear up; and the interest of it lies in the fact that we seem to have here a vivid rendering of purely Greek myths of Hermes by an artist who expresses, entirely after his own fashion, and in accordance with the methods of the middle ages, the ideas of some learned humanist resident at the court of Rimini.

The god stands full face to the spectator, clad down to the knees in a transparent under-garment, with loose cloak flying out behind the figure. He wears a high conical petasus, from under which his long snake-like hair falls down upon his shoulders. In his right hand he holds the caduceus, a long wand reaching higher than his head and passing down, out of sight, into an opening in the ground below his feet. The snakes of the caduceus have heads at both ends, and are twisted into a form resembling a lyre, doubtless with reference to the

invention of stringed instruments by Hermes. This aspect of the god is more clearly shown by the lute in his left hand; and the whole story of the invention is suggested by the tortoises' feet projecting from the sides of the body of the instrument. The high buskins which Mercury wears are furnished with large wings. His right foot rests on dry land; over his left foot there passes a flowing river. The background of the figure is a clear sky studded with stars, but low down about his knees hangs a bank of clouds.

The central opening between the feet, down into which the caduceus passes, is in the form of a well. Within the well, on one side, is an embattled tower, and on the other a group of winged children, one of whom has her hands raised in prayer. Just outside the well is a winged figure clinging to the rod of the caduceus, and a little higher up are two small figures, without wings, descending the rod, head foremost, into the well. Nearly on the same level, a winged genius is also descending headlong, apparently down the right leg of the god. There can be no doubt that the central well is a representation of Hades, and that we have here, under medieval forms, a Hermes Psychopompos, down whose magic rod the souls of men descend into the lower world. In the lowering clouds, and the river flowing over the god's right foot, one is tempted to see a rendering of a Greek aspect of Hermes as the god of rain, the reproductive agency of which may be typified by the crowing cock perched on a stump rising from the river. But I am not aware how far this view of the functions of Hermes was known, either in the fifteenth century or in antiquity. I have been assured on good authority that it is a pure invention of modern philology. At any rate, it would *seem* that in this relief we have three purely mythological aspects of Mercury, as the inventor of stringed music, as the messenger of Hades, and as the god of the storm-cloud and the rain. The common Roman emblem for Mercury, the purse, is not represented. We are led to suspect that the artist had some knowledge of Græco-Roman gems. Those of a late date show Hermes with a very long caduceus. The crowing cock often figures at the foot of the god, and he is sometimes represented as drawing up out of the tomb a diminutive figure of a man (see Nos. 690 and 691 in Mr. A. H. Smith's catalogue of the gems in Brit. Mus.). The way in which the minute folds of transparent drapery are used to bring out the forms of the figure in this relief suggests that the sculptor must have seen ancient Greek statues or statuettes of the school of Phidias. The forms appear to be those of a woman; and this should be noted in connection with the feminine figure of Apollo in the chapel of St. Gaudentius, which Mons. Yriarte has mistaken for a figure of Poetry.

I pass on now to the upper relief, that of the planet Venus. The goddess, entirely naked, has just emerged from the waves. Holding aloft a pair of pecten shells in her right hand, she is in the act of mounting her chariot, drawn by a pair of swans, which walk on the surface of the water. A flight of doves flutters down to greet the new-born deity, a figure very remarkable for grace and skilful treatment of the nude.

The planet Mars, the uppermost figure on the western pier, is represented under the form of a warrior in the full armour of the period of Sigismund. Standing in his chariot, he brandishes his sword with his right hand, and carries on his left arm a shield with the device of a seraph on it. On the front of the chariot, which has four wheels armed with scythes, is seen the pecten of Venus surrounded by a wreath. The horses, in daringly foreshortened view, are controlled by a female figure in long transparent robes. Behind her is one of the dogs of war, and on a tree on the opposite side is a bird of prey whetting his beak.

Below the Mars comes the relief of Jupiter, who is clothed in a loose garment arranged, after the fashion of a *himation*, so as to leave the right breast bare. He wields a four-thonged whip in his right hand. Upon his head, which has long dishevelled hair, is perched the eagle with wings displayed.^a The face of the god is expressive of anger. In his left hand he bears three stalks of grain. By his right foot is the sacred oak. The three objects to the left, looking something like esculent roots, are perhaps intended for thunderbolts. (Cf. fresco of Taddeo di Bartolo in the town hall of Siena). In this relief we see, for the first time, in the thonged whip, an indication of the astrological, rather than the mythological, aspect of the planets.

Beneath the Jupiter comes Saturn, in the form of an old man, fully draped, and wearing on his head a cap of medieval form (? French). In his right hand he holds a sickle, as if in the attitude of reaping; in his left he grasps a diminutive figure of a child, represented as fleeing from him in terror. His mouth is open, and he has already inflicted a wound on the child's thigh. In fact, he is represented as in the act of devouring one of his children. Representations of Kronos in Greek and Graeco-Roman art are so rare that it is probable that the invention is not borrowed from the antique. In the set of Tarocchi cards, Saturn is represented as holding in his right hand a child he is about to devour.

We have now arrived at the last of the planets, the Sun, the only planet on

^a On Roman lamps the eagle is sometimes placed at the head instead of at the foot of Jupiter.



FIG. 1. VIRGO.

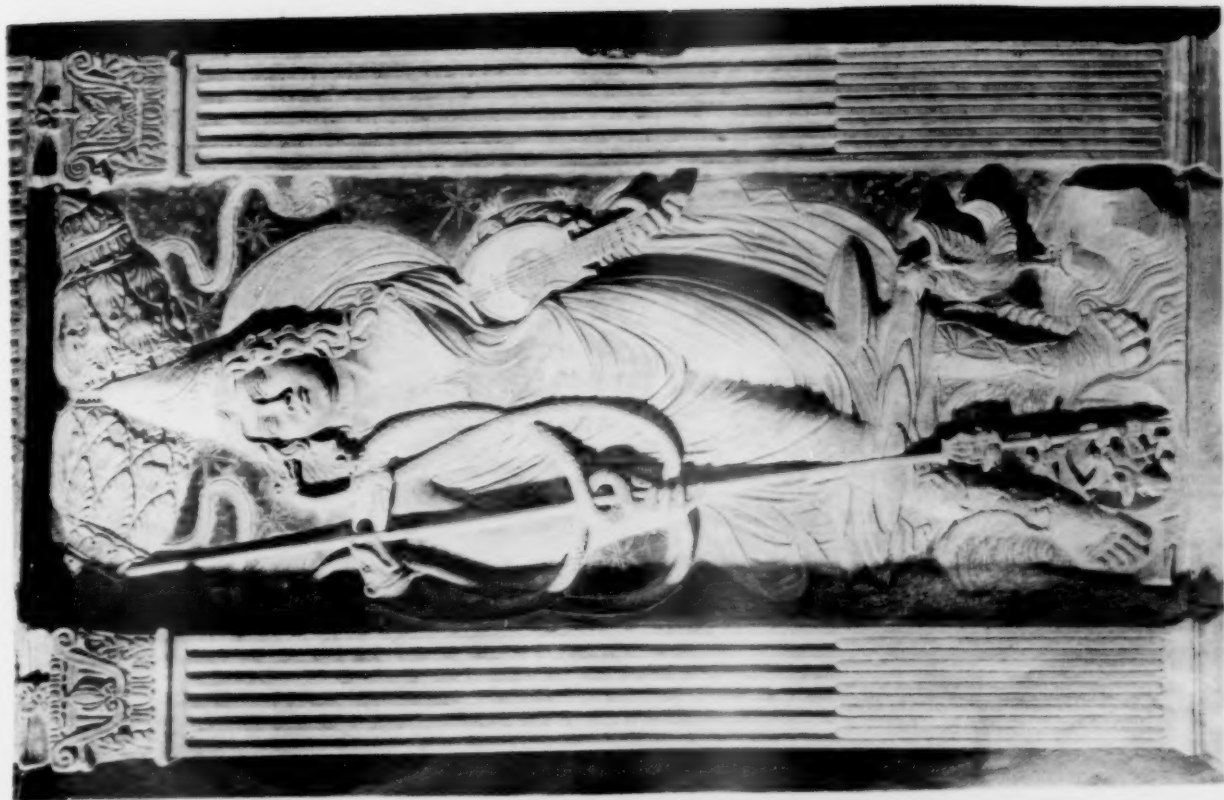


FIG. 2. MERCURY.

TEMPIO MALATESTIANO, RIMINI.—RELIEFS FROM THE CHAPEL OF THE SACRAMENT.

the outer face of the piers. Here the sculptor has given us an entirely original conception of the sun in his purely physical aspect, as breaking through and dispersing the clouds. The boyish figure, which has all but emerged from a bank of clouds, is casting off with his left hand a chlamys, hanging loosely about him. His right arm is still partly hidden in the clouds, and with his hand he lightly grasps a cloud and thrusts it aside. The sun rising from the Adriatic, as seen from Rimini, is probably intended to be represented, from the fact that the lower limbs of the figure are partly in the water. In the long hair, hanging down on the shoulders, there are projecting points, which seem to be intended to indicate the sun's rays; and this is, perhaps, the only motive in the design from a classical source.

I must deal much more rapidly with the signs of the zodiac than I have done with the planets. In the relief of Cancer, the crab fills the upper third of the field; the lower two-thirds being occupied by an extremely interesting view of the city of Rimini, with the sea in the foreground and the strange sugarloaf-shaped mountains of the district at the back. The relief of Aquarius represents the district again, upon the occasion of a great flood. In the centre the elephant of the Malatestas is seen stranded on a rock by the flood. As examples of *stiacciato*, or extremely low relief, these panels are specially remarkable. Capricorn is represented by a very finely-designed figure of a goat, in profile, standing on a steep rock, and browsing on an oak tree. The style of this panel, and its treatment of animal form, are not unworthy of Pisanello himself; and we can hardly be wrong in ascribing the design, if not the actual carving of the marble, to Matteo de' Pasti. Taurus, a bull standing on a rock, and Scorpio, are somewhat rudely carved. They were evidently entrusted to a 'prentice hand, owing to their position, being out of sight. Gemini is represented by two girls linked together; and Pisces by two fishes, arranged to form the letter S on a background of stars. Libra is a bearded man bearing a balance; and Virgo (Plate XI. fig. 1) a girl, carrying what appears to be a palm-branch over her right shoulder. She has a great swirl of drapery behind her. I have no note as to Aries; but, speaking from memory, it is a rather roughly executed figure of a ram. Sagittarius is a powerfully conceived representation of a centaur. The treatment is peculiar, the figure being placed at a considerable angle to the plane of the relief, instead of being parallel with it. The fore legs are entirely omitted, in the same way as the hind legs are left out in the Taurus, which is placed on the field of the composition in a similar fashion. I doubt whether either of them is the work of Matteo de' Pasti.

The mouldings and pilasters framing in the eighteen reliefs I have been describing, correspond exactly with those in the opposite chapel of St. Gaudentius; and the correspondence extends also to the upper part of each panel, which is fitted with a hanging garland or swag. The bases of the great piers of both these chapels are fashioned in the form of large baskets of fruit and flowers, guarded by figures of winged genii bearing garlands. Fortunately, in the chapel of the Sacrament, the fine masses of fruit, flowers, insects, etc. in bronze, which fill the top of the baskets, are still in place. The bronzes from the chapel of St. Gaudentius have disappeared.

Chapel of St. Gaudentius (8, figs. 1 and 2).

Perhaps the most serious reproach that can be brought against the architects of the Renaissance is the almost utter absence of a fine feeling for colour. This was to some extent a natural consequence of a revival based upon the study of the mere skeletons of ancient buildings, which had been entirely stripped of the rich linings of coloured marbles that the Romans used with such profusion. But the result is none the less deplorable; and one of the great attractions of the Tempio Malatestiano lies in the circumstance that there, in spite of the antiquarian influence, the feeling for colour and for difference of surface treatment was still strong. I shall give a few notes on the subject of colour later on. Here, before I enter upon a description of the subjects in the chapel of St. Gaudentius, I may mention that this chapel, which is by far the most beautiful of all, has no trace whatever of colour nor even of gilding. Its special charm is due not only to the extraordinary beauty of some of the figures, which led to their being thought at one time to be original Greek works, but also to the wonderful delicacy of the relief, and to the skilful way in which the surface of the marble is treated. The slabs on which the reliefs are carved are of very fine (Greek?) marble, finer than that of the architectural framing which surrounds them. The figures themselves are polished to the very highest degree, thus giving a shell-like appearance to the surface, and bringing out the faint blue veining of the marble; whilst the back-ground is left rough with the marks of the clawed chisel distinctly visible. The effect of the highly polished figures^a upon the rough back-ground, framed in with a marble of a slightly warmer tone of white, is really

^a In some parts, as in the hair and in a portion of the drapery, the figures are unpolished.

Subjects of Reliefs in CHAPEL OF ST. GAUDENTIUS (8, figs. 1 and 2).

WESTERN PIER.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 4 | 7 |
| Philosophy? | APOLLO | Rhetoric |
| 2 | 5 | 8 |
| TERPSICHORE (Dancing) | CALLIOPE (Epic poetry) | Arithmetic |
| 3 | 6 | 9 |
| POLYHYMNIA (Singing and harmony) | MELPOMENE (Tragedy) | EUTERPE (Music) |

Outer
Panels.
(s)

Panels
under
Arch.

Inner
Panels.
(s)

EASTERN PIER.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 16 | 13 | 10 |
| Astrology | CLIO (History) | ERATO (Erotic poetry) |
| 17 | 14 | 11 |
| URANIA Astronomy | THALIA (Comedy) | Geometry |
| 18 | 15 | 12 |
| Logic | Poetry? | Grammar |

Inner
Panels.
(s)

Panels
under
Arch.

Outer
Panels.
(s)

Trivium { Grammar (12).
Logic (18).
Rhetoric (7).

Quadrivium { Geometry (11).
Arithmetic (8).
Music (9), as EUTERPE.
Astrology (16).

2 F 2

equivalent to the use of colour, and gives an appearance of singular exquisiteness and refinement.

In Nardi's description of the Tempio, published in 1813, he mentions that the chapel of St. Gaudentius contains eighteen slabs of Greek marble with base reliefs, symbolising under the aspect of so many ladies, eighteen of the noblest sciences and arts. Mons. Yriarte has found many extraordinary subjects in this chapel, amongst others botany, medicine, marriage, agriculture, and geography. Symbolical figures usually admit of various interpretations, and any interpretation by the mere light of nature is not of much value. Some acquaintance with the current symbolism of the time is required in order to understand works of this class, and some acquaintance with earlier symbolism is desirable. No one would suppose, for example, that a woman holding a serpent in each hand is meant to represent logic. But the Tarocchi card marked Loica has a dragon covered by a veil as the emblem of logic; and the impersonation of logic in the Spanish chapel in Florence bears a serpent as an emblem.

The key to the subjects of the chapel of St. Gaudentius is to be found in suits "B" and "C" of the Tarocchi cards bearing the numbers 11 to 30. I did not arrive at my identification in that way, but I found comparison with the prints very useful for testing my interpretation. It is, however, rather in the connection of subjects than in the details of the treatment of them that the Tarocchi cards are a guide for us. Only here and there is there any correspondence in the design. The originality of Agostino di Duccio in his conception of his subject comes out very strongly in most cases.

Stated in general terms the subjects of the reliefs in this chapel may be said to be representations of the arts and sciences under the classical form of Apollo and the Muses, to which are added the medieval subjects of the Trivium and Quadrivium. (A diagram of the subjects, as interpreted by me, is given on the preceding page.) One subject is common both to the Muses and the Quadrivium, that of music. We have therefore, so far, only 1 + 9 + 6 or 16 separate subjects. There are three others belonging to suit "C" of the Tarocchi prints, viz., poetry, philosophy, and theology. We need not be surprised if theology were the one omitted by the sculptor in such a pagan scheme as that at Rimini. By the method of exhaustion I arrive at the conclusion that the panels I have numbered 1 and 15 must represent the other two subjects, philosophy and poetry, if the correspondence between the prints and the reliefs is to be entirely trusted. Although it is clear, from the dates, that the prints we have cannot have been used by the sculptor, yet it must not be forgotten that the "naïbis" or hand-painted series



FIG. 1. CALLIOPE.

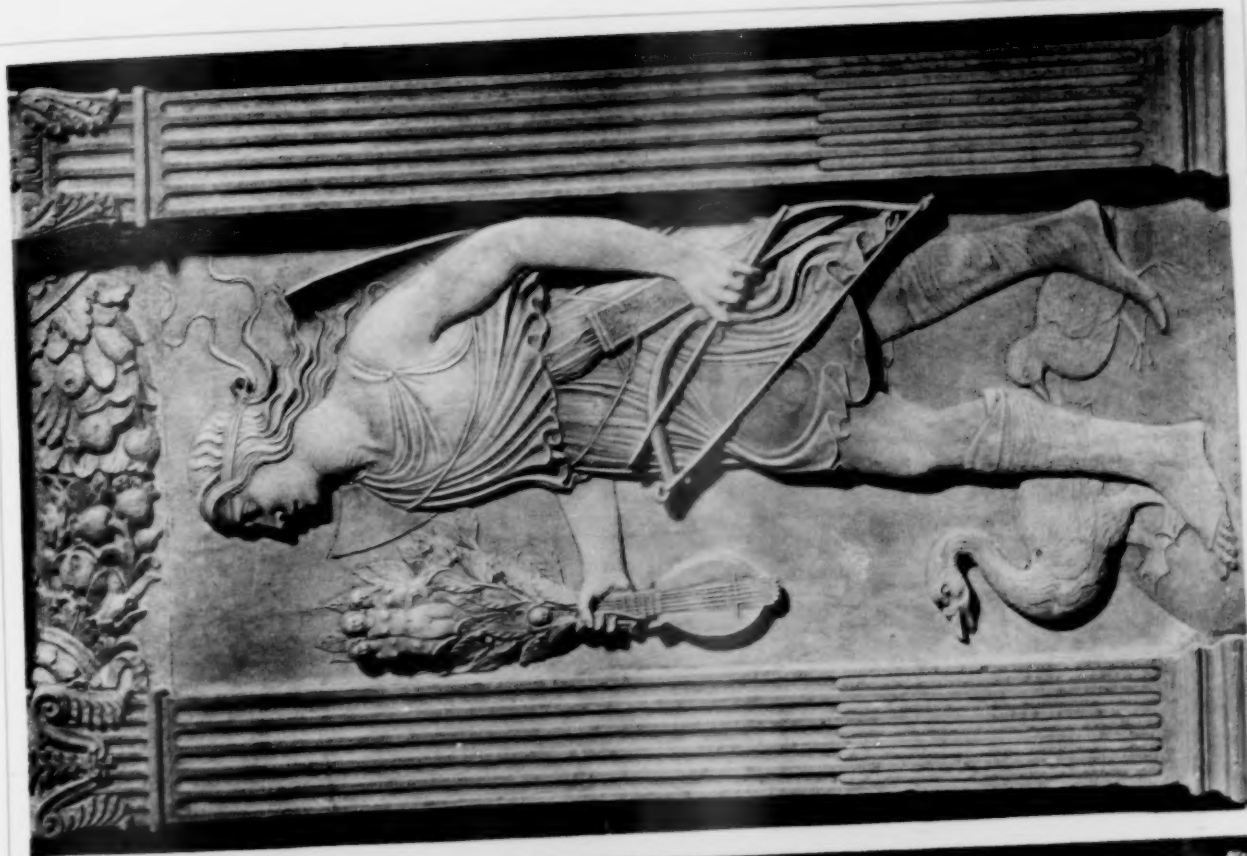


FIG. 2. APOLLO.

TEMPIO MALATESTIANO, RIMINI.—RELIEFS FROM THE CHAPEL OF ST. GAUDENTIUS

of designs which preceded the prints may have been laid under contribution for subjects.^a In any case I do not feel at all sure as to the identification of the reliefs I have called philosophy and poetry. The first may merely represent the scattering of the seed of knowledge, and the second the gathering of the fruit. Against this view, and in favour of the one I have provisionally adopted, is the fact that the figures are standing on globes, just as Apollo and the nine muses do.^b The inferior subjects of the Trivium and Quadrivium (including music) are represented by figures which are not mounted on spheres, but stand either on the level ground or on very low pedestals.

It would be trying the reader's patience too much if I were to describe all the figures in detail, but I will run through them rapidly in order to justify my identification.

No. 4. Apollo, often taken for a female figure, carries in his right hand a lute and also a branch of laurel, out of the midst of which rises a group of the Three Graces. (Plate XII. fig. 2) He holds a bow and arrow in his left hand. By his side hangs his quiver, and his shield is slung over his back. Two birds, a swan and a dove, are at his feet.

No. 5. Calliope (Epic Poetry), with book and long trumpet (Plate XII. fig. 1), may possibly be intended for Clio (history), but Calliope is more probable. She carries the trumpet in the Tarocchi print. The splendid drapery of this figure seems to be derived from a Greek original of a fine period.

No. 6. Melpomene, a figure declaiming with eyes cast up to heaven. She is more splendidly dressed than any other. Richly embroidered orphreys with long Greek inscriptions adorn her gown and robe.

No. 2. Terpsichore presides over a charming group of four diminutive figures of girls dancing.

No. 3. Polyhymnia (Singing and Harmony) carries no emblem but wears a crown adorned with cherubs' heads.

No. 10. Erato presides over a marriage, the end of erotic poetry.

No. 13. Clio (History) wears her robe over her head and carries a long scroll in her hand.

^a The chronicle of Morelli, A.D. 1393, and Decembrio's History of Philip Visconti Duke of Milan, who was born in 1391, afford evidence as to these "naïbis." See Dr. Willshire's *Catalogue of Playing Cards in the British Museum*, 1876, p. 71.

^b I am not certain about Urania, as I omitted to note the point on the spot, and I have no photograph to refer to.

No. 14. *Thalia* (Comedy) is a figure with wildly flying plaits of hair. She holds a style in her right hand.

No. 17. *Urania* (Astronomy) holds in her right hand an armillary sphere mounted on a staff.

We now come to the Trivium: Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric. The first of these (No. 12) is symbolised by a woman who has by her side a diminutive figure of a boy handing up or receiving a school book. Logic (No. 18) is a woman with a serpent in each hand, a forcible representation of a "dilemma." Rhetoric appears to be No. 7, a woman with right hand raised and left arm held across her body.

I have now only three subjects of the Quadrivium, viz., Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astrology, to account for. The fourth, Music, was so fully explained in Mr. Waller's very interesting paper of 1889, that there is nothing more to be said on the subject.*

No. 11, the figure carrying measuring instruments, is clearly Geometry.

No. 8, a figure holding a tablet or slate in one hand, the other being raised as in the act of speaking or teaching, I take to be Arithmetic.

No. 16, a figure taking an observation with a quadrant, we may safely identify with the last subject of the Quadrivium, Astrology.

I have only a word or two to add with regard to No. 15, which I propose to call Poetry, perhaps the most beautiful figure of the whole series in the chapel of St. Gaudentius. (Plate XIII.) The globe on which she is standing is covered with flowers and stalks of corn spring up at her feet. In her right hand she carries a mass of flowers and fruit, which she points to with her left hand. Upon the shoulder of her gown is embroidered the ancient Eastern device of two dragons guarding the sacred tree.

I have little doubt of the general accuracy of the foregoing identifications. Some of them that may appear doubtful derive confirmation from the position they occupy relatively to other more certain subjects.

Use of Colour and Materials.

I will conclude with a few notes on the subject of colour and the use of materials.

The backgrounds of the foliated spandrils of the arches are coloured throughout the church; the colour being red on one side of the arch and green on the other.

* See *Archaeologia*, lii. 175.



POETRY?

TEMPIO MALATESTIANO, RIMINI.—RELIEF FROM THE CHAPEL OF ST. GAUDENTIUS.



The green colour appears to have been renewed; the red seems original. The stilted bases of the pilasters behind the shield-bearing figures above the cornice have generally either a green or blue background. The filling-in of the spandrels of the chapels was never completed. Those of the chapels of St. Sigismund and St. Michael are modern imitations, apparently in plaster.

Chapel of St. Sigismund (1, fig. 2).

The spaces between the pilasters at the back of the chapel below the place for the frieze is lined with the costly yellow and purple marble called "pavonezza." There are considerable remains of the original gilding in this chapel. The cherubs on the abaci of the capitals of the piers had gold hair and wings. The panels of the archivolt were blue and gold. Gilding is used on the outer mouldings of the arch, and also on the tabernacle for the statue of the saint.

Chapel of St. Michael (5, fig. 2).

The outer panels and those under the arch have blue backgrounds, apparently restored. The inner panels retain the original colouring, which is now green, but may have once been blue, as blue frequently turns to green in the course of time. The mantling below the tomb of Isotta is coloured blue and partly gilded. There is no other trace of gilding in this chapel or in the chapel of the Cuor Gesù.

Chapel of the Cuor Gesù (6, figs. 1 and 2).

The sculpture at the back of the piers has been left rough and has suffered from the effect of time. The background of the panels at the back does not appear ever to have been coloured. Those in front and under the arch have blue backgrounds as already mentioned.

Chapel of the Sacrament (7, fig. 2).

The walls are entirely lined with red Verona marble. The panels for the sculpture on the piers had red backgrounds generally; but some of them, certainly those at the back, were blue. The tree in the capricorn relief, and the trees in the aquarius scene, are coloured like bronze.

I must be satisfied with merely mentioning the rich screens of marble which fence in all the chapels. It is to be hoped that these and many other interesting features of the church will some day be fully illustrated by photographic reproductions in a monograph devoted to the subject.

APPENDIX.

Original text of LETTER from LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI to MATTEO DE' PASTI on the subject of the dome and the altered design for the lateral façades of the Tempio Malatestiano. Reprinted from *Bonucci, Opere Volgari di L. B. Alberti*, vol. iv. pp. 397 and 398, and *Yriarte's Rimini*, pp. 416 and 417.

Praestantissimo viro Matthaeo de Bastia amico dulcissimo, Ariminum, salve.

Molto mi fur grate le lettere tue per più rispetti, e fummi gratissimo il signor mio, com' io desiderava, ciò è che pigliasse ottimo consiglio con tutti. Ma quanto tu mi dici, che il Manetto afferma che le cupole denno essere due larghezze alte, io credo più a chi fece Terme e Panteon e tutte queste cose massime, che a lui, e molto più alla ragione che a lui. E se lui se regge a opinione, non mi maraviglierò se errarà spesso. Quanto al fatto de' pilastri nel mio modello, rammentati che io ti dissi: Questa faccia convien che sia opera da per sè, perchè queste larghezze ed altezze delle cappelle mi perturbano. Ricordati e ponvi mente, che nel modello, sul canto del tetto a man ritta e a man manca, v'è una simile cosa, e dissi: Questo pongo io qui per coprir quella parte del tetto *id est* del coperto, quale si farà entro la chiesa, però che questa lunghezza dentro non si può moderare colla nostra facciata, e volse aiutare quel che fatto è, non guastare quello che s'abbia a fare. Le misure e proporzioni de' pilastri, tu vedi onde elle nascono; ciò che tu muti discorda tutta quella musica. E ragioniamo di coprir la chiesa di cose leggere. Non vi fidate su que' pilastri a dar loro carico: e per questo ci pare che la volta in botte, fatta di legname, fosse più utile. Or quel nostro pilastro se non risponde legato con quella della cappella, non monta, perocchè quello della cappella non arà bisogno d'aiuto verso la nostra facciata, e si gli bisognerà ello è sì vicino e quasi legato che n'arà molto aiuto. Adunque se così per altro vi pare, sequite il mio disegno quale, a mio giudizio, sta bene. Del fatto degli occhi, vorrei chi fa professione intendesse il mestier suo. Dichiarai perchè si squarcia il muro ed indeboliscono le finestre per necessità del lume. Se puoi, con meno indebolire, aver più lume, non fai tu pessimamente a farmi quell' incommodo? Da man diritta a man manca del occhio rimane squarciato e tanto areo, quanto il semicirculo sostiene il peso di sopra. Di sotto non sta nulla più forte il lavoro per esso occhio, ed è otturato quello che dee darti il lume. Sono vi molte ragioni a questo proposito, ma sola questa mi basti che mai in edificio lodato presso chi intese quello che niuno intende oggi, mai, mai vedrai fattovi occhio se non alle cupole, ed in luogo della cherica. E questo si fa a certi templi (a Giove, a Febo, quali son padroni della Luce) e hanno certe ragioni alla sua larghezza. Questo dissi per mostrarvi onde esista il vero. Se qui verrà persona darò ogni modo di sodisfare al signor mio. Tu, prego, esamina ed odi molti, e referiscimi. Forse qual che sia dirà cosa di stimarla. Raccomandami quando il vedi o scrivi al signore, a cui desidero in qualunque modo esser grato. Raccomandami a Monsignore tutti quelli che tu credi che me amano. Se arò fidato vi manderò l'Ecatomfilea ed altro.—Vale, &c. Romae, XVIII. Novembris.

BAPTISTA ALBERTIUS.

IX.—*The Vanished Memorials of St. Thomas of Canterbury.* Reviewed by HENRY
SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director.

Read February 26 and March 12, 1891.

IF any Fellows of our Society have lately perused the copious literature on those Memorials of St. Thomas which were long the glories of Christ Church, the cathedral church of Canterbury, and vanished in 1538, I would ask them to compare their experience of the result with mine. I rose from the perusal with a hazy vision of those objects and of the transactions concerning them, such haziness arising from the confused manner in which the notices of them were treated, the neglect to seek for definite meanings of terms, the clinging to sham tradition as if it were real history. In such cases the proper remedy is that which is now being applied to the general history of our country, namely, to rebuild the story out of *affirmative* evidence arranged in order of date and construed in harmony with known events and practices. I propose to apply that remedy here.

My predecessors in research, passing lightly over documents written while the title of the famous archbishop to the rank of saint was yet unchallenged, and the memorials of him were yet universally honoured, have dwelt chiefly upon that kind of history which is merely hearsay mis-spelt, upon a comparison of vague rumours which arose during the later half of the sixteenth century, while the old and almost forgotten controversy about his character and his acts in life was fiercely reviving, and two powerful parties were striving, the one to condemn, the other to justify in all points, the reforming policy of king Henry VIII. and his ministers. They have omitted to pursue a chronological study of the several memorials, not perceiving that in such a study every step is an aid to making good the next, and that the rise, the reign, and the fall of St. Thomas are best told as one continuous story.

In arranging the evidence now before me, I leave room for the future admission of evidence yet undiscovered, possibly still remaining among the archives of the cathedral church, or those innumerable documents in public and private hands elsewhere which have not yet been searched in reference to the subject.

The present evidence is of the following kinds: (1) contemporary stories of the murder and burial in 1170 and of the translation in 1220; (2) drawings in

windows and books; (3) accounts rendered by the treasurers^a of Christ Church from 1207 downwards; (4) a will of 1270; (5) accounts rendered by the controllers of the royal wardrobe from 1303; (6) incidental notices of men, things and events connected with the church; (7) stories of visits to the memorials; (8) state papers, both Roman and English, of 1538; (9) a St. Paul's Cross sermon of 1539; (10) an English and Italian narrative of 1547.

In reading the contemporary stories of the murder and burial, we must give to the word *corona* or "crown" its proper medieval meaning.

When a man was made a clerk, he underwent "clipping" (*tonsura*) of the hair of the whole scalp, and "shaving" (*rasura*) of the clipped hair off the middle of it. The result was, a scalp bare in the middle and retaining a rim (*corona*) of short hair on its edge. The scalp so prepared was sanctified at the ritual of orders by holy unction. It came to be called indifferently "tonsure" or "crown," each word strictly signifying a part, but each implying the other, and a wilful injury to it was regarded as sacrilege.^b

According to the stories taken in reasonable harmony, the archbishop received many gashes on his crown, so that it was almost severed; and at length, when prostrate on the pavement, he received his death-wound, a heavy stroke through the crown into the side of the skull-pan, breaking that side in many pieces, the comminuted fracture being so severe that part of the brain gushed out upon the pavement.

The pictures of the murder in books of offices and of hours agree with the ancient stories so far as the head of the victim is concerned. They usually represent the foremost murderer striking his sword through the crown into the skull-pan, and the crown streaked with blood, which also drips over the archbishop's vestments and on to the pavement. In a book of hours belonging to our Fellow, Mr. Charles Browne, the murderer uses a short dagger and the crown is wholly bloody.

The stories agree that the monks afterwards refitted and sewed the crown over the broken skull, so as to include every particle of skin and bone in the burial.

Thus we derive from word and picture the contemporary popular idea of the manner in which the archbishop's crown and skull were treated at his murder, and, after it, in preparation for his burial, in the year 1170. His grave was a stone coffin in the crypt of the old Holy Trinity chapel. In that grave his crown must have perished with the rest of his skin before the year 1173, when the decree of canonisation gave to his relics their official value and importance.

^a There were always two.

^b De Vert, *Les Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Second edition (1710), ii. 471.

The gashing of the crown and the fracture of the skull beneath were acts of murderous violence, but the gashing of the crown was an act of sacrilege also. Hence the bloody crown is the central object in the picture of the archbishop's murder, and even more conspicuously so in the picture of the saint's apotheosis. At Lincoln cathedral church may still be seen a thirteenth-century window which shews the saint at Heaven's gate, presenting with his hands his bloody crown, severed from his skull, as his passport.^a

In the year 1174 the old Holy Trinity chapel was burned down. By the year 1184 the new chapel to replace it, designed on an extended site, and with an eastern round tower, was finished.

The space surmounted by the eastern round tower was probably intended for, and certainly soon became, a special chapel to contain the Crown of St. Thomas, which was (I assume for the present) a solid counterpart of the pictorial crown in the Lincoln window, set up in the eastern curve under the tower as a holy image receptive of honours, offerings, and decorations.

We read in the treasury account of Christ Church for 1207, among the receipts, the following item with seven sub-items:^b

| From offerings | | | | l. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---------|------|----|
| From the High Altar | . | . | . | xxij | | |
| From St. Mary. | . | . | . | vij | xvj | |
| From the Cross. | . | . | . | | xxij | |
| From St. Michael | . | . | . | | xix | |
| From the Tomb of St. Thomas | . | . | . | cccx | | |
| From the Martyrdom | . | . | . | xxvij | v | vj |
| From the Crown | . | . | . | xlj | x | |
| Sum | | | | ccccxij | xij | vj |

^a Westlake, *Design in Painted Glass* (1881), i. 116.

^b De oblationibus

| | l. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|---------|------|----|
| De Magno Altari . . . | xxij | | |
| De Sancta Maria . . . | vij | xvj | |
| De Cruce . . . | | xxij | |
| De Sancto Michael . . . | | xix | |
| De Tumba Sancte Thome . . . | cccx | | |
| De Martirio . . . | xxvij | v | vj |
| De Corona . . . | xlj | x | |
| Summa | ccccxij | xij | vj |

Having in view the mode of collecting money-offerings in a medieval church and the nature and object of a treasury account, we take these seven items to represent strictly so many money-boxes, named after the conspicuous things or places near which they stood during the year to receive deposit of money-offerings, the stations of these money-boxes being so chosen that, in every region of the church, the safe receipt of the money offered to the images and relics in that region was provided for.

The church probably possessed already many more than seven holy objects attractive of money-offerings. The bones of ancient saints lay on all sides of the high altar and of the altars of St. Mary, of the Cross, and of St. Michael, and also near the tomb which still held the precious body of St. Thomas in the crypt. There may have been money-offerings in the martyrdom other than those to the Holy Sword Point, money-offerings to the shrines of St. Wilfred and St. Odo on either side of the Crown as well to the Crown itself.

Later in the same year 1207 the prior and convent were driven into exile by king John for reasons well known in history. The exile lasted about six years, the return taking place in April, 1213, in which year the treasurers resumed their due course of accounting yearly.

Their account for the year of the translation, 1220, shows a payment in these words :

| | l. | s. |
|--|------|-------|
| One twentieth from the Crown to the Legate. ^a | iiij | xvij. |

We learn from contemporary stories of the translation^b the acts performed immediately before and in necessary preparation for it, which were these: the careful raising by chosen monks of the coffin-lid; the viewing of the body, as buried fifty years before, by them and many other witnesses; the lifting of the body, and the delivery of it by chosen monks to archbishop Langton; the placing of it by the archbishop in a wooden coffin, whole, except a few small bones which he retained out to be distributed to great men and churches; the firm closing of

| | l. | s. |
|--|------|-------|
| ^a Domino Legato vicesimam de corona | iiij | xvij. |

For this reference and for much other aid in this paper, I have to thank Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

^b These preliminary acts are recorded in the three Chronicles of the Translation which are printed; one in French, in Stanley's *Canterbury* (1855), p. 207; one in Latin (Rolls Series, No. 67). Vol. IV. (1879), p. 426; and one in Icelandic and English (Rolls Series, No. 65), Vol. II. (1883), pp. cliii. 197.

the wooden coffin with iron nails and bolts; the carrying of the wooden coffin to a more secret place, and depositing it in a shrine. On the next day took place the actual translation, the solemn bearing, by chosen men, of the shrine enclosing the wooden iron-bound coffin up to the new chapel, where it was placed upon a stone platform supported by an arcade.

Thenceforward the treasury accounts always shew receipts in the name of "the shrine," meaning of course that of St. Thomas.

The accounts for the two following years shew receipts in the name of the Crown and also their application, thus:^a

| | l. | s. |
|---|------|----|
| 1221. From the Crown, which have been spent on the shrine | lxxj | x. |
| 1222. From the Crown, which are being spent on the shrine | xc | x. |

The accounts from 1228 onwards always show receipts in the name of the Crown.

William Selk, vicar of All Saints church, Bristol, by his will dated Ascension Day, 11 Cal. Jun. 1270, gave to his church "dust from the skull-pan (*patella capitis*) of St. Thomas of Canterbury."^b

Here we read the medieval Latin name for that part of the skull-bone which was broken at the murder, and we observe in another form the contemporary popular idea that the breakage was to small pieces.

The earliest known notice of a separate object of honour and gift under the name of the Head of St. Thomas, is a memorandum among the Royal Wardrobe Accounts, which records that, on the 18th of April, 31 Edward I. 1303, certain things and sums of money were delivered to the king's chandler for royal offerings in different places. The offerings to the memorials of St. Thomas at Christ Church, are thus specified:^c

| | l. | s. |
|---|------|-----|
| ^a 1221. De Corona, que expensa sunt in feretro | lxxj | x |
| 1222. De Corona, que expendantur in feretro | xc | x |
| ^b Palaeographical Society, <i>Facsimiles of Ancient MSS.</i> Second Series, part vii. pl. 137. | | |
| ^c Ad feretrum sancte Thome Martiris in eadem ecclesia unum firmaculum auri. | | s. |
| Ad idem feretrum in denariis | | vij |
| Ad caput ejusdem sancti | | vij |
| Ad punctum gladii quo idem sanctus suum subiit martirium | | vij |
| Ad clamidem ejusdem sancti | | vij |
| Ad tumbam ejusdem in volta | | vij |

Exch. Qu. Rem. Wardr. Accts. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ in P. R. O.

| | |
|--|------|
| At the Shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr in the same church, one brooch of gold. | s. |
| At the same Shrine, in money | vij. |
| At the Head of the same saint | vij. |
| At the Point of the Sword whereby the same saint underwent his martyrdom | vij. |
| At the Cloak of the same saint | vij. |
| At the Tomb of the same in the vault | vij. |

It appears from various royal wardrobe accounts^a that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were at least six memorials of St. Thomas in receipt of offerings in Christ Church: the tomb, the sword point, the cloak, the crown, the head, and the shrine; that the king did not offer at all these in any year, but to three, four, or five chosen for the current year; and that his customary money-offering to every memorial was seven shillings.

In the series of documents relating to Christ Church, Canterbury, during the early part of the fourteenth century, printed by Dart from Cottonian MS. *Galba E. iv.*, are two which mention the Crown of St. Thomas.

Among the expenses for church ornaments occurs this entry:

In the year 1314, gold and silver and precious stones for adorning the Crown of St. Thomas, one hundred and fifteen pounds twelve shillings.

Among the relics in the custody of the sacrist and sub-sacrist in 1315, and delivered by indenture to their successors in 1321, are specified twelve bodies of saints, three of which are:

- The body of St. Thomas the Martyr in its shrine.
- The body of St. Odo in a shrine, by the Crown toward the south.
- The body of St. Wilfrid in a shrine, by the Crown toward the north.

After the bodies come three heads with their head-shaped cases, thus:

- In the great relic closet near the high altar are kept:
 - The head of St. Blase in a silver head gilded.
 - The head of St. Furse in a silver head gilded and enamelled.
 - The head of St. Austroberta in a silver head enamelled and gilded.

There are notices of the Crown of St. Thomas in two tracts written in the later half of the fifteenth century and preserved in the library of Corpus

^a Extracts printed in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xiii, 518.

Christi College, Cambridge.^a Copies of these tracts made there by Henry Wharton, the author of *Anglia Sacra*, are in the Lambeth Palace Library.^b

One tract contains a list of the Archbishops of Canterbury with some particulars concerning them. There is an entry as follows :

St. Odo sat thirteen years. He was buried in Christ Church, Canterbury. Now he lies by the crown of St. Thomas in the Holy Trinity Chapel on the right hand.

The other tract is a book of obits of monks and other notes touching Christ Church, Canterbury, from 1415 to 1472 inclusive. In it there occurs the entry following :

In the year 1448, on the ninth of the calends of April, four brethren of this church took from the high altar the shrine with the bones of St. Fleogild, archbishop of Canterbury, and carried it after the Lord's body to the shrine of St. Thomas, then to the crown of St. Thomas and placed the shrine upon the beam between the shrine of St. Thomas and the crown of St. Thomas.

Looking again at the design of St. Thomas with his crown in his hands, we see his face remaining in its proper site. I assume that in course of time a solid counterpart of this pictorial face was subjoined to the solid crown, the result being a complete head ; further, that this complete head came to be surmounted by a mitre and more and more richly decorated. Officially this amplified and glorified image continued to be called the Crown ; popularly it came to be known as the Golden Head.

About the year 1514,^c Erasmus, accompanied by his friend John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, visited the memorials of St. Thomas in Christ Church, Canterbury. A few years afterwards he printed among his *Colloquies* that entitled "*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*," in which, under the names of Ogygius for himself and Gratianus Pullus for Colet, he gives a detailed account of their visit.

Here are passages in his story :

We go down to the crypt. This has its own mystery-guides. There first is set out the skull of the martyr with a hole in it, the other parts are covered with silver, the highest part of the skull-top being bare is open to kiss.^d

The hole, therefore, was in the side of the skull-top.

After a description of objects seen in the sacristy the story proceeds :

^a Parker MS. ccccxvii.

^b Wharton MS. 585, ff. 79, 85.

^c *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Colet."

^d "Subimus cryptoporticum. Ea habet suos mystagogos. Illic primum exhibetur calvaria martyris perforata, reliqua tecta sunt argento, summa cranii pars nuda patet osculo."

From these then we are led to higher places. For, behind the high altar, again one goes up as into a new temple. There, in a certain chapel, is shewn the whole face of the excellent man gilded, and made conspicuous with many gems.^a

In this passage the "new temple" is the great chapel of St. Thomas; the "certain chapel" within it is the part surmounted by its eastern tower; the "whole face" is the Crown in its latest stage of development and magnificence. Gratianus enters into argument respecting these treasures with the guide-assessor. In the account of the argument this man is also referred to as the assessor of the "golden head" (*assessor capitis aurei*), and the object itself further on seems to be comprehended among "golden statues" (*statuæ aureæ*).

In 1538 king Henry VIII. suppressed the popular practices in respect of relics, images, and other memorials of saints. The instruments of suppression were local commissions under the privy seal, every one directed to two or more persons, and formally countersigned by the lord privy seal, Thomas Cromwell.

The following passage in a letter from archbishop Cranmer to the lord privy seal, dated the 18th of August, 1538, gives a reason why a commission was proposed for Canterbury, and tells who were proposed as commissioners there:

Farther bycause I have in greate suspecte that St. Thomas of Canterburye his blodde in Christes church in Canterburie is but a fayned thing and made of some redde okar or of such like matier I beseeche your Lordship that Doctour Lee and Doctour Barbour my chapleyn may have the Kinge's Commission to trye and examen that and all other like thynges there.^b

The archbishop's suggestion shews that his authority as such over the prior and convent was little more than titular and formal, that he was conscious of having no real power to make the inquiries which he thought necessary.

On the last day of August, Madame de Montreuil, on her way from the Scottish court to France, visited Christ Church and saw the shrine and other memorials of St. Thomas in their full honour and wealth. Her visit is thus narrated by William Penison, who was in waiting upon her by order of the lord privy seal:

By ten of the cloc she her gentilwomen and the Ambassadour of Fraunce whent to the Church where I showed her Saincte Thomas shryne and all such other thinges worthy of sight at the which she was not litle marvelled of the greate riches thereof. Thus over looking and

^a "Ab his igitur deducimur ad superiora. Nam, post altare sumnum, rursus velut in novum templum ascenditur. Illic in sacello quodam ostenditur tota facies optimi viri inaurata, multisque gemmis insignita."

^b State Papers, Hen. VIII. (1820), i 580

vewing more then an owre as well the shryne as Saint Thomas hed being at both sett cousshins to knytle and the Pryour openyng Sainet Thomas hed saing to her 3 tymes 'This is Sainet Thomas Hed,' and offered her to kysse it but she nother knyled nor would kysse it, but still vewing the riches therof. So she departed.^a

It has already appeared that about 1514 the skull of St. Thomas was kept in the crypt, and was there offered by the guide of the crypt to the kiss of Erasmus. It now appears that, in 1538, the same skull was kept in a case, that the case was opened by the prior, the chief guide, and that the skull was offered by him to the kiss of Madame de Montreuil, who is not represented as visiting the crypt. It would seem that this case was the golden head itself, that the whole scene with Madame de Montreuil took place in the chapel and its tower.

The visit of Madame de Montreuil to the memorials of St. Thomas must have been nearly the last. Archbishop Cranmer's suggestion of the 18th August was carried out in September. No copy of the Canterbury commission has yet been found. But the Chichester commission, dated the 14th December, in the same year, which is in print,^b shows the usual form adopted. The Chichester commissioners were commanded to take the shrine of St. Richard and the treasures belonging to it, and other valuable objects connected with relics out of the cathedral church, and convey them to the Tower of London, at the same time razing the site of the shrine to the ground: but they received no command as to the disposal of the unshrined body of St. Richard, that disposal being evidently left to their discretion. No doubt the case was the same at Canterbury. The presumption is that the unshrined body of St. Thomas was disposed of at the discretion of the Canterbury commissioners. How they exercised that discretion will appear by further evidence.

While the commissioners were unshrining St. Thomas, lord Cromwell was issuing a royal injunction to the clergy, that the commemoration of Thomas Becket should be clean omitted, and instead thereof the ferial service used.^c

This complete overthrow of the popular saint gave a severe shock to the feelings of very many English subjects. It was deeply deplored and angrily resented, on the one hand by those who were conscientiously opposed to the new ecclesiastical policy, on the other hand by those who looked upon the Canterbury pilgrimages from the points of amusement and profit.

The shrine, the relics, and the relic-altars being out of sight, men could not continue local honours to the saint. The clergy, however, could either obey or

^a State Papers, Hen. VIII. (1830), i. 583.

^b Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 840.

^c Burnet's *Reformation*, ed. 1865, iv. 345.

disobey the injunction; and very many disobeyed it. Bishops handed it to archdeacons, and archdeacons passed it on to curates; but, at first, few of either order or rank received it willingly. The king found that the expression of his will required the support of reason and argument. Accordingly, he put forth two successive documents, a proclamation to the people on the 16th of November,^a and a letter to the justices of the peace in December;^b in each of which he set out in similar terms his view of the history of Thomas Becket, as supplying an adequate motive for the injunction.

The proclamation and letter of the king tended to soothe the excited feelings of his people; but that effect was counteracted by a document of another kind sent forth about the same time by another authority commanding in that age great respect throughout Europe.

Pope Paul III. had in the year 1535 caused a bull of excommunication against king Henry VIII. to be prepared, but had, for reasons of policy, suspended its publication.

The news of the unshrinement of St. Thomas in September soon reached Rome, and at a consistory held on the 25th October, the holy father "signified the new cruelty and impiety of the English king, who had ordered the body of the blessed Thomas of Canterbury to be burned and the ashes to be scattered and given to the wind, the shrine being at the same time plundered," and deputed certain cardinals to advise thereon.^c

It may be said once for all, that neither the king nor the lord privy seal Cromwell ever gave any order of the kind in reference to any relics. The commissions were in the king's name, and were formally countersigned by that minister; but they dealt in words with the shrines and the treasures only, leaving the commissioners to deal at discretion with the relics according to facts and circumstances, to be ascertained by local inquiry in every case. The king and his minister had no more to do with the disposal of the relics than they had with the sentences on prisoners convicted under commissions of assize; but the mistake of the pope was not unnatural.

The advising cardinals soon made their report, and thereupon the pope published the deferred bull of 1535 through a solemn sentence dated the 17th of December, 1538.^d

Trials of the dead were not known in England, but they were used in Rome to

^a Burnet's *Reformation*, vi. 221.

^b *Ibid.* vi. 224.

^c *Ann. Eccl. Raynaldi contin. Baronii* (1755), xiii. 494.

^d *Encl. Rom.* (1727), i. 711.

determine authoritatively the spiritual position of persons whom the popular voice had already honoured as saints. It was a misapplication of Roman ideas to England which suggested to the pope the special wording of his sentence, the allegation that the king, after causing St. Thomas to be called up for judgment, and to be condemned as in contumacy, and to be declared a traitor, ordered him to be exhumed and burned, and his ashes to be scattered to the wind.

This papal sentence increased the difficulties with which the king and his advisers had to contend. They found it necessary to explain and justify their policy still further, to deal specifically with the various charges made against them, including that relating to Thomas Becket; and they did so by an instrument familiar to that age as a guide to public opinion, namely, by a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, the scheme of which is extant.

Among the records printed by Collier in his *Ecclesiastical History* is one derived from "Paper Office 1539," and often cited as "A Declaration of Faith." On comparison of this with the MS. which it purports to represent, it proves a mutilated and untrustworthy copy, the heading which shows the proper character of the document being omitted, some words in the text dropped out, others misread, and many modernised.

The original heading is a text of scripture, thus :

Prioris Petri Tertio

Dominum Christum sanctificate in cordibus vestris, semper parati ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem de ea quæ in vobis est spe, etc.

This is the fifteenth verse of the third chapter of the First Epistle of St. Peter from the Latin Vulgate, translated in the Douay version :

Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts, being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you.

The handwriting is that of Thomas Derby, clerk of the Privy Council for several years, including 1539. There can be little doubt that the paper is a scheme or plan for a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, to be preached as a public vindication of the late proceedings of king Henry VIII. in matters of religion, such sermons being in constant use about this period. I extract the two paragraphs bearing upon my subject; the first, avowing the principle of the king's proceedings in respect of shrines and relics; the second, stating how that principle was applied in the case of St. Thomas :

As for shrynes capses and reliquaries of saints so called, although the most were nothing lesse, for as much as his highness hath found other idolatry or detestable superstition used

thereabouts and perceived that they were for the most part feyned things . . . his majesty therefore hath caused the same to be taken away and the abusive pices therof to be brent, the doubtfull to be sett and hyden honestly away for feare of idolatry.

As for the shryne of Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury . . . it was arrested that his shrynes and bones shuld be taken away and bestowed in suche place as the same shuld cause no superstition afterwards ~~as it is indee amongst others of that sorte conveyed and buried in a noble towre.~~^a And for as moche as his hedd almost hole was found with the rest of his bones closed within the shryne, and that ther was in that church a grete scull of another hede, but much gretter by the iij quarter parts then that part which was lacking in the hede closed within the shryne, wherby it appered that the same was but a feyned fiction, if this hede was brent was therefore St. Thomas brent? Assurdyly it concludeth not. St. Swythan and other reliques wherabout abuse of ipocrasy was be layde save, and not, as it is untruely surmitted, brent, but according to reason collocate secretly, wher ther shal be no cause of superstition giuen by them, as some say that for the like cause the body of Moyses was hyden lest the Jues shuld fall to idolatry.

The passage lined out as above shewn is remarkable.

Thomas Derby, in correcting his draft under the instruction of the Council, thus erased the words, it being perhaps considered imprudent to proclaim at St. Paul's Cross the hiding place of these and other famous relics. I take the words to inform us that the true bones of St. Thomas, and many like relics classed as "doubtfull," were buried together in the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel.

The narrative that "his hedd almost hole was found with the rest of his bones closed within the shryne" should be read with the narrative of that closing in 1220, for each suggests the truth of the other.

The king's object in causing this explanatory defence to be thus published was to set himself right with his subjects. He scarcely hoped, or indeed cared, to persuade the public mind beyond the British Channel. In France, in Flanders, and still more, of course, in Italy, the papal version of his acts and their motives had been accepted, and had since prevailed without much contradiction, as appears by a remarkable narrative drawn up within a few months after his death.^b William Thomas, the narrator, was a man of ability and learning who had been then lately in the suite of the king's ambassador at Venice,^c and appears to have put forth the narrative in two languages, English and Italian.^d He narrates how, in February, 1546-7 at Bologna, he was "earnestly apposed of divers particular things touching the estate of our King's Majesty then lately dead." The appo-

^a This passage is thus lined out in the original MS. and therefore not printed by Collier.

^b Printed in 1774 and 1861. See ed. 1774, pp. 17, 51, 57.

^c Acts of Pr. C. 1545.

^d Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* (1813) i. 218, note.

sition is cast into the form of a series of questions put by an Italian gentleman who claimed, on the strength of having visited the coasts opposite to England, to be very well informed about that country.

One of the questions is in the words following :

The poor S. Thomas of Canterbury ! alas, it sufficed hym [the king] not to spoyle and deuoure the greate riches of the shrine : but to be avenged of the dead corpes, dyd he not cause his bones openly to be burned ?

In reply to this question William Thomas, after stating how persons came to be canonised, adds :

Of which canonisates oure S. Thomas of Canterbury is one ; whose spoyled shryne and burned bones semeth so greatly to offend youre conscience.

He then admits the great riches of the shrine and their spoliation, and narrates the story of Thomas Becket, a story which Lord Herbert of Cherbury adopted and embodied in his life of king Henry VIII. William Thomas proceeds to narrate how the king examined the current miracles attributed to St. Thomas, and uses these words :

The kynge could no lesse do then deface the shryne that was an authour of so muche ydolatry. Whether the doyng thereof hath bene the undoyng of the canonised saint or not, I cannot tell. Butt this is true that his bones are spred amongst the bones of so many dead men that without some greate miracle they wyll not be found agayne.

The latter words of William Thomas singularly confirm the account of the buried bones given in Thomas Derby's uncorrected draft of the St. Paul's Cross sermon.

Cardinal Pole, in his will dated 1558, directs his body to be buried "in my church of Canterbury in that chapel in which the head of the most blessed Martyr Thomas formerly Archbishop of the said church was kept."

It need hardly be said that he was buried under the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel.

If, as I have ventured to suggest from earlier evidence, the silver-plated skull formerly kept in the crypt was in its latter days kept within the golden head under the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel, the cardinal's testamentary direction was strictly carried out. But why did he so direct ? Why did he prefer the place where the head had been latterly kept to the tomb where the body itself had been originally buried, or to the site of the shrine wherein the skeleton had afterwards been placed ? Succeeding to the see only sixteen years after the

unshrinement, he may have known the secret of the second burial, and he may have thus provided, without revealing that secret, that his own bones should rest near those of his holy predecessor.

In 1888 there was found in the crypt of the church beneath the floor immediately west of the tomb of St. Thomas, a stone coffin, long, too shallow to hold a body at first burial, closed with a lid which, from difference of material and ill-adjustment, appeared to have been hastily adapted to its use. When this lid was lifted there was seen the skeleton of a man, tall of stature and powerful of frame. The skull-pan was whole in the middle but much broken on both sides, especially on the left, where the cleavage was such as might have been made by a heavy sword. No large piece of the skull-bone appeared to be wanting. Some finger-bones were gone, but otherwise the anatomy was almost complete. The recorded personality of St. Thomas (his traditional "longitude" was "vij fote save a ynche"^a), the medieval narratives and tradition as to the place and form of his death wound, the story of the retention of some small bones at the translation, and the contemporary accounts of the disposal of the skeleton on the destruction of the shrine, are all fairly represented by this late discovery. Searches for burials have been made still later in other parts of the crypt, and in the floor above it, but without success.

The result of the contemporary evidence is as follows :

The Crown of St. Thomas was a solid counterpart of the pictorial crown in the Lincoln window, and was set up late in the twelfth century in the eastern curve under the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel as an object of honour and gift. It was gilded and further decorated with jewels from time to time, and, at dates not yet ascertained, a solid counterpart of the pictorial face in the Lincoln window was subjoined to the solid crown, and the completed head was surmounted with a mitre. The object retained officially the name of "crown," but became popularly known as the "golden head." It was made to serve as a case or cover for the far more highly valued head, the silver-plated skull then supposed to be that of St. Thomas; and it continued in such use down to 1538, when it was stripped of its ornaments and destroyed.

St. Thomas's body, as a skeleton, was first seen at the translation in 1220. Then, in the presence of many witnesses, it was, except a few small bones, shifted from the stone coffin into a wooden coffin and firmly closed therein. The wooden coffin was deposited in the shrine and there remained unopened until 1538. Then

^a Camden Society, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* (1880), xxvij.

the commissioners verified the skeleton and buried it with other like relics under the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel.

The alleged skull of St. Thomas began its career as early as the year 1303. Its skull-pan had a hole on one side. It was bound together with silver plates, the top of the skull-pan being left open to kiss. It was for a long time placed at an altar in the crypt and there shown. In later times it was kept within the "golden head" under the round tower of St. Thomas's chapel. The commissioners of 1538, in verifying the skeleton, found that it included the true skull, and therefore they burnt the alleged skull as a "feyned" thing, an "abusyve pice."

These conclusions are consistent with all the English evidence produced. The two documents of the Roman Consistory represent the rumour of the king's proceedings which reached the continent and formed public opinion there, a rumour which can hardly be held to displace the English evidence.

APPENDIX.

I claim to have rebuilt out of proper evidence the stories of the crown, the skeleton, and the separate head of St. Thomas as honoured in medieval Canterbury, the evidence being arranged in order of date and ending within the earlier half of the sixteenth century. One later document, the will of Cardinal Pole, was merely adduced as indirectly supporting a statement made nearly twenty years before.

There is a strange statement of the year 1572, concerning the crown and the separate head, strange as shewing that the medieval meaning of "crown" in reference to the head of a clerk was then already forgotten. Archbishop Parker, in his *Antiquities of the British Church*, printed in this year, gives his opinion that when St. Thomas's skeleton was translated from the crypt to the new chapel, the skull was placed in that chapel, apart from the rest of the skeleton and called St. Thomas's Crown. This opinion is not reconcileable with the contemporary narratives of the translation. It is wholly Elizabethan.

Historical witnesses have a right to be called in order of seniority, but not otherwise. Those, therefore, whom I now call, although hitherto cited and believed almost exclusively, have no just cause of complaint against me for not calling them earlier. The testimony of every witness should be so placed that the reader may judge, how far it is original, how far copied.

The foreign story of the disposal of St. Thomas's skeleton was, that the king had burned it.

This story was, as has been shewn, embodied in the Roman Consistorial Acts of October and December 1538, and believed by the Italian gentleman who disputed with William Thomas, at Bologna, in 1547. It appeared in a book, *On the State of Religion and of the Republic under the Emperor Charles V.*, by John Sleidan, a Dutch priest who rejected the papal claims, printed at Strasburg, in 1555. It appeared again (under reference to Sleidan) in the book, *Six Dialogues against Opposers of the Supreme Pontificate, the Monastic Life, Saints and Sacred Images, and against false Martyrs*, written by Nicholas Harpsfield (Archdeacon of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Mary), and edited by Alan Cope, and printed at Antwerp, in 1566. It appeared again in the book, *The Three Thomases* (St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas More), written by Thomas Stapleton, and printed at Douay in 1558.

There were two English stories current in the later half of the sixteenth century concerning the disposal of St. Thomas's skeleton: one that it had been burned, the other that it had been buried, the burning being sometimes attributed to lord Cromwell, but never to the king.

In a Life of Sir Thomas More, written in the reign of queen Mary, apparently by Nicholas Harpsfield above mentioned, and extant in at least two MSS.,^a but not printed, occurs this passage: "Albeit wee have of late unshrined him [St. Thomas] and burned his holy bones . . . even as they have taken up and burned y^e bones of blessed St. Augustine, or apostle." It should be noted that this statement concerning St. Augustine is found nowhere else.

There is a later life of Sir Thomas More extant in three MSS.^b bearing the date 1599, and printed in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography* (1818), ii. 53. The editor claims approval for not having printed the preface, which, however, is most important for the credit of the book, for it contains the following sentence:

"The most part of this booke is none of my owne; I onely challenge the ordering and translating. The most of the rest is Stapleton's and Harpsfield's, so patronaged under the wings of their fame I may the more boldly presse into the viewe of the world. Gentle reader, by thy severe censure, discourage not a young beginner.

Yo^r servant in o^r Lo: Jesus

Ro: Ba:"

In accordance with his preface "Ro: Ba:" has transferred the passage already cited from Harpsfield's text, not literally, but using the form, yet altering the substance according to his own judgment. Here are the words for comparison with those of Harpsfield:

"Albeit we have of late (God give us his grace to repent and see our follie and impietie) unshrined him and buried his holy reliks."

It will be observed that this sentence is a paraphrase of Harpsfield's, with the substitution of "buried" for "burned," a substitution which can hardly be a clerical error, for the word is "buried" in all the three MSS.

Further, the allegation about the bones of St. Augustine is omitted.

These alterations and omissions cannot be explained by religious prejudices, for Ro: Ba: was, like his authorities, of the Roman obedience.

^a Brit. Mus., *Harl. MS.* 6253, f. 107. *Lamb. MS.* 827.

^b Brit. Mus., *Sloane MS.* 828; *Harl. MS.* 1302; and *Lamb. MS.* 179.

John Stow, having been born in 1525, was only thirteen years old when the Canterbury shrines were destroyed, and, therefore, his account of that destruction is hearsay long after the event. In his *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, printed in 1565, he states that all shrines were taken away, but does not specially mention that of St. Thomas. He cites John Sleidan as an authority.

In the preface to his *Chronicles*, printed in 1580, he mentions his *Summarie* of five years since, shewing that the latter had been reprinted about 1575, and that the *Chronicles* were connected with it.

These *Chronicles* of 1580 set forth his first narrative concerning the shrine of St. Thomas, which narrative is here given at length because it is the ultimate authority for the narratives of almost all the later historians. Stow's narrative in the *Annals*, printed in 1592, is also given, being slightly varied in expression from that of 1580.

From Stow's *Chronicles*, 1580.—“This moneth of September . . . Saint Austin's Abbey, at Canterbury, was suppressed, and the shrine and goodes taken to the king's treasure, as also the shrine of Thomas Becket, in the Priory of Christ Church, was likewise taken to the king's use, and his bones, scull and all, which was there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of his death, were all brent in the same church by the Lord Cromwell. The monkes there were commanded to change there habites,” &c. 1538. Anno Reg. 30.

From Stow's *Annals*, 1592.—“S. Austine's abbey at Canterbury was suppressed, and the Shrine and goods taken to the king's treasure, as also the shrine of Thomas Beckett in the priorie of Christ Church was likewise taken to the king's use. This shrine was builded about a man's height, all of stone, then upwarde of tymber plain, within the which was a chest of yron, containing the bones of Thomas Becket, secul and al, with the wound of his death, and the peece cut out of his scull, laide in the same wounde. These bones (by commaundement of the L. Cromwell) were then and there brent. 1538. September

Wriothesley's Chronicle, as we have it, a MS. of the seventeenth century, printed by the Camden Society, comprises additions made after his death, which took place on the 25th of January, 1561-2, 4 Eliz. The passage under September, 1538, 30 Hen. VIII., has been thus augmented, being partly copied, partly paraphrased from the passage in Stow's *Chronicle* of 1580, already set out, with further particulars or explanations added. I give it at length :

“Henrici VIII., Anno 30.

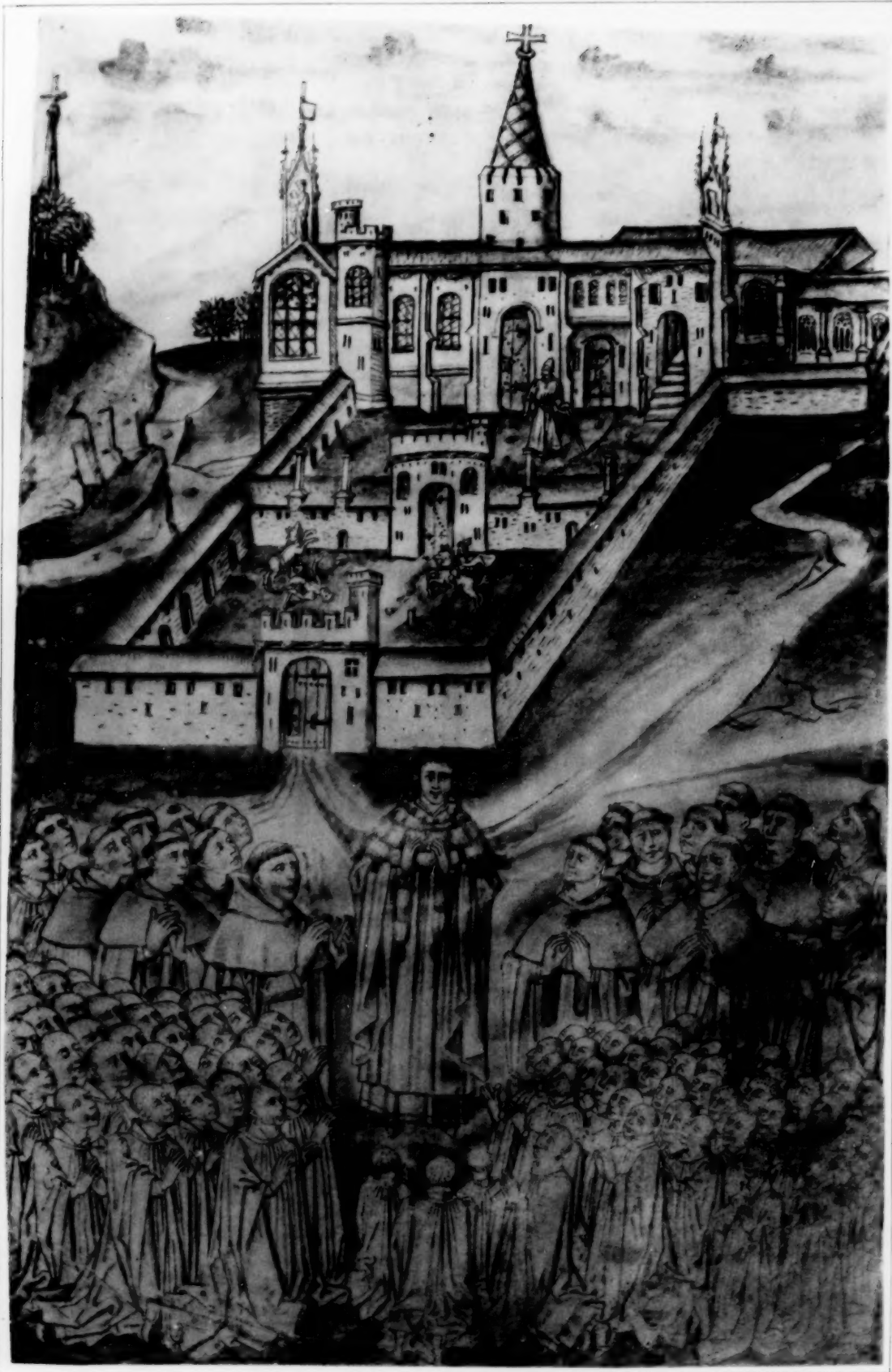
“Allso Saint Austens Abbey at Canterbury was suppressed and the Shryne and goodes taken to the Kinges treasurye and S^t Thomas of Canterburies shryne allso and the monkes commaunded to chaunge theyr habettes and then after they should knowe the Kinges further pleasure and the bones of S^t Thomas of Canterbury were brent in the same church by my Lord Crumwell. They found his head hole with the bones which had a wounde in the skull for the monkes had closed another skull in silver richly for people to offer to which they sayd was S^t Thomas skull so that nowe the abuse was openly knowne that they had used many yeres afore.”

The augments of Wriothesley has so carelessly copied Stow that he has left out the words "in the Priory of Christ Church," so that the subsequent words "in the same church," have no antecedent! The sentence about "another skull," is added to reconcile Stow's statement with the well-known fact that a skull was formerly shown separately.

In the edition of Holinshed augmented by Abraham Fleming and others, and printed in 1587, the augmentations are clearly distinguished, and one of them is the passage from Stow's *Chronicles* of 1580, already cited, with the proper reference.

Unhesitating credit has been given to the Cottonian sketch of the shrine and the coffin with the accompanying description, as if it were contemporary evidence, although the words "Tem: H. 8" occur in the description! This sketch must have been made late in the reign of Elizabeth, if not later still, the description being partly a copy of the above passage in Stow's *Annals* of 1592, and the sketch an ingenious evolution from that passage. "Chest of iron" is reasonably represented by the sketch, but neither the description nor the figure recalls the coffin of wood studded and bolted with iron, as it appears in the contemporary narratives of the translation. There is no medieval authority for a painting or carving of uncouth objects on the coffin. On the other hand, there is good reason for saying that there could have been none like that in the sketch; first, because this does *not* represent the known contents of the coffin; and, secondly, because such painting or carving (if made) would have been intended for the gratification of pilgrims, whereas we learn from the narrative of Erasmus that pilgrims, even if friends of the archbishop, were not permitted to see the coffin at all; and we do not find that Madame de Montreuil, although accompanied by the ambassador of France and by an officer of the lord privy seal Cromwell, was any more highly favoured.

One should not be obliged in the present state of historical knowledge to discuss once more the record of legal proceedings by king Henry VIII. against Thomas Becket. It was strongly challenged by archdeacon Todd in his *Life of Cranmer*, sixty years ago, but seems to be immortal. It is an elaborate hoax of the seventeenth century, and will not bear the test of examination either in respect of its terms or of its history. Its royal style as compared with its date is impossible, and its date as compared with the known date of the destruction of the shrine is also impossible. It was set forth by Chrysostomus Henriques in his *Phoenix Reviviscens*, a memorial of remarkable members of the Cistercian order, printed at Brussels in 1626. His references to two earlier books as authorities have hitherto defied verification. The suggestion that there was such a process is to be found in the documents issued from the Roman consistory, and the composer sought to give this suggestion its form and substance. The known modes of legal action used by king Henry VIII. are against its authenticity, and the Public Records contain no trace of it.



WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

(From Chandler's MS.)

X.—*On some fifteenth-century Drawings of Winchester College; New College, Oxford; etc.* By THOMAS FREDERICK KIRBY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 19th, 1891.

By the kind permission of the Warden of New College, Oxford, I have the honour to exhibit copies of four pen and ink drawings attributed to the year 1463.

They are from a MS. at New College, Oxford, entitled *Brevis Chronica de ortu vita et gestis nobilibus reverendi viri Willelmi de Wykeham*, which is generally attributed to Thomas Chandler. I do not find him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but he was a man of some note in his day, having been warden, first of Winchester and then of New College; chancellor of the university of Oxford, and of the churches of Wells and York; master of St. Cross hospital, near Winchester; dean of Hereford and the chapel royal; and secretary of state under Henry VI. and Edward IV. He died in 1490.

These are the four illustrations to the *Brevis Chronica*:

The first (Plate XIV.), is a bird's-eye view, taken in 1463, of Winchester College from the north. The artist's happy ignorance of the rules of perspective has enabled him to show more of the fabric than he could manage to do now. He shows, for example, the east window of the chapel and the hall steps by the very simple expedient of making them both look north instead of east; and he has shifted the cloisters bodily from their site behind the chapel, where they cannot be seen, to a point well to the west, where they can be.

The entire society, comprising the warden in his cassock, surplice, and grey amess of fur, with the masters, fellows, chaplains, lay clerks, scholars, and choristers, are paraded as it were for inspection in front of the fabric. The surplices and amesses worn by the clerics, and the *togæ talares* of the scholars, should be noticed.

Two of the fellow-commoners seize the opportunity to borrow two of the college horses, and have a tilting match in the outer court, and one of them is unhorsed. Who the tall figure may be, stalking by himself in the inner court, baffles conjecture.

The cross on the high ground on the left hand of this drawing must, I think, be Bubb's Cross. This was a great cross which stood prior to the Reformation in an open space at the upper end of St. John's Street, and, from its elevated position, says Milner,^a "must have been visible from most parts of the city," and certainly was visible from the college, although a spectator standing at the point of view from which this drawing was made would have it behind his left shoulder. The cluster of trees in the distance lies in the direction of St. Catherine's Hill; but there were no trees on the summit of that hill until the present clump of beech and Scotch fir was planted there about the year 1760, and I am afraid that no means exist of identifying its exact position. It is a pity that the draughtsman omitted the buildings of the "Sustern spital," which stood immediately to the east of the college on the site now occupied by the head master's house, and "commoners." He omitted them, no doubt, because they did not belong to the college, just as a surveyor making a plan of an estate omits the fields which do not form a portion of it.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this drawing is the circumstance of its containing the only known representation of Wykeham's original belfry. It was of stone or flint, more likely the latter material, surmounted by a wooden spire which was covered with lead. It contained four bells. The masons' work, and the timber superstructure were finished at the time when the college was opened, March 28, 1393. Wykeham supplied the lead afterwards, and we know from the compotus rolls that the plumbers' wages for casting and laying it amounted to 18*s.* 5*d.*, and that 4000 "led nayles," 300 "bord nayles," and 34 lbs. of pewter (solder) were used. This belfry was taken down in 1474, when the tower was erected, of which the present tower, erected in 1861, is a reproduction.

^a Milner, *The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey, of the Antiquities of Winchester*, ii. 220.



NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

(From Chandler's MS.)



THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND BISHOP'S PALACE AT WELLS.
(From Chandler's MS.)

No. 2 (Plate XV.) is a bird's-eye view of New College, Oxford; and is better in its way than the first drawing.

The portion shown of the cloister is particularly well done. The society are on parade, as in the first picture; all of them, except the sixteen choristers kneeling in the front row, appear to be tonsured. In the Winchester picture none of the scholars look as if they were tonsured; their heads have a shaven appearance. The statutes required every scholar to receive the first tonsure within twelve months after admission; but their hair in this picture is clipped so closely as not to show it.

No. 3 (Plate XVI.) is a distorted bird's-eye view of Wells cathedral church and the bishop's palace.

The view is taken from the market-place. It shows Beckington's tower gate, by which the cathedral church is approached from the city. Within the precinct is seen the west front of the cathedral church with its two towers, the massive central tower, and the north transept. Beyond these rises the bishop's palace, the chapel being the most conspicuous. The residence has a sort of mansard roof. The site is surrounded with the wall and towers which Bishops Jocelyn and Burnell erected for defensive purposes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The moat round the wall is shown, and so is the gateway, which is entered by a drawbridge. Seated in state on his throne within the chapel is the bishop, who is represented in the act of receiving from Chandler a copy of his work.

No. 4 (Plate XVII.) contains a likeness of William of Wykeham seated and holding one of his colleges in each hand. On either side of him are grouped the principal ecclesiastics of his colleges: Archbishop Chichele, founder of All Souls; Archbishop Cranlegh, first warden of Winchester College and archbishop of Dublin; Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells and keeper of the Privy Seal under Henry VI.; Wayneffete, first provost of Eton, bishop of Winchester, and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford; Thomas Chandler himself, not one of the least distinguished of the number; Andrew Holes or Hulse, archdeacon of Wells; John Norton, archdeacon of Berks; William Say, dean of St. Paul's; John Selot, archdeacon of Cornwall; and Richard Andrewes, first warden of All Souls and dean of York.

All the figures in the picture are vested alike, that is in long gowns, and tippets with hoods; and all have skull caps on their heads. The bishops have also their mitres and crosiers, but the two archbishops carry crosses, and not crosiers, as denoting their superior dignity.

P.S. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has pointed out to me that in Plate XVII. William of Wykeham and William Waynflete are the only two bishops who actually wear their mitres; the other three figures having the mitres not upon, but just above, their heads, which are covered with skull-caps like the figures in the foreground. Since Cranlegh died in 1417, Chichele in 1443, and Beckington in 1465-6, while Waynflete lived until 1486; Mr. Hope suggests that the three bishops with the mitres over their heads were all dead at the date of the drawing, which would therefore be not earlier than 1466. Wykeham, of course, died in 1404, but he is probably represented wearing his mitre as being the chief figure in the picture.



WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM AND DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICS OF HIS COLLEGES.
(From Chawillat's MS.)

XI.—Recent discoveries of Roman Remains in Lincoln.

By GEORGE E. FOX, Esq., F.S.A.

Read May 14, 1891.

THE ancient city of Lincoln, the Roman *Lindum*, was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower. The upper consisted of a nearly rectangular area, roughly 500 yards from east to west by 418 yards from north to south, surrounded by massive walls 10 to 12 feet thick, and further strengthened by an enormous fosse. It lay with its longer side upon the edge of a table-land which sloped rapidly down to the wide valley formed by the river Witham.

This enclosure was the original city, but in course of time, as the Roman rule became firmly established, and as population increased, a suburb as large as or larger than the original settlement was formed, lying between the upper town and the river, which ran some 200 feet below. The suburb in its turn was fortified, and traces of the wall still remain. It is, however, only with the upper and older town we have now to deal.

It will be seen by a reference to the plan (Plate XVIII.) that the walls of the upper city are pierced with four gates, east, west, north, and south, and if lines are drawn from gate to gate, viz. from the north gate to the south, and from the east gate to the west, it will be found that they divide the area into four quarters in the usual Roman fashion. These quarters are not quite equal, the two northern being somewhat larger than the southern. The south-west quarter is occupied by the famous castle, and the south-east by the noble minster, with its crown of towers. The northern quarters are not much built over, and contain a good deal of garden ground.

Of the four Roman gates, the site of the eastern one is known; the western,

was discovered in 1836, buried in the castle mound, but fell a few days after its discovery. One jamb only of the southern gate remains, the gate leading to the lower town; and of the northern, a single arch exists, with an accompanying passage for foot passengers. This latter is the well-known Newport.

Any trace of the Roman line of street which must have connected the east and west gates has long since disappeared, but between the north and south gates runs a street roughly coinciding with the ancient Roman way. This is now called Bailgate, and in it have been made the discoveries presently to be described; but, in order to render these notes clearer, I must refer briefly to former discoveries made in the same street. The first of these was brought to the notice of this Society by Mr. Penrose, whose account will be found in the *Proceedings* for June 20th, 1878.^a

Mr. Penrose says:

"Towards the end of April or the beginning of May in the present year (that is 1878) a builder in Lincoln, Mr. Allis, in preparing the foundations of a new house in the street called Bailgate, or the Bail, in Lincoln, discovered the remains of a column of large diameter, which proved to be a frustum of one single block standing upon a moulded base, and itself founded on a thick slab of stone. As the excavations proceeded, a curious duplicated column was found at the northern extremity, and another at an equal distance to the south. The frustum and base together stand about 4 feet 9 inches above the slab, which forms a continuous stylobate running north and south, and at the northern angle returns towards the west. The columns are a little more than 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, excepting in the case of the duplicated column, of which the western segment is of a larger radius, and would be, if complete, 2 feet 9 inches in diameter. The stylobate is of the local limestone, but the bases and drums are of a rather coarse sandstone, which must have come from a distance, probably from Yorkshire The newly discovered columns are in the north-western section of the city, and are found to be in connection with a piece of Roman wall called the 'Mint Wall.' The centre of this wall, if produced eastwards, exactly falls upon the centre of the newly discovered duplicated column.

About the year 1720 a local antiquary named Sympson described the 'Mint Wall' as forming part of a building which he conjectured to be about 300 feet long by 70 feet broad. Stukeley, in his plan of Lindum (*Itin.* p. 88), shows the Mint Wall as extending almost as far as the Bail or street towards which the newly-discovered columns are fronted.

It seems probable that at present we have only half the original portico. Not only does the old record quoted assign 70 feet as the probable breadth of the building, but the measurement of the distance from the Mint Wall to the street on the south of it supplies

^a *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. vii. 433-436.

approximately the same dimension, and, as these columns are about 14 feet from centre to centre, it simply requires a hexastyle portico to fill the space I venture to assign as the purpose of the building that it was primarily the Basilica. . . . The length hypothetically assigned by Sympson, 300 feet, may possibly be in excess, but it cannot have been less than 230."

So far Mr. Penrose. Further discoveries in close proximity to the same spot were made in 1883. In addition to the three columns previously described, three more of corresponding dimensions, with bases of the same section, including a duplicated one, were uncovered, thus confirming Mr. Penrose's supposition, and showing, as he had predicted, a hexastyle portico.

In the course of the present spring (April, 1891) excavations were undertaken for the purpose of laying down new water mains in this same street, Bailgate, where the previous discoveries had been made. When the trench opened for this purpose in the street had been carried about forty-two feet south of the spot where the last columns were found in 1883, a fragment of another, a single one, was encountered, followed by four others, all in the same line, and all, as far as could be ascertained, of a similar description to those unearthed in 1878 and 1883. A gap occurred between the last discovered in 1883 and the new ones, owing to the trench not touching the line of the colonnade till some way below this latter. If, however, we reckon that this gap is filled by two columns, and there is space for two, we shall have an arrangement consisting of (1) the six columns of the portico discovered in 1878 and 1883, beginning and ending with double ones, and then (2) seven more, all in the same line, also ending with a double or duplicated one.

Sixteen feet from this last another duplicated column occurs, then four more single bases, and then again another duplicated one.

After this last there appeared what seemed to be a paved roadway, and then the angle of a boldly chamfered base, possibly part of a pedestal. Beyond this nothing further has been found. The road, if roadway it was, was paved with stone slabs, and at one place four stumps of columns in a row, each about one foot in diameter, appeared to have been driven down into it. A base, too, of a lesser diameter than, and of a different section from, those *in situ* was turned up in the rubbish.

Between two, if not more, of the columns of this last group of six ran a wall blocking up the interspaces; and traces of a floor, as high as the upper moulding

of the bases, are said to have been come upon. Such traces of the altered use of buildings are not uncommon on Roman sites.

Before proceeding further I must refer to a discovery made in 1883, a notice of which cannot here be omitted. This was the finding of a colonnade seventy-two feet long, consisting of eight piers with attached half-columns constructed of stone alternating with bands of brick, the bricks being moulded or cut to the outline of the piers. The first pier of this colonnade started on the opposite side of the street, in a line with the first single column of the portico, and the range ran upward in a northerly direction towards the Newport. The space between the portico and this colonnade was about twenty-seven feet, and this gave the width of the main Roman street running north and south through the city.

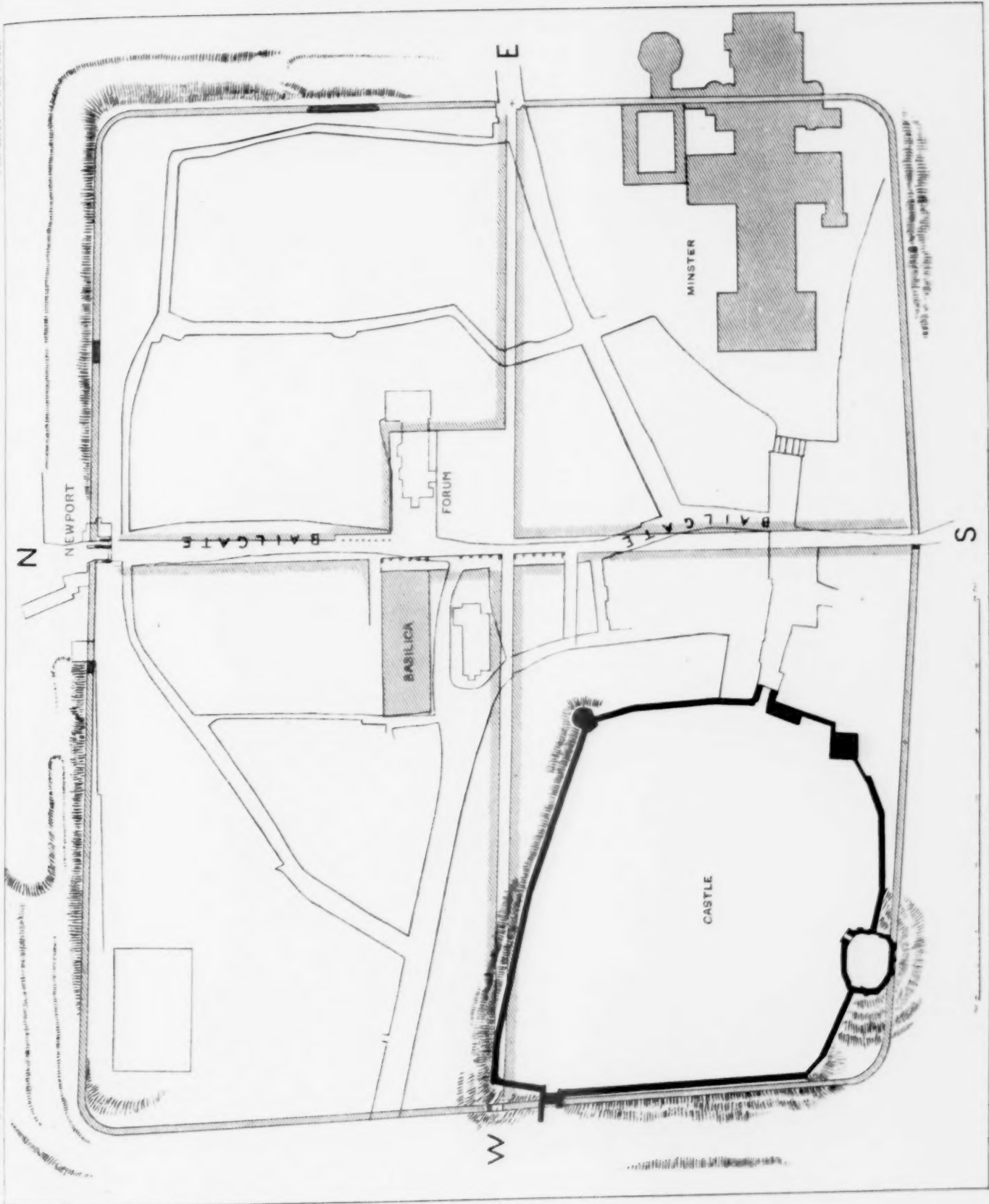
Taking all the discoveries together, it may be as well to see what conclusions can be drawn from them.

If Mr. Penrose's view be accepted, and it seems a reasonable one, that the portico found in 1878 and the Mint Wall form together parts of one and the same building, and that this building was the *basilica* of the city, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the portico, with the continuing line of columns recently found, as far at any rate as the third duplicated one, constituted the western peristyle of the *forum* of Lindum.

The length of this peristyle is 182 feet 6 inches, and from these measurements I have ventured to indicate on the plan (Plate XVIII.) the probable area of the *forum*, together with the line of the Roman street running east and west. This area may be compared with that of the *forum* of Silchester, which is 140 feet wide by 155 feet long.

Following the line of the peristyle southwards, the two duplicated columns, the third and fourth of this kind, show by a wider space between them some change in the design of the colonnade. They are 16 feet apart, and if a line be drawn from the centre of the west gate to the centre of the east gate it will pass exactly between them. From this and other circumstances it may fairly be concluded that they mark the point where the street from the west gate entered the *forum* at its south-west angle. The street from the east gate would, in like manner, enter the market-place at its south-east angle. The wide street on the north, nearly 27 feet wide, would run into the *forum* at its north-west angle past the singular colonnade, 72 feet long, found in 1883.

Crossing the street from the west gate, six columns next present themselves,



PLAN OF ROMAN LINCOLN SHEWING DISCOVERIES MADE IN 1891.

George E. Fox, del.

of which two are double, all of them lying in the same line as those of the peristyle just mentioned. These, I would venture to consider, constituted the portico of a temple placed at the angle where the streets from the south and west gates enter the *forum*. This portico would face the street leading up from the south gate.

It is impossible not to be struck by the likeness of position, in its relation to the *forum*, of the presumed *basilica* of Lindum, and the well-known example in Pompeii. Both are on the west side, both lie in a perpendicular direction to the area, both occur behind the surrounding peristyle of that area, and both are placed at one corner of the space.

The position also of what I have ventured to consider the remains of a temple, is very like that occupied by the Temple of Fortune at Pompeii, at the angle formed by the Strada del Foro and Strada di Nola. Nearly opposite to the spot where, a fortnight ago, Mr. Hope and I saw the remains of this temple uncovered, a milestone was discovered some few years back, bearing the name of the Emperor Victorinus. It was not, however, *in situ*, as is frequently reported, but it probably stood within the *forum* close by, not very far from the spot on which it was found.

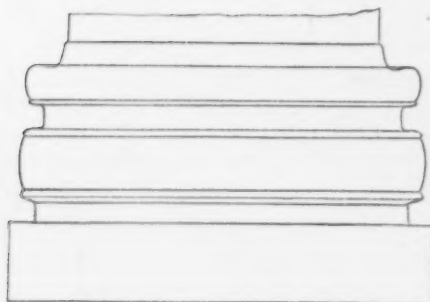
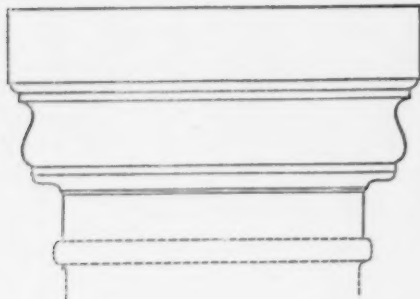
Under the main street connecting the north and south gates runs the original Roman sewer from a point near the Newport to a spot not far from the south gate. It passes in front of the line of columns described, and is of sufficient size to allow a man to pass down it. Precentor Venables, at a meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in April, 1883, giving an account of discoveries then recently made in Lincoln, says of it, "I must not omit to mention the excellently constructed Roman sewer, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 4 feet 6 inches high, which ran along the whole length of the street, from north to south, with cross sewers opening into it, and house drains discharging into them. What is now known as a 'manhole,' *i.e.* an opening to enable a man to descend and cleanse the sewer, was discovered opposite the southern part of the portico."^a

Could we ascertain with certainty the points at which the cross sewers joined this main one, we might perhaps learn something as to the direction and number of the streets of the Roman city.

A large stone, a fragment of the architrave of the portico first found, is still buried beneath the modern street. It showed that the columns were not connected by arches, but that they supported a horizontal entablature. This stone

^a *Archaeological Journal*, xl. 319.

lay in earth 3 feet 3 inches above the level of the Roman street, thus proving that



CAPITAL AND BASE FROM A COLONNADE
UNCOVERED IN BAILGATE, LINCOLN.
 $\frac{1}{16}$ linear.

a considerable period of decay must have elapsed before the fall of the columns with the architrave they upheld.

The base shown in the accompanying illustration was drawn with the cymagraph from one of the columns at the southern end of the range. Practically all the bases of the range appeared to be the same, and exhibited the same peculiarities in their mouldings. The upper hollow and torus mouldings have a most remarkable section. The fragment of a capital of one of the columns of the portico, here shown restored, has perhaps a still stranger section than the bases. The large upper moulding may perhaps be a local form, as part of a small capital found in the East Bight at Lincoln in 1888 exhibits the same peculiarity. It occurs again in a large capital dug up in Leicester, and now in the museum of that town.

XII.—*On some Chinese Rolls with Buddhist legends and representations.* By
A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., Litt. D., F.R.S., V.P.

Read June 18, 1891.

ON the 17th May, 1877, Mr. Rendle exhibited to the Society a curious Chinese roll, illustrating Buddhist mythology, and dated in a cyclical year corresponding to A.D. 1631, in illustration of which I exhibited another roll of the same subject.*

At that time it was considered that the subject of these rolls was the birth of a *kalpa*, or newly created world, according to Buddhist theories. Since then I have obtained two other rolls of this curious subject, and have submitted all three to my good friend Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, a Buddhist priest, who resided for some years at Oxford, but has now returned to Japan. From the information thus received it is evident that the account given in the *Proceedings* is not accurate, and I therefore think it desirable to exhibit my three rolls to the Society before presenting them to the British Museum, and to communicate the new information received from Mr. Nanjio.

The roll originally exhibited consists of two ancient pieces of silk remounted in later times, and a piece of paper has been added with Chinese writing. The label on the outside is on gilt paper similar to the tickets on objects from the Summer Palace, and it reads "*Wang Chin-pāng Kee-poh-too*, 'a drawing of the *Kee-poh* by Wang Chin-pāng.'" Now *Keepoh*, which is the usual Chinese term for a *kalpa*, really means "the attack on the bowl," and it must be so rendered here, as I propose to show.

The first piece of silk contains only an inscription, "Picture of attacking the bowl. Written in the 8th month in the autumn of the second year of the Hung-wu period" (= A.D. 1369), with the signature of Sung-Lien, of a place called Chin-hwa, who describes himself as an "outside recorder," which appears to signify that he is an historian, but "outside" the ranks of historians. Then

* *Proceedings*, 2d. S. vii. p. 229.

follows the piece of silk painted in colours with a procession of demons advancing towards a wooden erection, to which is attached a long lever, the short end supporting cords which are passed round a bowl containing an infant, and the demons are striving unsuccessfully to raise the bowl by means of the lever. At the end is Buddha, standing in clouds, and attended by four divinities. The picture is signed "Made by the unoccupied scholar, Hu-yun Wang Chän-p'äng," with the seals "Chän-p'äng."

The inscribed paper has been translated by Mr. Nanjio, as far as the meaning was clear to him, and his translation has been reviewed with the original by my friend Professor Douglas, who has amplified and amended it where necessary. It runs as follows:—"Tung-po [a poet of the eleventh century] in writing on the Hwa-yuen by Shih, quoted the saying of Ying-pin that the gods and spirits are identified by pictures. Possibly to draw a dragon is easy, but to draw men is difficult, as [in this case] a likeness is essential."

"In opening this scroll my eyes were darkened and my soul was terrified. Formerly Han Ch'ang-li wrote an essay on sending away the demons, the full number of whom is seven, less two.* If one cannot bear the mimicry of this man [Han Ch'ang-li] how can one grasp these hundreds of strange forms?"

"Carefully written on a lucky day during the first decade of the seventh month, in the autumn, of the cycle K'ang-wu (= A.D. 1390 ?)" Seal, Li Tsan.

The second composition is:—

"I had seen the picture of the Arhats crossing the river, by Wang Hu-yun, but not this roll representing the attack on the bowl [by the same artist]. In this picture the ink is excellent, and the colouring is both clever and minute. It is in the style of (Wang) Mochih [lit. enters into the house of Wang Mochih a famous artist under the T'ang dynasty].

"As to the men, Buddhas, and demons represented, they resemble the shadows thrown on the wall by a lamp, which at first appear distorted monsters, but on closer examination the likeness becomes clear. They are as light as floating gossamers waiving round a terrace, which pass and leave no trace. Even the picture of the lion looking backward by Wei Tao-tszü does not surpass it. Should anyone inheriting this picture keep it concealed, not appreciating the skill of the master, he must be such a person as would cut a gem carelessly. Of a certainty, also, should he keep it as a private possession of his own and forget it, he

* The demons of Wisdom, Learning, Literature, Destiny, and Friendship; viz., those of the five classes that had caused him to be banished.

would merit universal condemnation. For this reason I have taken up my pencil to make mention of the work of my friend. Chiao—sz' Wang-to." Seal of Wang-to.

The second roll represents the same subject, but with many more figures. On the outside is a small label inscribed, "Picture of attacking the bowl." The drawing is in outline only, and evidently on silk of great antiquity. The long procession of demons is headed by a group representing a lady in rich costume surrounded by her attendants. Then follows the attempt to raise the bowl containing the child, as in the first roll (see Plate XIX); beyond this is a large drum beaten by demons, while others, some of them in the air, are shooting towards the figure of Buddha arrows which break in their flight or turn into lotus flowers. Buddha is here represented seated on a throne and attended by two divinities. The signature at the end is "Drawn by Lun-min Li Kung-lin, a householder." According to the Chinese authorities Li Kung-lin was a native of Shu-chow, who lived in the Sung dynasty and took a doctor's degree in the reign of Yuen-yuh (A.D. 1086-1094). He had a considerable reputation for his paintings. The painting is followed by an inscription on paper of a more recent date, and it will be seen that this identifies the subject of the picture. Mr. Nanjio translates it as follows;—

"Pao-tsi-ching (*i e.*, Ratnakûta sâtra). The demon-children's mother, was the wife of the demon-king Prajnâka. She had ten thousand children, all of whom were possessed of the strength of a great wrestler. Her youngest child was Pingala. This mother of demon-children was very wicked and violent; she killed the children of men and ate them, so that the people were greatly disturbed and appealed to the world-honoured one [Buddha]. Then the world-honoured one took her son Pingala and placed him at the bottom of his bowl.* The demon-children's mother sought her son for seven days, and when she failed to find him she became sad and distressed. Having heard it said that Buddha, the world-honoured, was possessed of omniscience, she went to the place where he was and asked him as to the whereabouts of her son. Buddha replied, 'You have ten thousand children and having lost a single one, do you seek after him in this state of bitter distress and sorrow? People in the world have only one child, or three, or five, and yet you kill them.' The demon-children's mother, addressing Buddha, said 'If I could but see Pingala I would never again kill the children of

* The famous patra or bowl of Buddha, in memory of which Buddhist priests still carry a bowl for collecting alms.

men.' Buddha then allowed the mother to see Pingala in the bottom of the bowl. She exhausted her spiritual strength in her attempts to recover him but without success; so she appealed to Buddha. Buddha said, 'If you will now receive the three kinds of taking refuge^a and the five precepts,^b and will not kill anyone so long as you live, I will give the child back to you.' And Buddha further said, 'Keep strictly these precepts; you were the ninth daughter of King Chia-ye, at the time of Buddha Kâsyapa, and performed many great and meritorious actions. But because you did not keep the precepts you have received the form of a demon.'

On the day next to the full moon (*i.e.*, 16th) of the 7th month of the 4th year of the period Ta-tâh (= A.D. 1300), I have written this casually in the 'House of the Embroidered Buddha.' Si-chai Li Kan, tao-jen' (= Way-man, a title)." Two seals, Li Kan Chung-pin, and Si-chai.

The third roll is unfortunately only a modern Japanese copy of an ancient Chinese original, and the subject is very differently treated. In the centre of the picture is the usual representation of the wooden erection with demons striving to raise the bowl, which is here placed on a rock. To the right is Buddha seated upon a lotus throne, surrounded by priests and attended by numerous divinities; a snake is spitting fire towards Buddha, and arrows aimed at him are changing into flowers. To the left stands the mother of Pingala with two attendants and a confused group of demons.

The account at the end of the roll is translated as follows by Mr. Nanjio:—

"It is stated in the H'iang-tsi-ching (*i.e.*, the Gandhakuta-sutra) that the all-wise Buddha was able to control the mother of the demon-child Pingala, and compel her to receive and keep the five precepts. It originated in the power of a bowl.

Although she drives the mountains (as one would with horses) against Buddha, yet he can make them as cloudy vapours; although she drives the sea, yet Buddha can laugh at it and make it as mist. A cross-bow requiring the strength of eight arms he transforms into a lotus-flower, and a rock of a thousand stone weight he renders harmless; he blows back the furious wind, and the raging fire is compelled to turn aside. He purges of their fierceness the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses and elephants, and stops the bites of venomous serpents, dragons, and snakes. Although demon troops are placed on the trees they are rendered powerless for ill; though seven suns are set in the sky (as at the end of a kalpa)

^a Trisarana, *i.e.* taking refuge in Buddha, the law, and the priesthood.

^b Panchasila, *i.e.* abstaining from murder, theft, adultery, lying, and drunkenness.



PICTURE OF ATTACKING THE BOWL



W. BRIGGS & SONS, PHOTO-LITH.

yet they have not power to afflict; though many changes of the male and female principles of nature are caused, and the skill of demons and spirits is exhausted, yet Buddha sits down calmly with his disciples and repeats to them a sutra. Thus all the powers of the universe are subdued. Buddha is superior to others in natural powers, and those who seek to arrive at this state have to strive with much effort. Thus calmness is more powerful than action, and nature than constrained force. Thus the world is enlightened, and it is shown that the essence of the doctrines of Buddha possesses a merit beyond that of teaching by precise terms.

This picture was first drawn between the Liang, Sui, and the Five Dynasties (*i.e.* between A.D. 502-950). It has been handed down from family to family, and everyone has spoken of it. It is generally painted in 'the five colours' on [the wall of] the side galleries of Buddhist temples.

There lived in former times an artist who had nothing (for the purposes of his art) beyond a brush and ink tablet; but he boldly stated that he was able to help the work of many myriads of artists in the Buddhist temples and monasteries. All [who heard him] were much astonished, and some artists laughed at him. But the man shut himself up in the temple of a monastery and remained there for some months until he finished this picture.

It was traditionally reported through the whole country (of China) that Buddha would help anyone to good fortune who, on seeing it, threw a piece of money [into the treasury]. The result was that the multitude of those who threw gold was as a crowd in a market place, so that the sum of their donations became a full myriad before half a year had elapsed. Succeeding generations have therefore considered it a precious picture.

Written by Ch'ao Mang-tiao* of Wu-hing, on the seventh day of the third month of the first year of the period Ta-töih (= A.D. 1297.)

Copied by Ai-shin (or Yoshi-chika, a Japanese artist) with one brush, in the middle summer of the Shin-gai year (= fourth) of the [Japanese] period Kayei (= A.D. 1851)."

There is in the Print Department in the British Museum a more modern roll of the same kind, presented in 1888 by Mr. W. G. Gulland. It is on paper, and less well executed. The title is *Kwei tsiang k'i sin*, "on restoring the heart to its original state." There is the usual procession of monsters, demons beating a drum, the demon king and his attendants, the mother of the demon children, with

* A famous calligraphist. See Mayers 46.

her attendants, etc., the bowl scene, scattered demons armed with swords, and at the end Buddha seated with the four guardian divinities and priests.

Beyond this an inscription, which Professor Douglas translates as follows :

"The demon-child's mother was devouring the children of men, and in her unrestrained gluttony knew not when to stop. The holy man from the west took up her child, out of pity, and put him into his bowl. [Whereupon] the bowl became as weighty as a mountain, and there was no one who could lift it. At sight of this his mother wept until tears bedewed her breast. Her attendant maidens sought to comfort her [but in vain]. Still weeping, she let fall down her raven coiffure, her temple locks, and her cloud of loose hair. The demon-king, seeing her dishevelled hair, became angry, and taking up a sword gave life in human likeness to every species of herb, tree, bird, and beast, all of which straightway followed him, fearing to be behindhand or in fault. With dreadful and awful looks they ran on, as from the sky there came a peal of metal instruments and of beating of drums like to thunder, each [blast] being as loud as a hundred, communicating in hot haste an urgent appeal to arms. Truly it was majestic.

"No one, however, knew that those in front had turned back, having dropped from their hands their diamond swords, which broke to pieces. The holy man sat in the lotus pavilion, noble and grave in appearance. The moon shone on the assembled Buddhists who praised the pure sacrificial dish. To devour the sons of men is to wound the harmony of Heaven. Our officers protect the people as they would protect infants. Alas! this matter of the demon-king and demon-mother is not such as has not happened, though it is not so now.

"On inspecting this scroll I drew three deep sighs, but refrained from asking who made the pictures. (Written by Min Tsung-i of Ch'angchow.)"

XIII.—*An Archaeological Survey of Hertfordshire*, by JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L.,
LL.D., Sc. D., F.R.S., P.S.A.

Read November 26th, 1891.

INTRODUCTION.

THE county of Hertford from its proximity to London, from its containing the important Ancient British Capital Verulamium, from its being traversed by several British and Roman roads, and from the presence within it of more than one Roman station, might naturally be expected to prove rich in ancient remains, indications of the existence of which would profusely stud an archaeological map. As a fact, however, it seems doubtful whether such a map will exhibit so many interesting features as that of several other counties more remote from the metropolis; and certainly, for variety and number of archaeological discoveries, it cannot compete with that of Kent.

To begin with the relics of the earliest date, the flint implements of the Palæolithic period, there is but one important discovery to record, that at Hitchin; of which, however, up to the present time no really exhaustive account has been written. The implements occur for the most part in beds of clay, probably of lacustrine origin, which are being excavated for the purpose of making bricks. In many respects the phenomena much resemble those at the well-known deposit at Hoxne, in which at the end of the last century implements were found under circumstances described to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. John Frere, whose account of them is printed in the *Archæologia*.^a At Hitchin the implement-bearing beds are underlain by gravel and other deposits apparently of middle glacial age, and the whole configuration of the surface of the country has been much modified since the lacustrine beds were formed; the place where the banks of the lake or of a lake-like extension of a stream were originally in

^a *Archæologia*, XIII. 204.

existence being now by erosion and denudation converted into valleys at a lower level than the old bottom of the lake. In gravel at Ickleford, a little further to the north, several implements have been found. Further south, in the valley near Ippolitts, Stevenage, Knebworth, and Welwyn, both in brick fields and in gravel, similar relics of the Palæolithic period have been discovered.

On the high ground near Kensworth and Caddington, at an elevation of nearly 600 feet above the sea-level, Mr. Worthington G. Smith has found implements in the brick-earth dug for use at several kilns. He has also found specimens at Hertford, Ware, and Cheshunt, in the valley of the Lea. In the valley of the Bulbourne one or two palæolithic implements have been found near Wigginton, and in that of the Gade I have myself picked up two or three in the parishes of King's and Abbots Langley; while a few have been found by Mr. Penning in the valley of the Stort and at Stocking Pelham. Examples have also been found in gravel from No Man's Land, near Wheathampstead, at North Mimms, and Bayford.

The more common forms of neolithic implements, such as scrapers and roughly chipped celts, are not uncommon in Herts, though, owing to the abundance of natural flints over the great part of the surface of the county, they are not so readily found as on soils where no flint is naturally present, and moreover the attrition with other stones and with implements used in the course of modern agriculture has helped to break up and destroy the more delicate forms of ancient weapons and implements. The finding of neolithic antiquities is not indicated on the map (Plate xx), but reference is made in the index to the principal discoveries of such objects with which I am acquainted.

The spots where antiquities of the Bronze Period have been discovered are shown on the map, and the passages in the various works in which they have been described are recorded in the index. There have been no important discoveries dating from this period since the publication of my *Bronze Implements*.

I am unaware of the existence of any megalithic remains within the county. Their absence may in a great degree be due to the want of large blocks of stone out of which to construct such monuments. On the western side of the county, however, large masses of tertiary conglomerate and some "Sarsen" stones are occasionally found, and I have heard a tradition of the reputed finding of megalithic remains at Chipperfield, near King's Langley, which, however, seems to have rested on the discovery of several large blocks of Sarsen stone, not in juxtaposition, but in the same field. The Hertfordshire conglomerate, which consists of Lower Tertiary pebbles bound together by a hard silicious cement, was

a favourite material with the Romans for the manufacture of hand-mills or querns. The blocks that were used for this purpose were probably not quarried, but were obtained from the superficial drift in which masses of the conglomerate, sometimes rounded by attrition, occur. At one spot in the county, Radlett, now a station on the Midland Railway, the conglomerate is found *in situ*, and as the bed is but a quarter of a mile to the east of the great Roman road, the Watling Street, it is possible that many of the querns were derived from this source, though at present there is no evidence that such was the case. Puddingstone *in situ* has also been recently discovered near the workhouse at St. Peter's, St. Albans.

Of weapons and other objects belonging to the Early Iron Age, or the late-Celtic period of Mr. Franks, a few have been found in Herts. A fragment of the blade of an iron sword still preserved within a plain bronze sheath was found about the year 1867 in a watercress ditch at Broadway, near Bourne End, in the parish of Northchurch, and is now in the British Museum. A bronze knife and an iron linch-pin with an ornamental circular head and a horse's hoof in bronze at the two ends respectively, were found at Wigginton, near Tring, and are now in my own collection. This was one of the last parishes in the county in which enclosure on a large scale was carried out.

At the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar this part of Britain appears to have been occupied by the Cassi, who not improbably were the same tribe as that mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of the Catyeuchlani. The name of the Cassi has by some been thought to survive in that of the Cashio hundred, which is one of the most important in the county. This etymology is, however, somewhat doubtful. Clutterbuck, in his *History of Hertfordshire*, gives what he terms a "British map" of the county, showing the various roads and trackways which he thinks were in existence in pre-Roman times. They differ but little in position from the roads laid down on his Roman map, and their consideration may for the present be postponed. The most important historical monuments that we possess of the period that intervened between the invasion of Julius and that of Claudius are the Ancient British coins belonging to the inscribed series. Of these a very large number have been found in Hertfordshire, and this is by no means surprising, when we remember that Verulam, near St. Alban's, or Verlamium, as given on coins, was the chief town of Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobelinus, or "Cymbeline." I have, in my book on the *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, attempted to reconstruct his history, and need not here dwell upon the subject. I may, however, mention as an illustration of the civilisation of that period that there exist coins of Tasciovanus, all probably minted at Verulam, of no less than six

different denominations or values, two in gold, the one the quarter of the other; one in silver, and three in copper or bronze. Coins in all three metals have from time to time been found upon and near the site of ancient Verulam. There is another locality in the county, Braughing, where many ancient British coins, principally of Tasciovanus, struck at Verulam, have been found. What was probably a British town appears to have been there succeeded by an important Roman station; the name of which is, however, unknown. Clutterbuck, relying on Bertram's forged Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, has given it the name of "Ad Fines"; and this erroneous appellation has frequently been repeated. Numerous other Ancient British coins, both inscribed and uninscribed, have been found at different times throughout the county.

Earthworks in Hertfordshire are fairly numerous, though many have disappeared either in part or wholly beneath the levelling influence of modern agriculture. One of the most important of these is the Grimes-ditch, Grimsdyke, or Graemes-dyke, of which traces are visible on Berkhamsted Common, and which reappears on the other side of the valley, while a vallum extends in a bold sweep from near the town of Great Berkhamsted through the parishes of Northchurch and Wigginton to the north of the camp at Cholesbury, and thence to Saint Leonard's in Buckinghamshire, continuing, it is said, past Missenden to near Bradenham.

In the year 1852^a I communicated to the Society a note upon a bronze sword found near Hawridge, Bucks, which was accompanied by some remarks upon the Grimes-ditch. It is difficult to affix to it a date or purpose, but from its name it would appear to date from, at the latest, Saxon times, if not, indeed, from earlier. About twenty years ago in digging away a portion of the mound near Woodcock Hill, Berkhamsted, some human remains were discovered, but there was nothing with them that was capable of furnishing an approximate date for the interment.

Another interesting vallum is that in the parish of Cheshunt, known as "the Bank," which appears formerly to have constituted a part of the boundary between the kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, or more probably between the Middle and East Saxons. It is a remarkable instance of the survival of the different customs of the two kingdoms, or of two neighbouring tribes, that on one side of the Bank in several manors within the parish, the custom of Borough English prevails, by which in case of intestacy copyhold lands descend to the youngest son or brother, whereas, on the other side they go to the eldest. It

^a *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ii. 215.

seems probable that at some early time the county boundary was moved from the Bank to the River Lea; and a portion of Essex was thus added to Herts.

There is another important earthwork known as Beech Bottom between Verulam and Sandridge, which by some has been regarded as a Roman fosseway, though perhaps on insufficient grounds. It may possibly be connected with a large encampment known as "the Moats," or "the Slad," which lies a little to the east of Wheathampstead. The position of many other camps and earthworks is shown on the map. In most cases it is unsafe to assign to them a date. The mound at Bishop's Stortford, known as Waytemore Castle is probably Saxon, as is also that in Berkhamsted Castle. The earthworks in the latter case may however be of earlier date as Ancient British and Roman coins are stated to have been found within them.

Before considering the Roman roads it will be well to say a few words as to the Roman towns or stations that were situate within the county. Of these there is singularly enough only one whose Roman name is known for a certainty. This is Verulamium, the capital of Tasciovanus as already mentioned, the stations north and south of which upon the Watling Street, Durocibrivæ, near Dunstable, and Sulloniæ, Brockley Hill, near Edgware, lie just outside the borders of Hertfordshire. Verulamium, in Roman times was an important place, holding the rank of a *municipium*, and from it as a centre many roads must have diverged, although, as will shortly be seen, it is difficult in all cases to trace their course. Another important station must have been at Braughing, but the name given to it of Ad Fines is a modern invention of Richard of Cirencester, or, more properly speaking, Charles Bertram. Whatever the name of the place, it lay at the intersection of two Roman roads. A third station or castrum is that from which Cheshunt, or, as it appears in *Domesday Book*, Cestrethunt, derives its name. The exact position of the station is unknown, but the name of Aldbury Farm is suggestive of earthworks having existed at that spot, a little to the south-west of the present town of Cheshunt. Salmon and the Ordnance map fix the position of the Roman camp further north at Kilsmore and Church Field, but there appears to have been a tradition in Salmon's time (1728) that the Kilsmore cutting was made for the New River and afterwards abandoned for a more commodious course. Wherever the true site of the "Chester" may have been, I see no reason for regarding it as the Durokitum on the route from London to Colchester as Salmon does, for it lies far too much to the west. For the same reason Braughing cannot be Cæsaromagus as suggested by the same author.

In addition to Verulam, Braughing, and Cheshunt, there were probably

stations near Baldock, Royston, and Bishop's Stortford, and some other places on the course of the Roman roads.

The most important of the Roman roads, the Watling Street and the Ermine Street traverse the county in a more or less northerly and southerly direction, and their course has in a great degree remained unaltered, and as a rule can be traced even where the roads are now disused or their course has been changed. A third road, the Akeman Street, which enters the county at Tring, probably followed much the same course as the existing main road passing by Berkhamsted, King's Langley, Watford, and Stanmore, to join the Watling Street somewhere near Brockley Hill or Sulloniaca, it may be by what is now Wood Lane.

Another road which Clutterbuck suggests came from the station of *Ad Pontes* on the Thames, ran from Watford to *Verulam*, and appears to have continued through Sandridge, Welwyn, and Stevenage, to Baldock, being now known, according to Clutterbuck, as "the White-Way." From Baldock it ran by Biggleswade to Sandy (*Salenae*).

Another ancient way, possibly pre-Roman, the Icknield Way, skirts the county along its northern side, in some places forming its boundary, at others running either within or without the county. From Buckland, past Marsworth to Ivinghoe, ran what is known as the Lower Icknield Way, but its course has been modified by the formation of the reservoirs for the Grand Junction Canal.

From Baldock a Roman road was carried through the station at Braughing, and thence was probably continued to Colchester (*Camulodunum*).

The course of all these roads is approximately shown on the map. Clutterbuck and Leman in their Roman map of Herts lay down several other roads, including one from Dunstable to Braughing, and another from *Verulam* to Cheshunt, which I have not ventured to insert, though possibly the Ridge Way near Northaw may be a portion of such a road as the latter. While, however, I have limited myself to placing on my map such roads only as can be fairly well traced on the maps of the Ordnance Survey, I am far from suggesting that no other Roman roads existed. On the contrary I think that there must have been one leading westward from *Verulam* towards Boxmoor, and others leading eastward towards Hertford and Ware, and again towards Cheshunt. Another also may have connected Braughing with the road from Welwyn to Stevenage, and this may have been continued to Chesterford. There may also have been a road from near Hitchin to Stevenage as well as one from Wilbury Camp. On the whole, however, I have thought it best to limit the roads upon the map to such as can be fairly substantiated by the evidence of existing remains.

The record of numerous Roman villas, interments, and coins having been found within the county is given in the index. It is unfortunate that the site of Verulamium was so extensively quarried for materials with which to build the abbey and church of St. Alban, that but little of the buildings that it originally contained can have been left intact. The remains of the theatre, opened in 1848 and again covered up, are however fairly perfect. One interesting discovery, that made at Barkway in the year 1743, has hardly attracted so much attention from antiquaries as it deserves, possibly from the account of it being in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and not in the *Archaeologia*. The objects found are however in the British Museum. These consist of a small statue of Mars and a plain plate of bronze, together with seven thin plume-shaped plates of silver. On three, one of which is twenty-one inches high and ten broad, are figures of Mars in relief, and on two are figures of Vulcan. On two also are long dedicatory inscriptions to Mars Toutates and Mars Alator. Whether there was any noted shrine in the neighbourhood, or the plates were fortuitously deposited, it is impossible to say. Others of the same character have been found near Stony Stratford. A bronze tessera bearing the name of Mars was also found near Caddington.

Of Saxon remains the county contains so far as at present known remarkably few, though of course the foundation of the abbey of St. Alban's carries us back to the days of Offa, and some parts of the abbey church may date from his time. It is to the monks of that abbey that we are indebted for the exploration of the only Saxon barrow as yet examined in Hertfordshire, and for an account of the discoveries made in it. For there can be no doubt that the burial mound that they opened at Redbourn was, as the late Mr. Thomas Wright pointed out, of Saxon date, and the relics of Saint Amphibalus and his companions, which they bore away in triumph to enshrine at St. Alban's, were in reality the bones of heathen warriors. Whether Amphibalus himself was the companion or cloak of St. Alban it is beyond my present purpose to enquire. Nor does it enter into my province to treat of those medieval remains in which the county of Hertford is fully as rich as most of the other counties in England.

I have only to add that the Roman numerals following the names of the places given in the index designate the squares of the ordnance survey maps on the six-inch scale, in which the places can be found. A bronze spearhead from Herts is shown in Plate XLVII. No. 10, of Skelton's Meyrick's armour, but no nearer indication is given as to the place where it was discovered.

I must, in conclusion, express my obligations to Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A., of Hitchin, for much information as to the antiquities of the neighbourhood of that town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

| | | | |
|-------------|---|----------|--|
| A. | Archæologia. Society of Antiquaries of London. | I. B. L. | Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ. Hübner, Berlin. 1873. |
| A. B. C. | Ancient British Coins (Evans). | J. A. I. | Journal of the Anthropological Institute. |
| A. B. I. | Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain (Evans) | L. R. B. | Lysons' Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, 1817. |
| A. J. | Archæological Journal. Royal Archæological Institute. | L. T. D. | Lewis's Topographical Dictionary, 1835. |
| A. S. I. | Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain (Evans). | M. S. A. | Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, MS. |
| B. A. A. | Journal of the British Archæological Association. | N. | Nature. 8vo. Lond. V.Y. |
| B. B. | Brayley's Beauties of England and Wales. Vol. vii. 8vo. 1808. | N. C. | Numismatic Chronicle. |
| C. H. | Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire. | N. S. B. | Norden's Speculum Britannicæ. 1723. (Reprint.) |
| Cus. H. | Cussans' History of Hertfordshire. | O. S. | Ordnance Survey Maps. |
| G. M. L. A. | Gentleman's Magazine Library, Archæology. | P. S. A. | Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries. |
| G. M. L. R. | Gentleman's Magazine, Romano-British Remains (Gomme). | P. T. | Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. |
| G. M. | Gentleman's Magazine. | S. H. | Salmon's History of Hertfordshire. Fol. 1728. |
| G. C. | Gough's Camden's Britannia. 1806. | S. I. C. | Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum. 2nd ed. Folio. 1776. |
| H. N. S. | Transactions of the Herts Natural History Society. | V. M. | Vetusta Monumenta. |
| | | W. N. H. | Watford Natural History Society Transactions. |

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Abbots Langley (xxxix.) | Palæolithic implement near Bedmont and Nash Mills | P. S. A. 2nd S. v. 165; A. xxxix. 73; A. S. I. 529, 530; W. N. H. i. 197 |
| Albury (xiv. xv.) | Rough flint celts and ground flint flake | A. S. I. 78, 262 |
| Amwell, Little (xxxix.) | Flint celt | A. S. I. 91 |
| Ashwell (iii. iv.) | Two gold bracelets (probably Bronze Period) | A. xviii. 446 |
| | Copper coin of Cunobeline | A. B. C. 570 |
| | A very fine barbed flint arrow-head, found in this parish in 1881 | <i>penes</i> J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Amwell, Great (xxx.) | Earthworks and barrow | B. A. A. iii. 324; Cus. H. ii. 120 |
| Anstey (ix.) | Towards Hertford is Barrow Field with a tumulus | S. H. 20 |
| Ashwell (iii. iv.) | "Ruynes and deep trenches of a strong castle" | N. S. B. 12; C. H. iii. 340 |
| | Excavations at Arbury Banks | P. S. A. iv. 285 |
| | The square earthwork (? Roman) | G. C. ii. 59, 66; S. H. 342 |
| | | C. H. iii. 483; Cus. H. i. 22 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Abbots Langley (xxxix.) | Gold coin of Claudius | G. C. ii. 74 |
| | Roman villa and coin of Hadrian near King's Langley Station (1825) | Cus. H. iii. 86 |
| Aldenham (xxxix.) | I have seen many years ago pottery found at Letchmoor Heath | J. E. |
| Amwell, Great (xxx.) | Roman urns and coins at Barrow-field | B. A. A. iii. 325; Cus. H. ii. 120 |
| Ashwell (iii. iv.) | Die of bone and pottery (Arbor Banks) | A. J. xiii. 287 |
| | Hippo-sandal? (near the Arbury Banks) | A. J. xii. 84 |
| | Roman coins frequently found | G. C. ii. 59 |
| | Roman pottery, glass, &c., found at Foxley Hill in 1824 | C. H. iii. 483 |
| | Gold coin of Trajan | <i>penes</i> F. Latchmore, Hitchin |
| Ayot St. Lawrence (xxviii.) | 230 family and Imperial silver coins found in Prior's Wood | B. A. A. vii. 176; N. C. xiv. 83 |
| | Sarcophagus found near the church | Cus. H. ii. 241 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|---|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Baldock (vii.) | Gold coin of Cunobeline Uninscribed copper British coin Copper coin of Cunobeline Bronze palstave, celts, broken swords and daggers, and rough metal found at Cumberlow (Rushden) | A. B. C. 302 A. B. C. 476 A. B. C. 568 A. B. I. 94, 110, 134, 424-467; J. A. I. vi. 195; H. N. S. iv. 40 |
| Barnet, Chipping (xlv.) | British gold coin, uninscribed | A. B. C. 64 |
| Bayford (xxxvi.) | Fine palaeolithic implement | <i>penes</i> Gen. Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S. |
| Berkhamsted, Great (xxxiii.) | Copper coin of Cunobeline Uninscribed British gold coin (Ashlyns) | A. B. C. 322 A. B. C. 432 |
| Bishop Stortford (xxiii.) | Palaeolithic implements about one mile north, and at Pesterford Bridge | A. S. I. 530 |
| Braughing (xiv.) | Ancient British coins, numerous | A. B. C. <i>passim</i> . Cus. H. i. 185 |
| Broxbourne (xxxvii.) | Bronze spear-head | Cus. H. ii. 173 |
| Bygrave (iii. vii.) | Icenian silver coin | A. B. C. 587 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Berkhamsted, Great (xxxiii.) | Castle described | A. J. xxx. 407; H. N. S. ii. lvi. |
| Bishops' Stortford (xxiii.) | Grimesdyke and other earthworks | C. H. i. viii.; H. N. S. iv. xlix. |
| Braughing (xiv.) | "Waytemore Castle" described Earthworks in Larksfield | C. H. iii. 251; S. H. 269 S. H. 227; C. H. iii. 149 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Baldock (vii.) | Hippo-sandal? (near Icknield Way) | A. J. xxii. 84 |
| Barkway (ix.) | Bronze statuette of Mars and inscribed plates of silver found in Rockley or Rookey Wood, now in the British Museum | G. C. ii. 65; B. B. 184; P. T. xliii. 349; L. R. B. iii. pl. xl-xlii; Cus. H. i. 24; I. B. L. 84, 85, 86 |
| Bennington (xxi.) | Roman coins | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| Berkhamsted, Gt. (xxxiii.) | A few Roman coins found in the Castle | S. H. 119 M. S. A. 4th Feb. 1813 |
| Bishop Stortford (xxiii.) | Coins of Lower Empire | B. B. 214 |
| Boxmoor (Hemel Hempstead) (xxxiii.) | Roman burial urns of glass, pottery, &c., in wooden cist Roman villas, pavement, coins, &c. | A. xxvii. 434; G. M. 1837, ii. 409; G. M. L. R. 132 A. xxxiv. 394; xxxv. 56; P. S. A. ii. 191, 295 |
| Braughing (xiv.) | Enamelled bronze cup The Caesaromagus of the Romans Roman sarcophagus, pottery, glass, &c., from Larks- field (figured) Numerous coins, especially in a field called Wickhams | P. S. A. 2d. S. iv. 514 S. H. 226 C. H. iii. 149 |
| Broxbourne (xxxvii.) | Urns and coins found. See Hoddesdon | Cus. H. i. 186 Cus. H. ii. 173 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| ANGLO-SAXON. | | |
| Bishop Stortford (xxiii.) | Two iron spear-heads (Finchinbrook), Essex? | A. J. xiii. 413 |
| Boxmoor (xxxiii.) | Fibula, with centre cast in imitation of a coin, <i>pene</i> J. E. | P. S. A. iii. 41 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Caddington (xviii.) | Palæolithic implements | N. 1889, xl. 151 |
| Caldecote (iii.) | A British way through a great portion of the parish joining the Icknield Street, near Ashwell Station | Cus. H. i. 16 |
| Cheshant (xli.) | Palæolithic implements found by Mr. Worthington G. Smith | <i>pene</i> J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Cheshunt (xli.) | A camp in a field called Kilsmores, west of Cheshunt Street, thought by Salmon to be Duro-litum | S. H. 7 |
| | "In this parish was a bank separating Mercia and East Anglia, the copyhold lands on one side of which the elder brother inherits, and the younger those on the other side." The bank line is in part laid down on the 6-in. Ordnance map | S. H. 8; C. H. ii. 78; O. S.; L. T. D. |
| Codicote (xx.) | "On Codicote Heath are the remains of a Roman fortification" (not in O. S.) | L. T. D. |
| | Roman coins found at High Heath | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Caddington (xviii.) | A bronze tessera, inscribed TES · DEI · MAR · SEDIARVM. Found at Merkyate Street about A.D. 1747 | P. T. xlv. 224; G. C. ii. 56, Pl. II. 3; I. B. L. 229 |
| Caldecote (iii.) | <i>See</i> Hinksworth | |
| Cheshunt (xli.) | In A.D. 1724, coins of Hadrian, Claudius Gothicus, and Constantine found | G. C. ii. 71; B. B. 232; C. H. ii. 77 (M. S. A. 22 April 1724) |
| | Roman station thought to be here | S. I. C. i. 77 |
| | Roman camp at Kilsmore Bank | S. H. 7; O. S. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Datchworth (xx.) | In Wellwood, between Broomhall and Datchworth, is a deep well and entrenchments supposed to be Danish | G. C. ii. 69 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Flamstead (xxvii.) | <i>Durocobrivæ</i> thought to have been in the valley near Flamstead | G. C. ii. 63 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Hatfield (xxxv.) | Uninscribed British gold coin (Wildhall) | A. B. C. 50 |
| Hemel Hempstead (xxxiii.) | Uninscribed gold British coins | A. B. C. 432, 438 |
| Hertford (xxix.) | Palaeolithic implements found by Mr. Worthington Smith | <i>penes</i> J. E. |
| Hitchin (xii.) | Uninscribed gold British coin (Duckland Common Field) | A. B. C. 441 |
| | Copper coin of Cunobeline (Walsworth) | A. B. C. 570 |
| | Pottery (late-Celtic) in chalk-pit $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the Icknield way | A. J. xxxix. 426; P. S. A. xiii. 16; B. A. A. xlii. 442 |
| | Palaeolithic implements, and neolithic | W. N. H. i. lxi. |
| Hunsdon (xxx.) | A well-made barbed flint arrowhead found in this parish in 1883 | <i>penes</i> J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Hexton (vi. xi.) | Ravensborough Castle and various barrows and earthworks described | G. C. ii. 66; S. H. 170; C. H. iii. 5 |
| Hitchin (xii.) | Camp at Wilbury Hill, silver coin of Faustina | G. C. ii. 66; S. H. 160; C. H. iii. 12, 13; B. B. 176; Cus. H. ii. 5-22; S. I. C. i. 77 |
| | Coins from Julius to Constans | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| | The largest and most distant of three barrows south of the Icknield Way, opened in 1806 and 1816. | C. H. iii. 13 |
| | Burnt bones, a small blade of copper, and an urn of coarse clay found | |
| | Skeletons found on Five Barrow Hill between Hitchin and Pirton | H. N. S. iv. 39 |
| Hoddesdon (xxxvi. xxxvii.) | A barrow here in memory of Hodo or Oddo, a Danish chief | L. T. D. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Harpenden (xxvii.) | Stone sarcophagus containing glass vessel and pottery now in the British Museum in Mill Field near Pickford Mill | A. xxiv. 349; A. J. ii. 251 |
| | Roman interment near the Railway Station | Cus. H. iii. 349 |
| | Coins in churchyard | Cus. H. iii. 350 |
| Hemel Hempstead <i>see</i> Boxmoor (xxxiii.) | Remains of Roman villa and coins (Family to Vespasian) | Cus. H. iii. 350 |
| | | A. xxxiv. 397; P. S. A. ii. 192 |
| Hexton (vi. xi.) | Roman coins said to have been found here | L. T. D. |
| Hinxworth (iii.) | About A.D. 1720, urns, glass, &c., found between Caldecote and Hinxworth | C. C. ii. 66; B. B. 176; S. H. 339; L. T. D. (Proc. Soc. Ant. 1720-1724) |
| | In 1876 a hoard of 500 Roman silver coins found, Nero to M. Aurelius | Cus. H. iii. 316 |
| | Patena of red earth with potter's mark | M. S. A. 10 March, 1725 |
| | Urns and handle of sword in stone | M. S. A. 24 April, 1723 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| | ROMAN— <i>continued.</i> | |
| Hitchin (xii.) | Bronze figure found at intersection of road to Sandy with Icknield Way Roman coins. Urn at Taylor's Hill Roman kiln on Hitchin Hill Pottery and carved marble frieze found in the town Pottery at Foxholes, and coins Urns, coins, and culinary utensils Interments found half a mile west of Wilbury Hill Pottery and coins, Bury Mead Pottery, Pegsdon Common (Beds) Roman coins. <i>See</i> Earthworks | Cus. H. ii. 5 Cus. H. ii. 5 Cus. H. ii. 6 Cus. H. ii. 33 Cus. H. iii. 317; H. N. S. iv. 47 W. N. H. i. lxi. W. Ransom, F.S.A. H. N. S. iv. 47 H. N. S. iv. 39 |
| Hoddesdon (xxxvi. xxxvii.) | Roman urns at side of Park Lane | B. A. A. xviii. 268, 369 |
| | ANGLO-SAXON. | |
| Hexton (vi. xi.) | Saxon coins said to have been found here | L. T. D. |
| Hitchin (xii.) | Interment, with ornamental bronze tag Gilt silver pin found in St. Andrew's Street | W. Ransom, F.S.A. W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| | PRE-ROMAN. | |
| Ickleford (vii.) | Palæolithic implements | <i>penes</i> J. E. |
| Ippollitts (xii.) | Palæolithic implements | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| | ROMAN. | |
| Ickleford (vii.) | Roman coins frequently found here, and at West Mill | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| | PRE-ROMAN. | |
| Kensworth (xviii.) | Palæolithic implement | N. 1889, xl. 151 |
| King's Langley (xxxviii.) | Palæolithic implement | P. S. A. 2nd S. v. 165 |
| Knebworth (xx.) | I have several palæolithic implements found in gravel by the side of the railway in this parish Bronze palstave found in Park Wood | J. E. <i>penes</i> W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| | ROMAN. | |
| Knebworth (xx.) | Barrow outside the Park, across the Stevenage Road (? Roman) | B. A. A. xxvi. 260 |
| | PRE-ROMAN. | |
| Lilley (xi.) | Gold coin of Cunobeline (Lilly Hoo) | A. B. C. 561 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Letchworth (vii.) | <i>See</i> Hitchin | |
| Munden Little (xxi.) | Two or three tumuli at Dane End levelled in 1775. Below the church in the road from Braughing to Hertford | G. C. ii. 69; S. H. 220 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Northchurch (xxxii.) | Portion of late-Celtic iron sword in bronze sheath, now in British Museum | A. xlv. 254 |
| North Mimms (xl.) | Palaeolithic implement | P. S. A. 2nd S. v. 165 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Northchurch (xxxii.) | Considerable remains of the Grimes Dyke, Grims Ditch, or Græme's Dyke, exist in this parish | O. S. P. S. A. ii. 215 |
| Offley (xi.) | At Highdowns, in a wood, barrows and dykes thought to be British | G. C. ii. 66. L. T. D. |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Panshanger (xxix.) | Polished flint celt | A. J. xx. 192; A. S. I. 92 |
| Pelham, Furneaux (xiv.) | Bronze celts and lumps of metal | A. J. x. 248 |
| Pelham, Stocking (xiv. xv.) | Mr. Penning, of the Geological Survey, found a palaeolithic implement in 1872 | Letter to J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Pirton (vi. xi.) | "The Castle Hill," described "Toot Hill" | C. H. iii. 115 Cus. H. ii. 15 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Pelham, Furneaux (xiv.) | Roman road formerly traversed the parish | Cus. H. i. 146 |
| Pirton (vi. xi.) | Coins and pottery found, and numerous urns in a field called Dane's Shot A cemetery, also of doubtful date | Cus. H. ii. 15 G. M. 1835, i. 305; G. M. L. R. 133; L. T. D. |
| ANGLO-SAXON. | | |
| Park Street (xxxix.) | Gold twisted bracelet, weighing twenty guineas, found in 1744 | G. C. ii. 72 (pl. iii. 9) |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Royston (iv.) | Incense-vessel in barrow near Royston Beldam's memoir on Icknield Street British encampment Barrows opened on Royston Heath in 1856 Coin of Cunobeline | A. J. v. 235 A. J. xxiii. 221 Cus. H. i. 98 Cus. H. i. 98 W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| Rushden (viii.) | <i>See</i> Baldock | |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Redbourn (xxvii.) | Aubury, or The Aubreys, an oval encampment, probably pre-Roman | O. S. |
| Royston (iv.) | A Roman camp, said to be a quarter of a mile from Royston, on the road to Baldock Numerous barrows in the neighbourhood An excavation like a denchole | G. C. ii. 65 (Proc. Soc. Ant. 1744) S. H. 355 G. M. L. A. i. 123; G. M. 1856, Pt. ii. 625 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Royston (iv.) | Cave Barrow, with glass, &c. (west end of Royston Heath) Interment at Limloe Hill; coins of Claudius, Vespasian, and Faustina | A. xxxiv. 27 B. A. A. viii. 371 G. M. 1833, i. 453; G. M. L. R. 134 |
| ANGLO-SAXON. | | |
| Redbourn (xxvii.) | Barrow attributed to Saint Amphibalus | A. xxxiii. 264; P. S. A. ii. 27 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| St. Albans (Verulam) (xxxiv.) | British coins found at Gold coin of Tasciovanus Coins struck at Verulam Bronze helmet (late-Celtic?) now in Colchester Museum Socketed celts and lumps of metal (Westwick Row, St. Michaels) Enamelled armlet (late-Celtic?), said to have been found at Verulam | N. C. xviii. 51; N. C. xx. 105 A. B. C. 234, 535 A. B. C. <i>passim</i> , G. C. ii. 61 P. S. A. 2nd. S. v. 362 A. J. xi. 24; A. B. I. 112, 424, 468 B. A. A. xxx. 92 |
| Sandridge (xxxiv.) | A perforated hammer made from a quartzite pebble, found here by H. Griffith, F.S.A. | In British Museum |
| Standon (xxii.) | Copper coins of Cunobeline between Standon and Braughing Uninscribed British gold coin | A. B. C. 569 B. A. A. ii. 347 |
| Stanstead St. Margaret's (xxx.) | Uninscribed gold British coin Bronze spear-head in River Lea, 1858, now <i>penes</i> J. E. | A. B. C. 75; B. A. A. ii. 347 P. S. A. iv. 279; A. B. I. 315 |
| Stevenage (xii.) | I have palæolithic implements from the brickfield south of the station, and from Fisher's Green | J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| St. Albans (Verulam) (xxxiv.) | Remarks on vestiges around St. Alban's Oister Hills Beech Bottom Kingsbury Castle | A. J. xxii. 299; B. A. A. xxvi. 238 G. C. ii. 63, 73 B. A. A. xxvi. 182; H. N. S. iv. xx. G. C. ii. 73 |
| Sandridge (xxxiv.) | Beech Bottom. See St. Alban's | |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| | <i>EARTHWORKS—continued.</i> | |
| Shenley (xl.) | Earthworks said to begin here and extend to Brockley Hill | S. H. 61; Gale's Anton. Itin. |
| Stevenage (xii.) | Barrows mentioned by Camden, who regards them as Roman One of the six opened in 1741, only wood and iron found. Nothing found in another A square entrenchment in Humbley Wood (Whomerley Wood) | G. C. ii. 60; Aubrey, Letters, i. 183 G. C. ii. 67; C. H. ii. 439 L. T. D.; O. S. |
| | <i>ROMAN.</i> | |
| Saint Alban's (Verulam) (xxxiv.) | Coins found at Flint flakes from <i>tribula</i> ? Stone sarcophagus and glass vessels, Kingsbury Farm, March 1813 Watling Street unearched about 70 years before Norden's time, about 18 feet broad and 10 feet deep Walls of Verulam Theatre, &c. Enamelled fibula, Verulam Silver ring set with carnelian Bowed fibula (St. Stephens) Oculist's stamp (Verulam) now in British Museum Roman remains and coins (St. Michael's) Silver fibula? Pottery Buildings Hexagonal glass urn, pottery, &c. (St. Stephens) Bronze steelyard weight (female bust), near Theatre (now <i>penes</i> J. E.) Coins, &c. Globular urn, inscribed, found A.D. 1719; others with it. Other antiquities mentioned Leaden coffin (possibly Roman), Kingsbury Carnelian intaglio with helmeted head Vessels said to have been found | N. C. xvi. 170; N. C. xx. 108 N. C., N. S. i. 36 A. S. I. 256 A. xvii. 336; Cus. H. iii. 268 Plate of vessels published by Edward Orme N. S. B. 25 B. B. 23; G. C. ii. 61; S. I. C. i. 116; V. M. i. pl. 8 A. ii. 184; A. xxvi. 28; B. A. A. iii. 331; xxvi. 45, 184, &c. A. xxxiii. 266; A. J. v. 237; B. A. A. iii. 345, iv. 73 G. M. 1848, ii. 143; G. M. L. R. 389 P. S. A. 2nd S. i. 224 P. S. A. 2nd S. xi. 186 A. J. vii. 398 A. ix. 227; A. J. vii. 358, ix. 187; G. M. xlviii. 510. I. B. L. 1310 A. J. x. 357; B. A. A. v. 360, vi. 91 A. J. xxvii. 69 B. A. A. iii. 331 B. A. A. iii. 337, 341 B. A. A. iv. 405, viii. 77, xxvi. 180; Cus. H. iii. 286 B. A. A. vi. 438 G. C. ii. 71 G. C. ii. 71, fig'd. vol. i. p. cevi. 12 G. M. 1799, i. 363; G. M. L. R. 135 M. S. A. 17 July, 1740 M. S. A. 28 May and 4 June, 1767 |
| Sarratt (xxxviii.) | Roman urns and fibula found in the churchyard | Cus. H. iii. 111 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| | ROMAN—continued. | |
| Standon (xxii.) | Barrows at Youngsbury, glass and earthen urns in wooden cist | A. iii. 287; S. H. 235; C. H. iii. 277; Cus. H. i. 164 |
| | A tessellated pavement found close by in 1736 | C. H. iii. 277 |
| Stanstead Abbots (xxxii.) | A pavement found in 1881 in the churchyard. Tiles and pottery, 1891 | The Antiquary, Nov. 1891, p. 212 |
| | ANGLO-SAXON. | |
| Saint Alban's (xxxiv.) | Gold bracelet, probably Saxon | G. C. ii. 72, pl. iii. 9; M. S. A. 1 Dec. 1748 |
| | PRE-ROMAN. | |
| Therfield (iv.) | Barrow (Fyler's or Money Hill), with cinerary urn and copper bars | P. S. A. 2nd S. i. 306; A. J. xviii. 86; A. B. I. 424 |
| | Barrow near the Thrift, opened about 1830 | Cus. H. i. 116 |
| Tring (xxv.) | Gold coin of Cunobeline | A. B. C. 304 |
| | Copper coin of Cunobeline (Moneybury Hill, Pitstone Common) | N. C., N. S. x. 128; A. B. C. 569 |
| | Gold coin, TASCIO-SEGO | A. B. C. 540 |
| | Copper coin of Tasciovanus (Cowroast Inn) | A. B. C. 549 |
| | Copper coin of Cunobeline (Cowroast Inn) | A. B. C. 569 |
| | Stone bracers and flint arrow-heads, with extended interment | A. viii. 429; Cus. H. iii. 13; A. S. I. 342, 355, 381, 410 |
| | Bronze helmet (late-Celtic or Roman), found at Northcote Hill | P. S. A. 2nd S. v. 362; V. M. v. Pl. 26, 27; L. T. D. M. S. A. 4th Feb. 1813 |
| | EARTHWORKS. | |
| Therfield (iv.) | British and Roman camps on right of road from Baldock | Cus. H. i. 116 |
| | ROMAN. | |
| Therfield (iv.) | Numerous coins and supposed traces of a camp | Cus. H. i. 116 |
| Tring (xxv.) | Pottery found where London and North Western Railroad crosses the Icknield Street. | Cus. H. iii. 13 |
| | Coins, Moneybury Hill, Pitstone Common | N. C., N. S. x. 128; H. N. S. v. xxiv. |
| | PRE-ROMAN. | |
| Ware (xxix.) | Rough flint celt and knife | A. S. I. 62, 299 |
| | Palæolithic implements found Mr. Worthington G. Smith | penes J. E. |
| Welwyn (xxviii.) | Socketed celts and lumps of metal (Danesbury) | A. J. x. 248; xi. 24 |
| | Palæolithic implements near Mill, on west side of road to Hitchin | A. B. I. 423 |
| | Palæolithic implements found in gravel at No Man's Land | W. Ransom, F.S.A. |
| Wheathampstead (xxviii.) | | penes J. E. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|---|
| PRE-ROMAN—continued. | | |
| Wigginton (xxv. xxvii.) See also Tring. | Part of chariot or harness (late-Celtic) <i>penes</i> J. E. Bronze knife (late-Celtic) Copper coin of Cunobeline Palaeolithic implements | P. S. A. 2nd S. iv. 63 A. B. I. 214; P. S. A. iv. 254 A. B. C. 335 J. E. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Watton (xxi.) | <i>Cleigh-hangre</i> , Clay Hill, a camp and field called Dane Field | A. x. 371 |
| Westmill (xiv.) | Roundwood is an acre entrenched. There is another at Campwood | G. C. ii. 69 |
| Wheathampstead (xxviii.) | The Slad and the Devil's Dyke | H. N. S. v. xxxviii. |
| Widford (xxx.) | Two barrows on a hill a little west of the river | S. H. 259 |
| Wigginton (xxv. xxxii.) See also Northchurch. | Considerable remains of the "Grimes Dyke" in this parish "An almost perfect Roman camp may still be distinctly traced" (?) | O. S. L. T. D. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Walden St. Pauls (xx.) | Roman Coins at Whitwell | W. Ransom, F. S. A. |
| Ware (xxix.) | Skeletons and coins (Domitian and Didius Julianus) Coin of Constantine the Great, at "the Bury;" coffin (possibly Roman) on the hill near Dartford Brent | A. xxiv. 350; Cus. H. i. 155 G. M. 1802, i. 393; G. M. L. R. 136 |
| Watford (xliv.) | Roman interments found at Munden | Cus. H. iii. 181 |
| Watton (xxi.) | Roman coins found, and a milestone presumed to be there | C. H. ii. 472 |
| Welwyn (xxviii.) | I have seen a vessel of polished red ware found here. Pottery and burnt bones found in 1887 Two urns with bones and a fibula in a chalkpit | J. E. Rev. C. L. Wingfield. M. S. A. 11 Aug. 1743 |
| Westmill (xiv.) | In 1729, two Roman <i>amphoræ</i> found in Lemonfield | G. C. ii. 69; B. B. 206; Cus. H. i. 202 |
| Widford (xxx.) | Suggested to be Caesaromagus Two Roman barrows, one partially opened in 1851 | A. xxiii. 367 Cus. H. i. 55 |
| Wigginton (xxv. xxxii.) See also Tring. | At the Cowroast Inn, Roman fibulæ and Roman and Ancient British coins have been found | J. E. |
| Willian (vii.) | Roman interment and coins | W. Ransom, F. S. A. |
| Wymondley, Great (xii.) | Roman settlement, urns, coins, &c. from Vespasian to Julianus Villa near Purwell Mill, coins from Severus to Valentinian II. | H. N. S. iv. 40 H. N. S. iv. 43 |
| ANGLO-SAXON. | | |
| Wheathampstead (xxviii.) | Glass bowl, <i>penes</i> Arthur Griffith, Esq. | J. E. |

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XIV.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1891.* By
GEORGE E. FOX, Esq., F.S.A.; with a Note on the animal remains found
during the excavations. By HERBERT JONES, Esq.

Read December 10 and December 17, 1891.

THE plan of operations decided upon last year has been pursued without change during the season just past. It may be remembered that *Insula I.*, partly explored in 1890, is traversed at its southern extremity by a modern road, which passes completely across the site of the city. All the ground to the north of this road was examined last year, but the small section south of it still remained untouched. One task was, therefore, to complete our researches in *Insula I.*; the other, there being ample funds for the purpose, to work out two more *insulæ*.

We were guided in the choice of these two *insulæ* by the desire to carry on the work in as compact a form as possible, and not to examine isolated spots. Though the former method might seem to have its disadvantages, portions of the site not appearing to be worth examination, we concluded that in the end it was the better and the more thorough, and would prevent any going over the ground again at a future time. We therefore chose the two squares directly west of the *basilica*, facing that building and in the very heart of the city, lying, moreover, upon the great main street running from the north to the south gate. The upper of the two we have named *Insula II.* the lower *Insula III.* *Insula II.* is bounded on the north by the principal street of the city, running east and west, and divided from *Insula III.* on the south by a short street 24 feet wide, starting from a point about the centre of the length of the *basilica*.

The plan pursued in the excavations was the same as that adopted last year. The external lines of each *insula* were first found, and then diagonal trenches were cut at intervals of 14 feet or less throughout the area they enclosed. Wherever foundations revealed themselves in these trenches, they were traced out, and thus the whole area within given lines was thoroughly examined. About two-thirds of the east side of *Insula II.* and about half the same side of *Insula III.* are overlapped for nearly 20 feet by a great mound some 300 feet long, formed of the spoil removed from the *basilica* during Mr. Joyce's excavations in 1886. This mound also completely covers the main street between the *basilica* and the

insulæ. As its removal would have been very costly, it was thought better to leave it and only cut into it at certain points.

Insulæ II. and III. were undertaken first, for certain reasons of convenience, and the examination of the remaining portion of *Insula* I. was deferred till after the harvest, but as a clearer idea will be formed of the progress of the discoveries if the *insulæ* are taken in the natural order, our description will be begun with what remained unexplored from last year of *Insula* I.

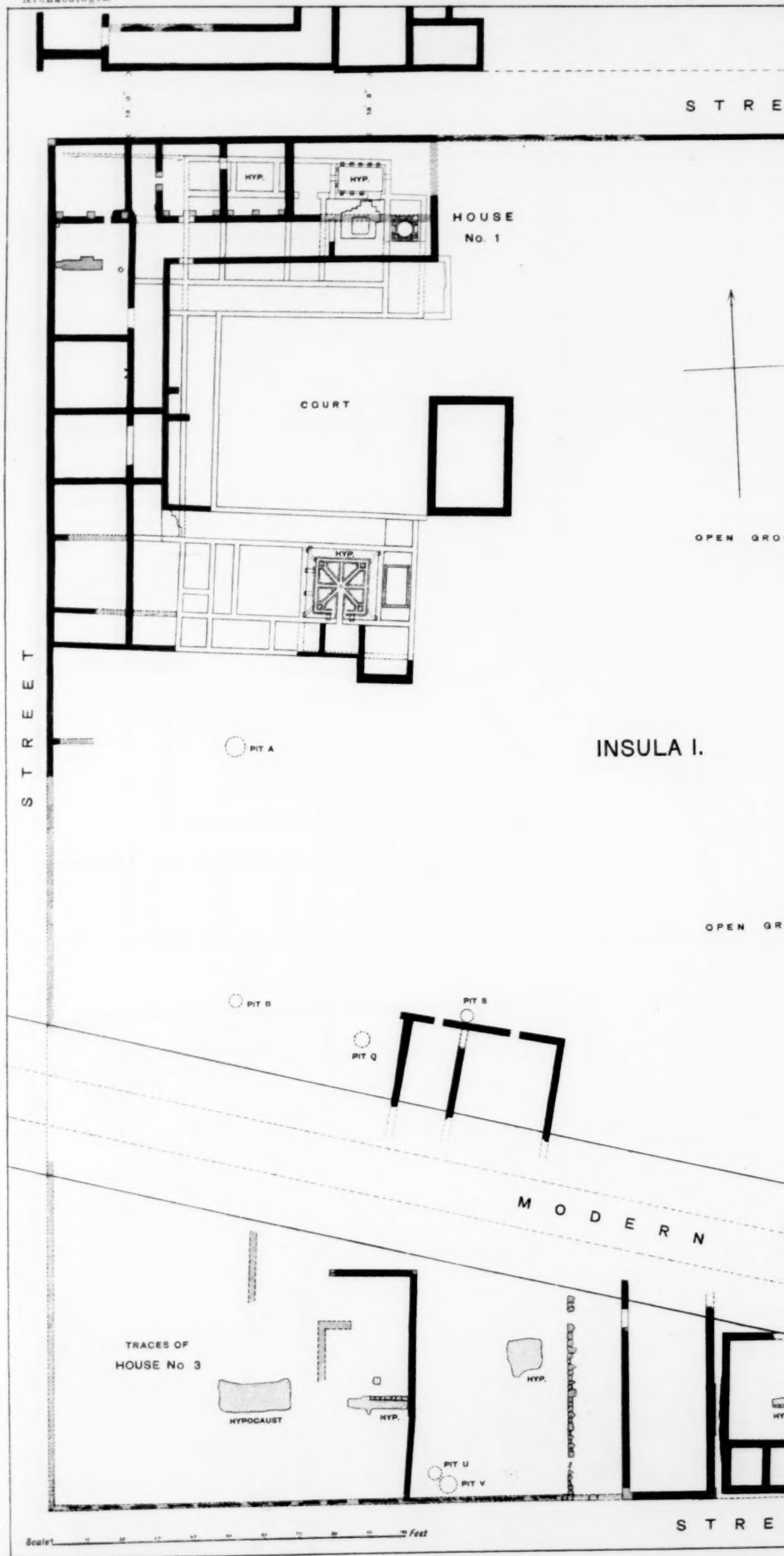
A reference to the plan (Plate XXI.) will show that in this *insula* two large houses occupied respectively the north-west and north-east corners, having between and to the south of them a considerable amount of open ground, dotted with rubbish pits. On the west side, south of House No. 1, and between it and the modern road, were traces of constructions, but they were so completely without definite form that they could not be indicated on the plan. The same destruction on this west side which has ruined the buildings north of the modern road has been scarcely less complete to the south of it.

A house of some size seems to have occupied the south-west corner of the *insula*, for faint traces of foundations, and one line of solid masonry at a distance of 102 feet east of this angle, still exist. North of the modern road also, and somewhat to the east of the line of masonry mentioned, but set askew to it, are two chambers which must have formed some part of the destroyed house. But more conclusive evidence of the former existence of the house was afforded by the finding of patches of tile work, the wreck of two large hypocausts, both lying between the line of masonry to the east and the angle of the *insula*.

The hypocausts had been built up of tiles of different kinds, but as many more of a similar description were found in *Insula* II., fuller details respecting their construction will be given further on. Passing still eastward, another patch of tilework showed the place of a third hypocaust, and may indicate some prolongation of the house just mentioned.

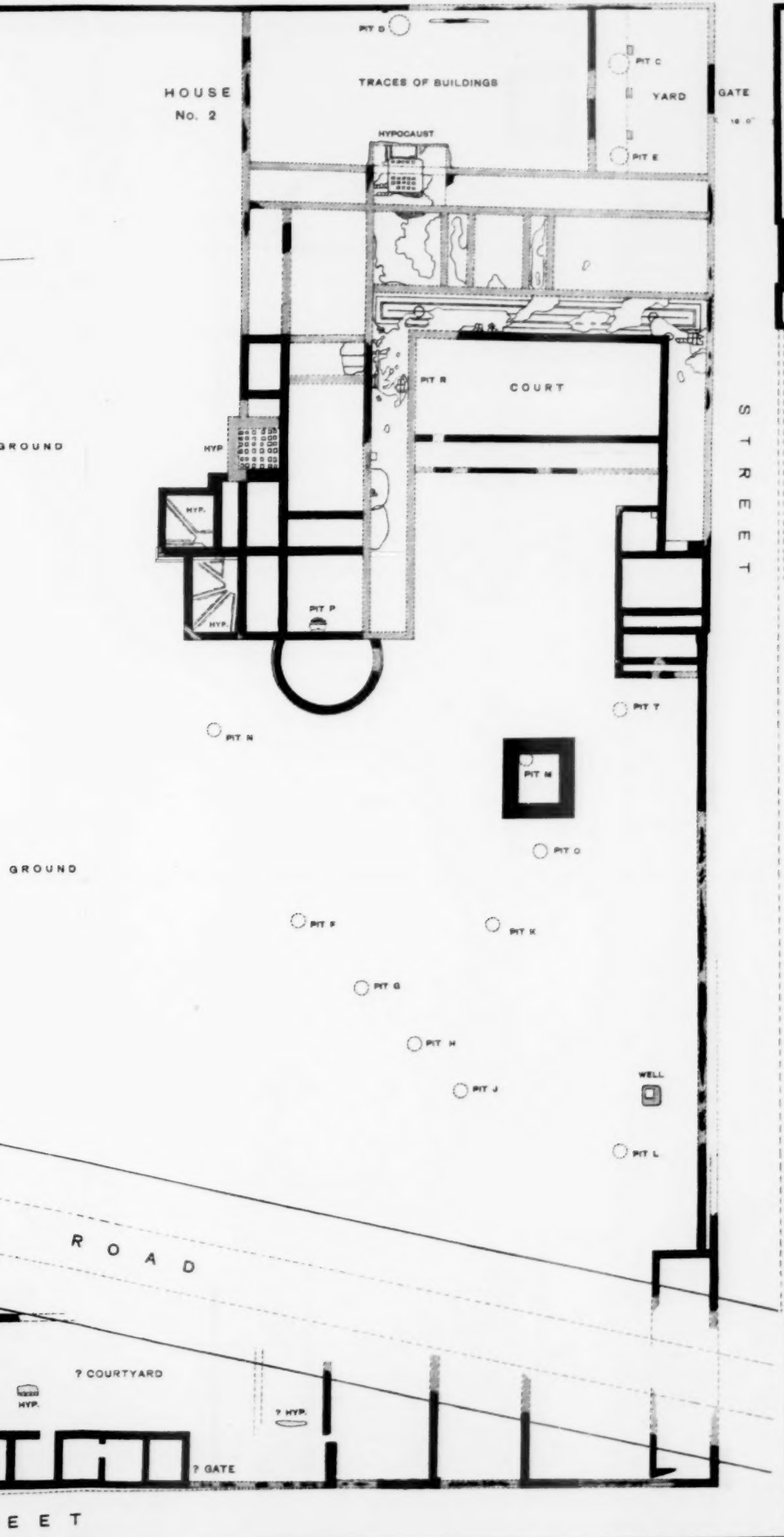
From this point to the south-east corner of the *insula* a number of foundations present themselves, but from their imperfect lines, and from the fact that the continuations of such lines are for the most part hidden beneath the modern road, but very little can be made out as to the buildings they represent.

The first of these foundations was a massive one of heavy blocks of ironstone. This ran in a line parallel or nearly so to the long wall, the main relic of the house at the south-west corner, and perpendicular to the great street which bounds *Insula* I. on the south. Lying loose in the earth upon the stones of this foundation, and not far from the street, was a fragment of the shaft of a column 1 foot 10 inches in diameter and 8 inches in height. At no great distance from it



INSULA I.

E E T



a broken stone carved with foliage was turned up. This proved to be a piece of one of the capitals from the colonnade of the *basilica*, and as it was buried somewhat deeply its deposit at such a depth showed the early dispersion of the remains of that great edifice.

Sixteen feet eastward of the ironstone foundation came the walls of a great rectangular space 22 feet wide with its end to the street. The modern road crossed its northern extremity, and its total length could not therefore be determined, but it certainly was more than 50 feet long. The walls were 2 feet thick, well built of rubble with fine quoins of brick at the southern angles, and a thickening of the east wall occurred for a length of 15 feet at a distance of 17 feet from the street. These were the only features the enclosure presented, with the exception perhaps of a break in the western wall near the hedge of the modern road which may have been a doorway.

East of this enclosure the trenches uncovered what appeared to be a courtyard 28 feet wide from north to south. Of the northern side of this courtyard nothing could be made out, as it lay beneath the modern road. The southern side facing on the street was lined by a series of five small chambers each 11 feet in depth from the street, and from 9 feet to 10 feet 6 inches in width. Two doorways only could be traced in their walls; one in the second chamber communicating with the courtyard, the other in the party wall between the third and fourth. North of the second chamber are the remains of a hypocaust. In this chamber a fine specimen of foreign marble was turned up. It was not *in situ* and, like a smaller piece of the same kind, found in *Insula II*, had probably come from a neighbouring building of some importance, in all likelihood from the *forum* or the *basilica*.^a It looks like part of a wall slab and has a rust stain upon it, but from the fact of one edge being slightly chamfered it may have been used for flooring. Considering that even in the remains of the temples discovered last year the most precious material found was Purbeck marble, we should be scarcely justified in supposing that any of the private houses of the city were decorated with any marbles more costly or brought from a greater distance. It is certainly true that all over Gaul, even in the north, in the wreck of villas, not only the

^a This fragment of marble, as well as the second example found in *Insula II*, is possibly, from its structure, a variety of the marble now known as Campan Vert, the product of quarries near Bagnières de Bigorre, in the Pyrenees. Pieces of marble much resembling Campan Vert have been found in France, amongst ruined Roman buildings in the Commune of Allones, about a league from Le Mans. *Bulletin monumental*, 3, 1837, p. 338 *et seq.*

marbles of the Pyrenees, but those from far more remote regions, have been found used for the adornment of walls and floors.

In this country the use of foreign marbles is of uncommon occurrence. Their place is ordinarily supplied by Purbeck marble, for which the Romano-Britons seem to have had a great partiality, and when this could not be obtained for decorative purposes the nearest quarries which offered a stone of fine texture and agreeable colour were laid under requisition. A good instance of this practice may be seen in the building discovered by Mr. Artis at Chasterton near Castor, one of whose chambers had been ornamented with wall linings of a local marble called Atwalton marble. Other instances might be adduced but would needlessly lengthen this digression. One fact, however, in connection with this subject may be mentioned. In various places at Silchester rough lumps of a fine-grained limestone, in all probability brought from Gloucestershire, have from time to time been found, and these would have served the mosaic workers, if any existed in the town, for cutting up into *tesseræ* for the better class of pavements.

To return to the plan of *Insula* I. The chambers last described come to an abrupt termination at their eastern end, and the walls show stone quoins as if they extended no further. Possibly a gateway at this spot gave access to the courtyard from the street.

Beyond this break, other buildings occur forming the east side of the courtyard, and if the rough masses of burnt material in them indicate the presence of a hypocaust, these buildings may have had a certain importance. It is doubtful, however, if a hypocaust lay here. A wall bounding this spot on the east and running north and south shows, as a continuation to the street, though not quite in the same line, a foundation of large and well-cut blocks of ironstone. After a break of 12 feet from the south end of this foundation, the blocks reappear along the street till they join another wall with a well-defined quoin at its southern end. This wall was parallel with the first-named stone foundation and ran northwards. Beyond this point nothing is certain, though fragments of masonry were found quite up to the south-east corner of the *insula*, at which corner there may have been some long detached building.

So much for the actual remains.

There can be but little doubt that a house occupied the south-west corner of *Insula* I., but beyond this all is uncertainty. What could have been the uses of the space east of the first large ironstone foundations, of the enclosure next to it, and of the courtyard and its dependent chambers?

The late Mr. Joyce, in his paper published in vol. xlvi. of *Archæologia* gives a

description of the house excavated by him, which we have ventured to call No. 1, *Insula I.* on our plan. In that account he gives it as his opinion that between this house and the *basilica* was placed "a temple, or if not a temple certainly an altar and a precinct, to the Hercules of the Segontiaci." This opinion was evidently founded on the fact that an inscription had been discovered at Silchester in 1745, naming that local god, although the stone bearing it was dug up on the north side of the forum, and without the walls. Now although we found no indications of a temple or of a precinct in all the trenching of the ground between house No. 1 and the south-west angle of the *insula*, yet it appeared quite possible that such a temple or precinct might be somewhere in this locality.

When therefore the long lines of the enclosure in the middle of the south side made their appearance there seemed some likelihood that we had come upon the site anticipated by Mr. Joyce.

We were disappointed however, for in spite of the well-built walls and well-formed quoins, and the heavy ironstone foundations apparently annexed to one side of it, not to mention the fragment of foreign marble turned up in the chamber near it, the space, though carefully trenched, yielded nothing, not even paving of the most ordinary description, nor any trace whatever either of painted walls or altar platform, such as might have been expected.

The shrine of the local Hercules has therefore yet to be found, if indeed it may not be seen either in the circular structure south of the *forum*, or in one or other of the temples discovered by us last year near the east gate.

One fact connected with these buildings must be mentioned before passing on to other subjects. The courtyard with its attached chambers is separated from the walls of the enclosed space on the west by a sort of narrow alley 2 feet wide at the south end and 2 feet 6 inches at the north. It is not quite certain, but it seems probable that it was blocked up about the centre and so made no thoroughfare. At its southern end the angle of the chambers is set back 1 foot 6 inches from the main line of the street, and at the south-east angle of the *insula* the face of the buildings is 1 foot 9 inches in advance of that line, the distance between this angle and that of the chambers being 198 feet. There is therefore in that length a deflection southward of the line of the street.

Mr. Hope, who first pointed this out, is strongly of opinion that the change of direction here indicated shows that the great road east and west passed direct from this point to the east gate, and did not, as hitherto supposed, make a right angle in its course for the purpose of reaching that gate. It cannot, however, be positively said that such is the case, as a sufficient length of the road has not as

yet been laid open, but more will perhaps be known when the ground on the south side of the road is examined.

The minor antiquities brought to light were few, but of some interest.

In one of the trenches carried over the site of the house at the south-west corner was dug up part of the base of a small column that had formerly adorned some chamber or corridor (Plate XXIV. fig. 1). It is late in character and much split and blackened by fire. Small columns having such bases as this were generally used in the structure of domestic buildings. As often as not their bases, as in this instance, have the square plinth worked on the same stone as the rest of the mouldings. But in larger bases this member is usually absent. When small bases are found without the square plinth they may be taken to have stood on some such continuous base as a dwarf wall, or the sill of some large opening.

Near the westernmost hypocaust was found a hexagonal tile, showing that hereabouts was probably such another pavement as that of a small room found by Mr. Joyce in the house named by him Block III. In that example the spaces between the tiles were filled with *tesserae*, and the combination of tiles with *tesserae* afforded a pleasing variety to the usual arrangement of mosaic floors.



BRONZE ROUNDEL FOUND AT SILCHESTER
IN INSULA I. PIT V.
(Full size).

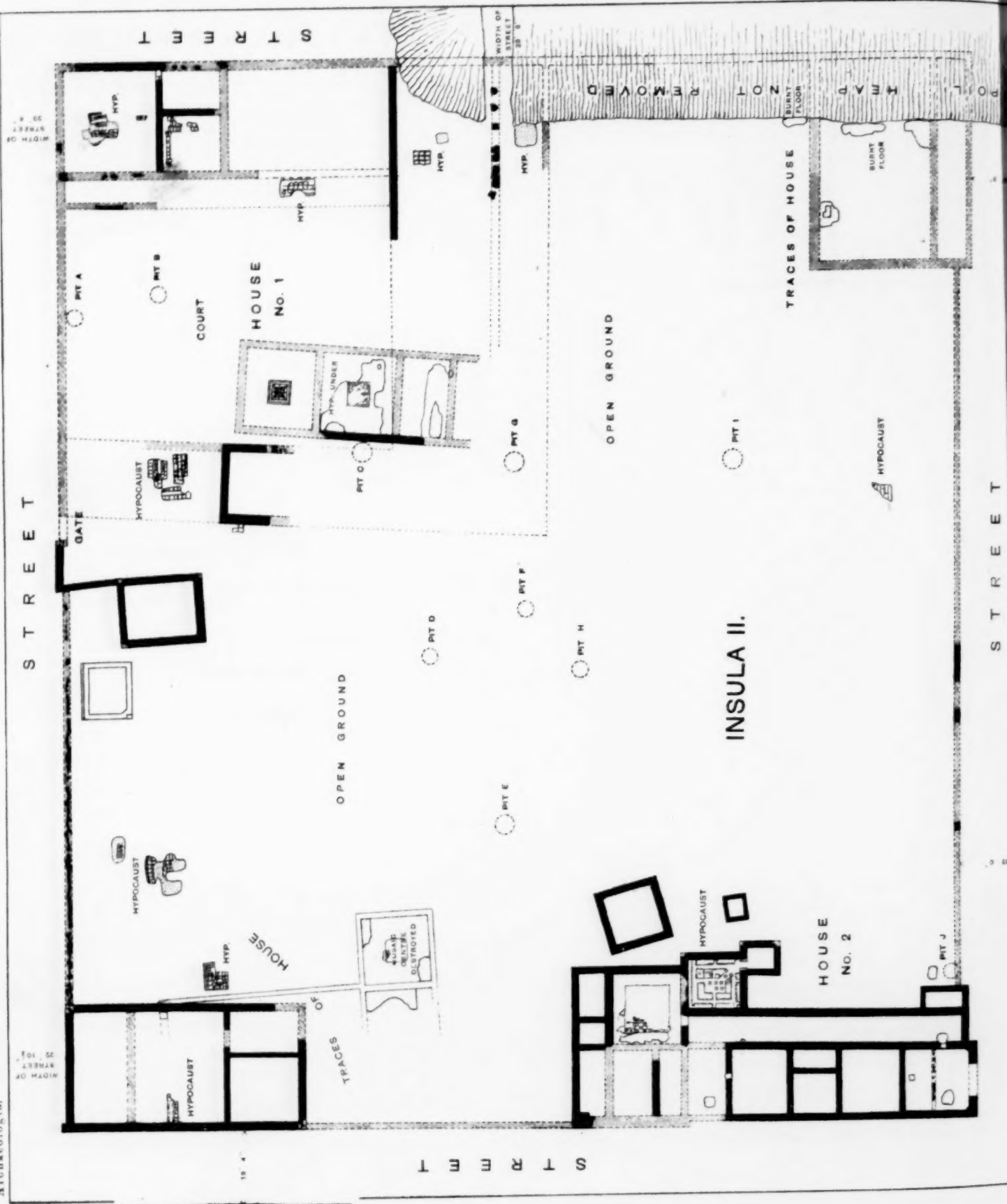
In pit V, around and above which lay much building material, was discovered a curious circular bronze ornament of pierced work $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter. It is a thin slightly convex casting with a short pin or peg on the back for attaching it to something.

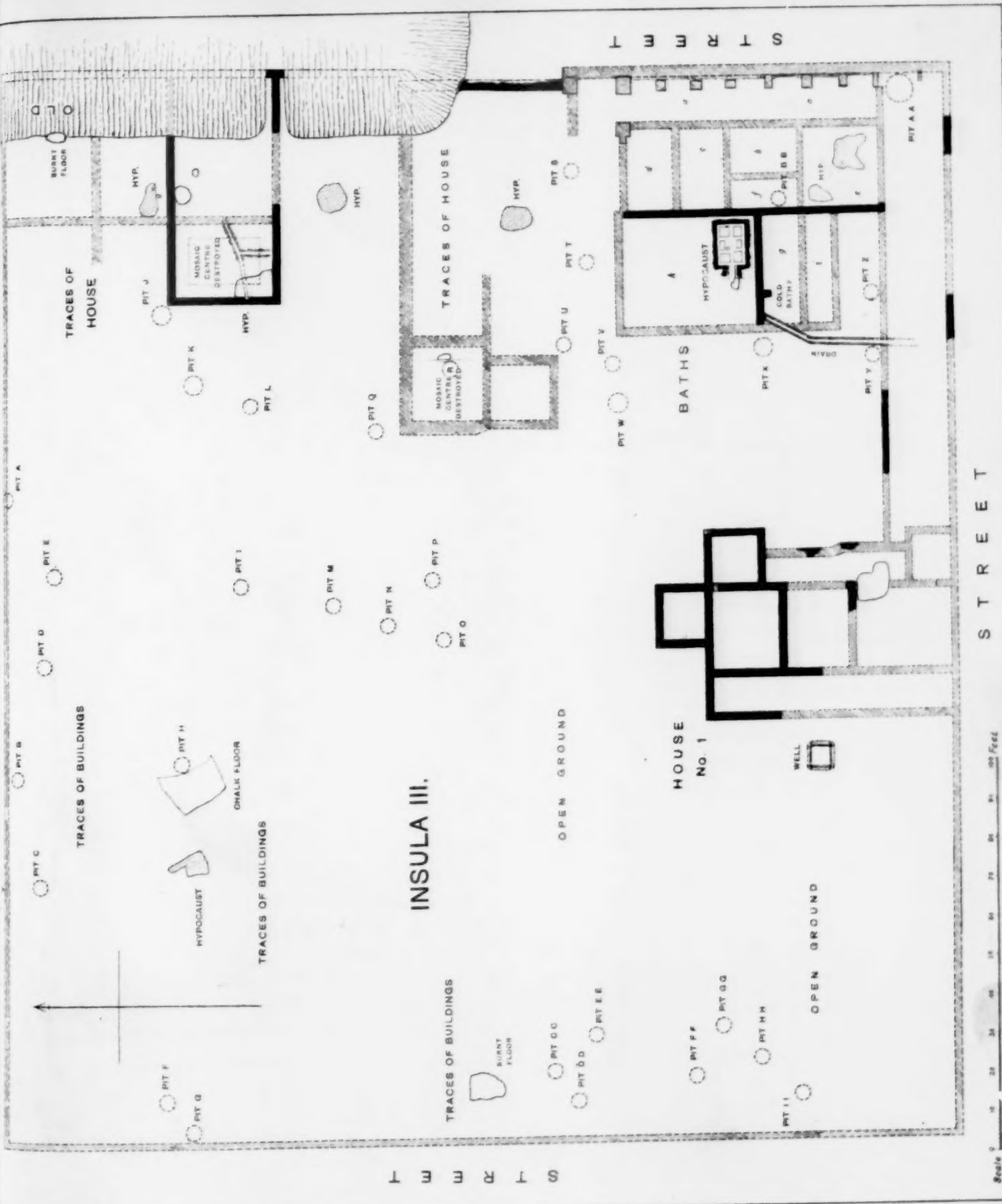
In the centre, within a ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch in diameter, is an eagle with outspread wings, its head turned to the left, grasping in its claws a thunderbolt. Beneath is a globe.

Between the inner ring and the border is the following inscription in separate letters :

COH OPTIME [MAX] ME

The lower part of the inscription, which is broken, can be restored from a perfect but somewhat corroded example of the same design, and possibly cast in the same mould, found in the station of *Bremenium*, north of the Roman Wall,





which was excavated in 1852.^a The fragment of a third has been found in York. In the same pit, not far from this ornament, lay a broken vase of the figured red glazed ware usually called Samian, of late date.

From the alley between the central inclosure and the courtyard, not far from the street, came a bronze figure of a goat.

The only other find of any interest, which closes the list of those most worthy of mention in this section of the excavations, was that of a small hoard of coins which had been deposited in a hole covered by a broken stone of a quern, in the same narrow alley from whence the goat came. The coins were of Constantine the Great, Crispus, Constantius II., one of Urbs Roma, and one barbarous.

We now turn to the examination of *Insula* II. In the description of *Insula* I. it was noted that the great feature of its arrangement was that the buildings it contained lay for the most part at the corners, and that the centre was open ground.

The same feature reappears in *Insula* II, but with this difference, that on three of its sides the buildings were more nearly without break on the street faces, and that the houses occupying each corner were not individually so important as those in similar positions in *Insula* I. The open ground showed a certain number of rubbish pits.

A detailed examination of the buildings of *Insula* II. (see plan, Plate XXII.), will best be commenced at its south-east corner. Here the traces of construction exhibited only a few fragments of broken rubble, the remains of gravel foundations on which walls had been erected, and some patches of tile and brick, proving the former existence of hypocausts. These traces were sufficient to show, with some probability, that a house had stood at this corner, but too little remained to enable us to guess at its form and dimensions. The wreck of a hypocaust 116 feet west of the corner, and 16 feet north from the street bounding the *insula* on the south, possibly indicated the limits of this house in a westerly direction. A gravel foundation, with occasional masses of flint rubble, showed the lines of a corridor running westwards from the angle of the *insula* along the street. North again of this corridor traces of hypocausts and a portion of a floor of the usual red tile *tesseræ* reached to another gravel foundation, and indicated the existence of constructions along the main street fronting the *basilica*. Yet other patches of hypocaust floors proved that chambers extended still further in a northerly direction.

^a See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 303, and *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, 144.

There then appeared a break of 50 feet before traces of buildings again became visible. We cannot, however, say positively that this space was entirely empty.

After passing this break the trenches disclosed the remains of a considerable house, occupying the north-east angle of the *insula*. Although its walls and foundations were very fragmentary, enough remained to allow an idea to be formed of its plan. The eastern side lay along the great road running north and south through the city and was 126 feet long; its northern extended along the main road running east and west for a length of 116 feet. The house stood therefore at the intersection of the two great lines of traffic. Of the south side, although it was probably the most important, extremely little remained.

Two wings ran upward from the southern block, their northern ends being joined by a wall bordering the great main road. The west wing was not quite parallel with the east. Between the eastern wing and the buildings on the south was a court about 65 feet wide but of uncertain length.

Whether the wall on the north along the street was lined by chambers could not be ascertained. Most likely, however, it was not, and in that case the entrance was on the northern side, and the general plan of the house may have resembled that of Block III. of Mr. Joyce, the house in which the money chest was found.

Between the two wings, and apparently crossing the site of the original southern buildings, was a series of chambers to which reference will be made further on.

Beginning with the east wing, the first or northernmost chamber had a channelled hypocaust of which the small fragment remaining showed only the base of the flues. The foundations of this chamber had been formed of blocks of ironstone as massive as those noticed in *Insula* I., and indicating equally solid construction.

In the rubbish cleared from this chamber was found the second piece of foreign marble produced by the excavations this year. It was of the same kind as the much larger specimen turned up in *Insula* I., from which indeed it might even have been broken, so exactly did the veining match though not the colouring.

The larger specimen was covered by a network of green veins on a white ground, but in the lesser piece the veins were purple, a difference of colour possibly due to the action of fire. At one end of the fragment was a small cylindrical hole running into the marble at an angle, which must have received a metal pin for the purpose of fastening it to some other slab not quite in the same plane.

The massive ironstone foundation was continued to the wall lining the street, forming the side of a small oblong room. Some pieces of painted plaster, the only examples found in this *insula*, were dug up here. They probably formed part of the decoration of the first room, for the small room, or at least a portion of it, must have served as a stokehole for the hypocaust of the corner chamber. Next to the small oblong room is a square one with a floor of large tiles. On the west side of the large corner chamber are the traces, possibly, of a corridor extending along the side of this wing of the house. The scanty remains of it had on the west side a coating of plaster, probably uncoloured, from its covering an external wall. Similar fragments of uncoloured plaster were found at one angle of the courtyard of house No. 2, *Insula* I. Examples of this method of coating external walls have also been observed in the ruins of a building at Finkley, near Andover,^a in those of a villa at Beddington, Surrey,^b and amongst the ruins of *Segontium*, near Caernarvon.^c

The corridor in question appears to have been interrupted towards its southern end by a chamber containing a hypocaust, some of the flooring of which remained. The room warmed by this hypocaust probably filled the south-east angle of the courtyard.

South of the three chambers first mentioned nothing could be clearly traced, until, at a distance of 83 feet from the north wall of the house, a long wall of solid flint rubble was met with, running east and west. This appeared to be the main wall of the southern range of buildings facing the courtyard. It extended for a distance of 44 feet, beyond which point it could not be traced. Directly south of the centre of its length lay the relics of a hypocaust, and 24 feet south of and parallel to it occurred a line of strong ironstone foundation, a pretty sure indication that the main external wall of the house had been reached. There was yet another line of wall parallel with and 11 feet 6 inches south of this, with traces of another hypocaust. This wall may either be the boundary of the outer corridor of the block on the south or, which is more likely, it may indicate the addition of some chamber at a later time to the original building.

Of the western wing only a few fragments of walls remain, but at its northern extremity is a large mass of material, the wreck of the hypocaust of a considerable chamber, which offers points worthy of attention.

This mass by its size and state of preservation enabled us to understand the construction of the hypocausts throughout *Insula* II. which, with one exception,

^a *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxvii. 327.

^b *Ibid.* xxvii. 514.

^c *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1846), i. 286.

were all built and arranged in a similar fashion. The hypocaust in question had been a channelled one, but in what order the channels were disposed, whether radiating from a centre or ranged in lines at right angles to a central flue, it was not possible to say. The flues were from 12 to 14 inches wide, built with flanged roof-tiles or with the large tiles used for the quoins of buildings. The piers, ordinarily 14 to 15 inches wide, forming the flues and supporting the floor, were built of flanged roof-tiles, or of those just named. The former when perfect were placed flange to flange or back to flange, and the space between filled in with clay, which throughout had been used as mortar and been burnt red with the heat of the fires. Both tiles and bricks employed in the construction of the piers were much broken, and evidently old materials re-used. One tile retained the iron nail by which it had been attached to the roof of some building previously destroyed. In the hypocaust under description, as in some of the others, fragments of cut stone, possibly the wreck of earlier buildings, were occasionally found built up.

In the thickness of one pier more than ordinarily wide a flue had been constructed at a higher level than the others, an arrangement which can be well seen in some of the hypocausts of the villa at Woodchester and elsewhere. At a corner of this pier the labourers uncovered a small empty pot of common black ware. It recalled to mind the use to which these underground chambers were sometimes put in times of danger, as exemplified by the discovery of a skeleton with a box of coins in a flue of the hypocaust beneath the Baths at Uriconium.

South of the ruined chamber with its hypocaust just described lay the well-built walls of another, carrying on southwards the line of the western wing, but to no great distance. Whether it extended to join the main building, as is most probable, could not be ascertained, but, even if it did, it was superseded at some period by a shorter wing, a line of three chambers, to the east of it, encroaching upon the courtyard and running nearly, but not quite, in the same direction.

The chambers in this range, from their tessellated floors, were evidently considered of some importance. Two were nearly square, the third oblong.

The most northern may have had a floor of drab-coloured *tesserae*, but of these only a few remained round a small square panel forming a central ornament to the floor. This panel contained a flower with a double series of petals, eight in each series, with pointed leaves filling up the corners. The petals were of red and drab *tesserae*, outlined with a black line, and the general ground was drab with a red border.

The middle chamber south, of nearly equal size, was paved with tile *tesserae*

of the usual size, viz. 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and also had its pavement ornamented with a central panel, the design of which could not be recovered entirely, as much of the mosaic was destroyed; but enough remained to show that it consisted of a lozenge set within a square with lotus flowers in the angles. The colours used were black and red on a drab ground. The pavement of this room had sunk in places, from being laid over a channelled hypocaust. The position of the stokehole could not be found.

The third room, an oblong one, had a plain floor of 1-inch drab *tesserae*, like those so largely used in the houses in *Insula I.* This pavement had in one place been patched with tile *tesserae*, and had sunk considerably at one end; possibly from having been laid over a rubbish pit.

What remained of the floors in this later wing of the house exhibited poor workmanship and materials. The red tile *tesserae* in the centre room were badly laid, and some of them nearly black from over firing. The larger and smaller drab *tesserae* in both the square rooms were of a shelly limestone of poor quality, often used for roofing slabs. The black *tesserae* in the ornamental panels, instead of being of the fine dark grey sandstone used elsewhere on this site, were of tile burnt almost to vitrification. In fact, it seemed as if an endeavour had been made to obtain as much show as possible at a little cost; an impression borne out also by the poor construction of the floors.

The *tesserae* were bedded in a whitish cement $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, laid upon a bed of poor mortar $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; which in its turn had beneath it a mass of burnt rubbish and gravel.

The panel of mosaic forming the centre of the first chamber had been preserved from destruction through its having sunk in a bason-shaped hollow.

All these pavements were not more than 6 inches beneath the present surface of the soil.

Near them, when they were uncovered, was found a small block of fine grained stone, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and much blackened by fire, having upon it a rudely incised fret (Plate XXIV. fig. 2). It, no doubt, formed part of some small architectural adornment of these rooms.

Before leaving this house, which may be named house No. 1, *Insula II.*, another chamber requires to be described.

Due west of the ruined chamber at the north end of the western wing is another room quite detached from the main building; the wall on its east side is prolonged to meet the boundary wall of the *insula* on the north, and from the point of junction of the two, another wall runs east for 13 feet 6 inches,

where it ends in a tile quoin. Beyond this quoin no foundation was discoverable.

Now, if the line of the west wall of the wing be prolonged as far as the street, an interval of 6 feet is left between it and the quoin in question. This probably indicates a gateway into the small irregular space or yard between the wing and the detached chamber. This yard was, perhaps, guarded by the occupants of that chamber, one of whose duties it might have been to tend the fires in the hypocausts of the west wing. In fact the stokehole of the hypocaust to the ruined chamber very likely faced westwards, since these necessary adjuncts were kept as much as possible on the outside of the buildings.

It may be noted that this detached chamber had a common mortar floor.

Close to its north-west corner, but nearer the street, was a small room or enclosure of uncertain use, to which reference will be made further on.

To render the account of the house complete, mention must be made of the objects of greatest interest found in it.

These, with the exception of the fragment of foreign marble and the block of carved stone already spoken of, were derived from a rubbish pit (pit A).

This yielded from beneath a considerable quantity of burnt material, at a depth of 8 feet, the fragments of a very fine bowl of the figured red glazed ware, commonly called Samian. All the pieces were fortunately recovered, and carefully put together by Mr. Mill Stephenson. At or near the same depth occurred the fragment of the top of a lamp of fine terra-cotta of a pale buff colour, showing in low relief part of a figure holding a cornucopiæ; fragments of a very fine black ware; various pieces of coarse fabric and number of shards of vessels of Celtic (?) pottery. Some, but not many, bones of animals came from this pit. In the burnt earth which was dug out above it lay two lumps of lead run by heat into shapeless masses.

Another pit (pit B) was opened near the first, but its contents scarcely demand a detailed description.

At the north-west angle of the *insula* the presence of walls forming three or four chambers shows the existence of a house at this spot. It seems, from the existence of hypocausts in the intervening space, to have extended eastward nearly as far as house No. 1. Of these hypocausts, as in all the tile-built examples throughout the *insula*, with the exception of the important fragment in house No. 1, nothing remained but the lowest courses, and the tiles which formed the floor lining of the flues showed by their ashen colour the considerable heat to which they had been subjected.

The destruction of the tiling of which these hypocausts were built accounts for the quantity of fragments to be seen in the soil after ploughing, which actually redden it, and this is especially noticeable to the south of the modern road traversing the city.

The number of chambers warmed by hypocausts in this *insula* is also a matter for remark; for in the ruins of the house at the north-west corner there are three if not four, and house No. 1 is furnished certainly with six, whilst others are to be found on the south side and in the south-east corner. This is probably to be accounted for by the exposed situation of the city.

South of the group of chambers at the north-west corner of the *insula* was a square room, with some traces of another adjoining it. From these a long wall extends northward, and, after passing a fragment of a hypocaust, it turns with a right angle under the foundations of the chambers in the north-west angle.

The square room had a floor of brick *tesserae*, with a central panel of mosaic work. The general disposition of this floor therefore resembled those of the two square chambers in house No. 1, but the materials of the square central panel were of better quality. Unfortunately, next to nothing of it remained, and there were very few even of the brick *tesserae* in place. Both the wall and the chamber at its south end are at a lower level than the adjoining foundations, and appear to be remains of earlier constructions. The small room, or inclosure, next the detached chamber of house No. 1, from the depth at which its walls were found, may be of the earlier date also. The westernmost patch of hypocaust, from the lines of its flues being at right angles to the wall west of it, may also have formed part of the earlier work. A section of the soil beneath it gave the following results: 1st, a bed of burnt clay and sand, 1 foot thick; 2nd, of mortar, 4 inches thick; 3rd, of mortar and sand, 3 inches thick; 4th, of ashes (in which were pieces of wood charcoal) $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Beneath all was the natural gravel. It may be noted that the walls of all the earlier work were thinner than the majority of those discovered.

South of the last named buildings extended a space of open ground 34 feet in length. From that point to the southern limit of the *insula*, and lining the street on the west side, lay the foundations of a complete house, in some respects the most interesting yet found.

This house, which may be called house No. 2, *Insula II.*, belongs to the class of smaller habitations, those not built round courtyards. It consists of a group of rooms at its northern extremity, with a prolongation from them southwards of a single row of chambers with a long corridor on the eastern side of them, to

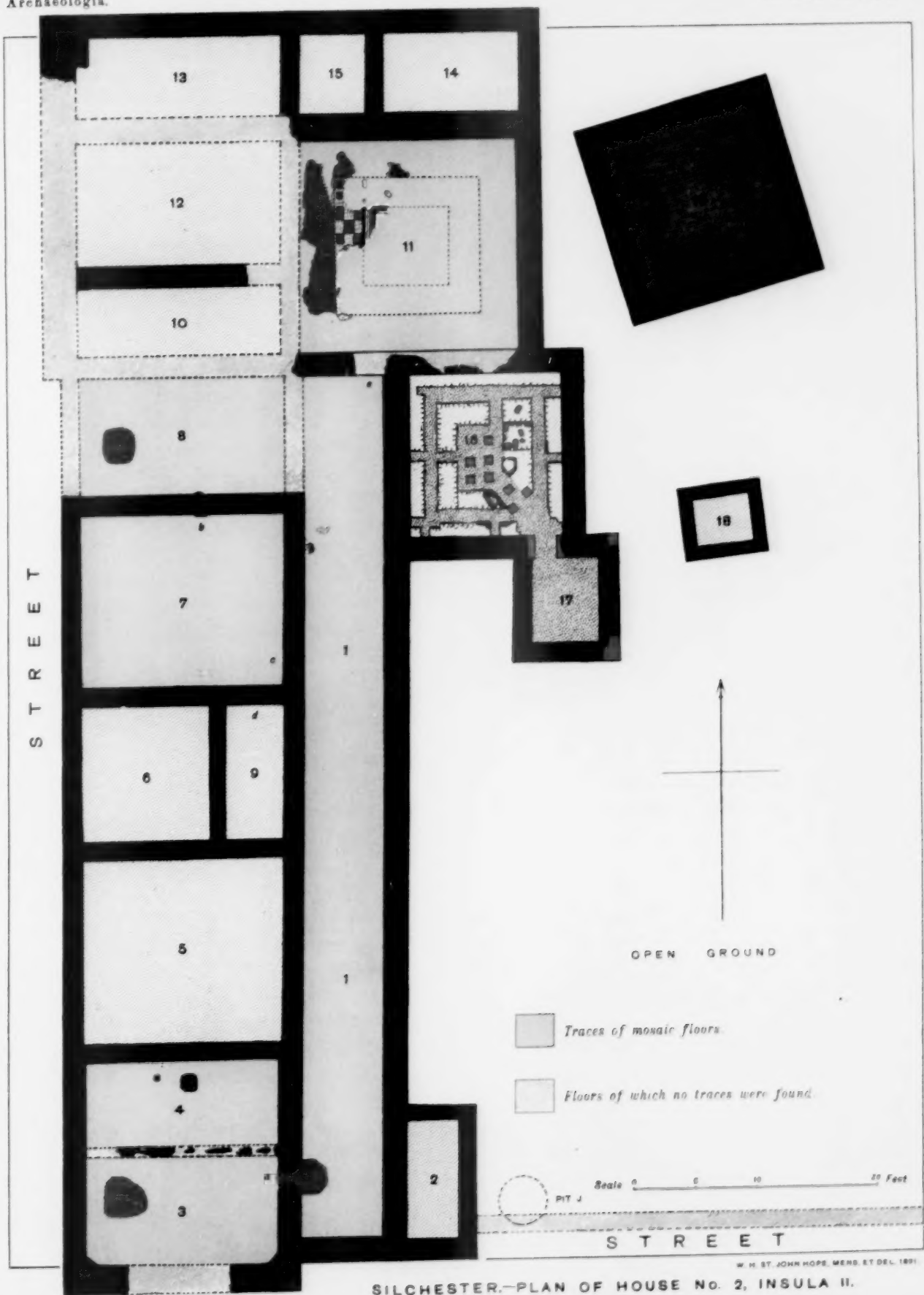
which, where it opens on the street, is added a small room for the porter. Originally the house may have consisted only of the chambers numbered from 10 to 19 inclusive (see plan, Plate XXIII.). These with an upper floor, if such floor existed, as is most probable, would have constituted a very complete dwelling. From the lines taken by the external walls and their various thicknesses, this conjecture does not seem an unlikely one.

The long line of chambers with the corridor attached to them, Nos. 1 to 9, appear to be an addition to the original plan, and Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8 were probably shops. No. 3 has in its scathern wall a wide opening, such as if seen in a similar position in the plan of any Roman or Pompeian house would at once indicate a shop. But it has not, what would also be there seen, the stone sill filling the opening with its groove for the shutters, and the counters of masonry built up behind it. The absence of the former detail may however easily be accounted for, as we may be tolerably certain that a wooden sill took the place of the usual stone one, stone in the immediate neighbourhood not being readily obtainable.

A small door (*a*) led from No. 3 into the corridor No. 1, just opposite the porter's lodge (No. 2), which guarded the entrance to the corridor from the street. A slight partition divided No. 3 from No. 4, and both chambers were floored with the common red tile mosaic.

Nos. 7 and 8 again, appear to have been shops. In 8, indications of any wall on the street front were entirely wanting, and a large opening on the street, like that in No. 3, may have existed here also. A door at (*b*), in the wall dividing No. 7 from No. 8, gave access to the former chamber. This chamber has no opening upon the street, so far as could be made out, but though not actually in direct communication with the roadway, it may have served as an inner shop to No. 8. Both chambers, like Nos. 3 and 4, had been paved with red tile *tesserae*. Though none remained in place in No. 7, many were scattered throughout the soil of that chamber.

In the south-east corner of the No. 7 were slight traces of a doorway at (*c*) leading into the corridor. Of No. 5 nothing can be said. The flooring was entirely gone, and it offered no points of interest. The same also was the case with No. 6. Both these rooms may have been store rooms. No. 9 was a passage of communication between Nos. 5 and 7, and probably contained a wooden staircase to an upper floor, a low story extending over the line of shops and chambers below, and ranging with the upper story of the house proper to the north. The staircase in this passage was doubtless of wood, and had as its footing, and forming the first step, the wall at (*d*), which made a raised threshold to the passage.



SILCHESTER.—PLAN OF HOUSE No. 2, INSULA II.

No door would be placed here, only a doorway, and the stairs would start close to the door (c) in No. 7, leading into the corridor. The flight would be a straight one with rather steep and narrow steps, and the framework would be attached to one or other of the long walls of the passage.

It has been mentioned that a long corridor (No. 1) lined the range of single chambers on their east side. It was paved with the ordinary brick *tesserae*, and the floor appears, though this is not quite clear, to have had a narrow band next the walls of the buff sandstone *tesserae*, so much employed in the houses of *Insula* I. The faint traces of a return of this band, nearly in a line with the dividing wall of Nos. 7 and 8, may indicate either that the floor was more or less enriched with lines, or that a wall crossed the corridor at this point; but of this there was not the slightest trace.

The corridor was in all probability a closed one, not merely consisting of a pentise supported by columns or posts. Its roof rested against the range of buildings to the west of it. It served as a means of communication between the house by a door into it at (c) and the shops by the doors a and c, and was used as a way to the street on the south of the *insula*, perhaps a more important thoroughfare than the one on the west side.

A shorter way of access to the house on the west side was afforded by the passage No. 10, which has all the character of the vestibule common to small Roman houses. This led into what may, in this instance, be called the *atrium* of the house, a large room (No. 11) over 17 feet square, floored with a mosaic pavement of simple design, worked out with curious irregularity. It consisted of two borders, one within the other, the outer of the usual red tile *tesserae*, each 1 inch square, the inner of a checker of red and white, the *tesserae* being of a smaller size, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch square. The two borders inclosed a central square, edged with lines of black filled with ornamentation, now entirely lost, but which had been composed of *tesserae* still smaller in size, some having been found not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch square. The size of the central panel of this floor is curiously suggestive of the usual *impluvium* of the Roman house; but there was certainly no such feature here. The room in which this floor occurs was, without question, the principal chamber of the house, and the chief ones were ranged round it. It would be lighted by windows on its western side.

Next in importance and size to the *atrium* was the *triclinium*. This may be seen in No. 12, which has the accustomed proportions of such a room. From the absence of all trace of foundations between it and No. 11 (the *atrium*) it probably opened with a wide bay on this chamber. It must have been lit by windows

looking upon the street, but, according to the constant fashion of classic times, high in the walls, and intended for no other purpose than that of giving light.

Close beside the *triclinium* is a long chamber, No. 13, which had a floor of cement. It was possibly the kitchen, and the mass of masonry at the west end, fragmentary though it be, strengthens this supposition. The Roman kitchen, as seen in the houses of Pompeii and elsewhere, invariably had a counter-like table of masonry attached to one or other of its walls, and the mass of masonry may have formed part of such a table. It was to place stoves upon, and was sometimes subdivided by supports in masonry, for the various cooking utensils, especially those used in boiling or stewing. The gridiron found last year in *Insula* I. would certainly have been part of the furniture of such a kitchen table. Over such a counter as this in some of the houses in Pompeii may be seen small flues penetrating the wall, and having their vents on the street, for the purpose of getting rid of the smoke from the fires made upon it. Possibly in this house at Silchester we may imagine some such arrangement in this chamber, the fragment of masonry which would represent the counter-table being just at the point where it would be most easy to construct such flues.

Returning to the *atrium*, in No. 14 may perhaps be seen a passage containing the staircase to the upper floor, and a door to the garden or open ground which lay round the house. No. 15, if it may be considered an *ala* of the *atrium*, would have contained in a Pompeian house, as perhaps it did here, the altar and accustomed paintings of the *lares*. To what extent the worship of these deities prevailed in Britain, or whether, after the early years of conquest and colonisation, their worship was superseded by that of the gods of the land, is a question of the greatest interest that has yet to be solved.

Chamber No. 16 may perhaps be called a *tablinum*, though there is nothing exactly analogous to it in the houses of the south of Europe. It is the one winter room of this little house, and the only one warmed by a hypocaust. Unfortunately, the floor has been entirely carried away, even below the springing of the wall flues, but what else remains is perfect, and all the arrangements can be made out. It is a composite hypocaust, the centre being a square pit containing six *pilæ* formed of tiles 8 inches square. From the pit, ducts pass through masses of masonry to a passage parallel to the line of the walls of the chamber, and about 1 foot 3 inches from them. From this, other ducts in various places pass to the walls, and convey the heat to the wall-flues.*

* A somewhat similar arrangement may be seen in the hypocaust in the south wing of house No. 1, *Insula* I.

At the south-east corner of the pit described, a broad opening, partly filled by *pilæ*, leads to the stokehole, from whence the fuel was thrust into the hypocaust. The masses of masonry traversed by the various passages are, for the most part, composed of rubble work of hard chalk; while occasionally pieces of tile, flat roof tiles and *imbrices*, are employed to strengthen the angles. It should be noted that this is the only hypocaust in *Insula II.* constructed of such material, the rest having been built up almost entirely of tile. The wall-flues are thus disposed: In the east and west walls, three each; in the south wall, two. The door from the *atrium* must have been in the north wall, in which no flues occur. It is possible that the first floor extended over this room as well as the others already described, and as the flues would be carried up the whole height of the walls, a second heated chamber could be thus obtained.

In No. 17 is the stokehole. A little arch, turned with flat bricks, constituted the entrance to the hypocaust, and it will be seen that where the burning fuel in this would be likely to produce the greatest amount of heat, there the supports of the upper floor are of brick, it being well known that stonework will not stand any very high temperature. The knowledge of the Roman masons as to the effects of heat on stone is well displayed in the finest of the hypocausts in the villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire, where a forest of stone pillars were used to support the upper floor. But where the furnace-opening occurs, brick piers are substituted for stone, and great care was taken that the burning logs should not touch these latter. The floors of both the stokehole and hypocaust now under consideration were laid in mortar or cement, and the masonry thickly covered with the same material. It was not, however, of the finer pink kind usually adopted in such constructions. To facilitate the thrusting of the fuel into the hypocaust, the floor of the stokehole slopes gently downward through the arch of communication.

The little enclosure, No. 18, may have been an ashpit. Near it was dug up a curious little three-pronged fork of iron.

Chamber 19 is detached from the house, though within a few feet of it. Its purpose is a riddle which perhaps further excavations at Silchester may solve. That it was not a mere receptacle for the rubbish of the house is shown by its carefully laid floor of brick *tesserae*. Other detached chambers have been found in both *Insulae I.* and *II.* One of these nearly blocks the opening of the courtyard of house No. 1, *Insula I.* Another occurs south of house No. 2 in the same *insula*. In *Insula II.* a chamber of house No. 1 and an enclosure west of it may be cited.

In the north-west corner of this room (19), at a distance of something over

2 feet from the walls, a small stone base of a column (Plate XXIV. fig. 3) was found upon the tessellated floor, and though not fixed was possibly in its original position. From its small size this base belonged to one of those dwarf columns not uncommonly found on Romano-British sites, which served a variety of purposes.^a

The floor of the chamber had sunk unevenly in places, but there was no reason to suppose that a hypocaust lay beneath it, which would have accounted for such sinkings.

Mr. Hope has pointed out the peculiarity of the walls having been built upon the *tesserae* of the floor, showing that the floor had been laid first. Instances are known where the *tesserae* are laid completely up to the masonry of the walls, indicating, perhaps, that the plastering of the latter was done after the bedding of the mosaics, but the building of walls on the mosaic floor of a room certainly seems unusual.

After the completion of *Insula* II. *Insula* III. was taken in hand. Two facts soon became apparent, one, that if a line was drawn from the north-east angle of the *insula* to the south-west, the upper half showed only open ground, or ground but with very faint traces of houses; and two, that the lower half was filled with such traces. The whole of the east side, without a break, was covered by the remains of buildings facing the great thoroughfare through the city. At the south-east angle occurred a building differing in character from the usual form of a house, and at about the middle of the south side was a small but very complete house of a well-known type. As the trenches were proceeded with, another fact became prominent, the existence of a great number of rubbish pits in the north-western half of the *insula*.

It must not be supposed that, though the traces of buildings in the north-western half were few and far between, scarcely any had existed there. Even on the western side, which appears most empty, the fragment of a burnt floor, which may indicate a former hypocaust, shows that a house of not quite insignificant character stood on this spot, though now every other trace of it has been swept away.

Again, 68 feet from the western side of the *insula* and 44 feet from its northern limit, the ruins of another hypocaust were found, and east of this, against pit H, a large fragment of a hard floor of rammed chalk was uncovered, 3 feet below the present surface. North of these, about pits B and C, along the northern edge of the *insula*, traces of buildings were met with, but of too small

^a As an example may be mentioned another such column 2 feet 10 inches in total height found in the ruins of a villa at Holcombe, Devon, in 1870. This had been used as the support to a stone table inserted in the walls of a room at one angle. A column still shorter than the Holcombe example is preserved at Gloucester.

and scattered a nature to be indicated on the plan. Yet another and more important vestige of a house was found about pit M. Here lay, at a depth of 3 feet, the wreck of what judging by the fragments turned up, must have been a mosaic floor of excellent workmanship. This floor had not become disintegrated by the effects of rain or frost, and it lay too deep for the plough to have been the agent in its destruction. It had evidently been broken up with a definite purpose.

Taken altogether these traces showed that *Insula* III. contained quite as many buildings as the others already examined, but that the buildings in one half of this *insula* had almost entirely disappeared.

A conjecture may be ventured that their destruction occurred at an early period, perhaps even before the complete abandonment of the city. The case was the same, though in a less degree, with the houses of the south-east half also. As a confirmation of such a conjecture may be mentioned the existence of a great number of rubbish pits on the sites where houses must have stood; the depth of the existing remains; and in one place (where the floor of rammed chalk occurs) the evidence afforded by the section of the earth above it. Here the section showed a mass of gravel filled in above the floor, and over it a layer of ashes and wood charcoal, in and above which was a mixture of much broken building materials.

These facts, taken together, seem to point to some intentional destruction of the buildings, while the numerous rubbish pits, all of Roman date, would indicate that that destruction had taken place while the city was still inhabited.

Of the eastern side of the *insula*, that facing on one of the great main streets, but little can be said. The plan shows traces of chambers lining the street in the northern half, every one of which had hypocausts. Behind the third chamber, or space (for we cannot be sure it was undivided) lay another warmed by a channelled hypocaust. This was in a very ruined condition, but a fragment of the flooring proved that the rooms had had a mosaic pavement of some pretensions. The flooring had sunk into the channels below at one corner, thus preserving a portion from the plough, and in the walls in three places occurred the wall-flues at the ends of the channels, having the flue-tiles *in situ*.

Passing southward from the chambers just described, and noting in doing so the traces of one that had a mosaic floor in which a pit had been sunk, we come at the south-east corner of the *insula* to a structure of more than usual interest.

With small exceptions, its walls could only be traced by their foundations, but these showed a plan certainly differing from that of any house hitherto found. From the disposition of the chambers towards the main street, from the existence of the small channelled hypocaust in the large enclosure, from the presence of the rubble

trench made to contain a water pipe, probably of lead, running from this enclosure towards the roadway on the south, and from the general compactness of the place, it may be conjectured that the whole group of chambers formed an establishment of baths, not those belonging to a great house, but such as might belong to a private proprietor letting them for public use.

That such establishments existed is known from the two inscriptions from Pompeii, one found in 1749, the other the well-known one of Julia Felix, in which a bath with various shops, etc., is mentioned, as to be let.^a Looking at the plan with this idea in mind it will be seen that there is a corridor lying upon the main street, the entrance to which was between two brick piers at its northern end. Judging from the brick bases which line the eastern wall of the corridor, it may have been adorned with half columns, two bases of which were found amongst the ruined foundations of the chambers. One is given on Plate XXIV. fig. 5. At the same time, it must be said that no foundations of corresponding piers were discovered on the western side of the corridor, but these may have been destroyed.

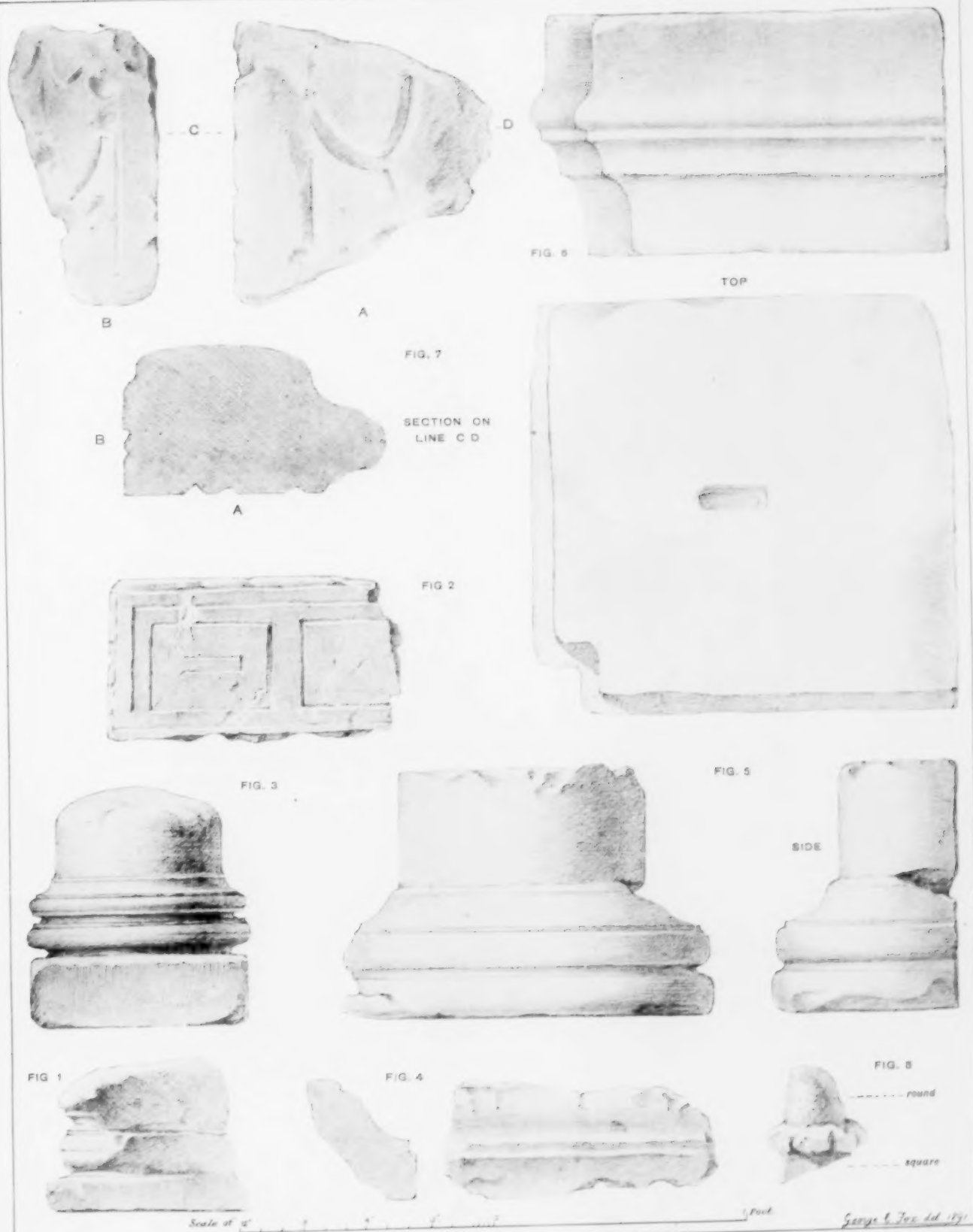
Near the piers of the entrance was dug up a fragment of an inscription cut in a slab of Purbeck marble. It formed the left-hand corner of the bottom of a panel, but retains only a few letters of the last three lines.



PART OF AN INSCRIPTION ON A SLAB
OF PURBECK MARBLE FOUND IN
INSULA III. (1 linear.)

Two pieces of mouldings, also of Purbeck marble, came from the same spot, the smaller piece, from its being worked on both faces, proving it to be old material used again. From the corridor (*a*. Plate XXII.), a room (*b*) was entered which afforded a means of communication to chamber (*c*). This had a floor of *opus signinum*, and was perhaps the *apodyterium*. Another room (*d*) lay to the north of it. Chamber (*e*), warmed by a hypocaust, might be considered the *tepidarium*. A passage (*f*) led from the *apodyterium* to the *tepidarium*, and to (*g*) the *frigidarium*. This had a bath for cold water, 7 feet by 10 feet in size, a fragment of whose inner wall still remains. A door in the northern wall of the *frigidarium* would give entrance to the *sudatorium*, a room heated by a channelled hypocaust, from whence a second door would lead into the *caldarium* containing the hot bath. This was a chamber west of the *sudato-*

^a *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia*, etc. i. 8., and *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, iv. 1136.



SILCHESTER—ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS FROM INSULÆ I. II. III.

rium, now entirely destroyed; but the drain, before mentioned, running from it and from beneath the foundations of the cold bath, affords a pretty sure indication of its position. The stokehole for the heating of the bath and the two last-named chambers must have been just north of pit X. There are two doubtful points requiring explanation, the use of the corridor (*i*) and of the space (*h*). The corridor may have served as a more convenient way of access to the *frigidarium* than the passage (*f*). As to the space (*h*), always supposing that these chambers constituted a bathing establishment, it certainly must have been filled with other *sudatoria* and *caldaria*, since the two mentioned could not have sufficed. Tanks also for the water supply may have partly occupied this space, which is a large one.

It must not be considered that the assignment of this group of chambers to the uses of a set of baths is to be taken as proved, but all the grounds on which it is based are here given.

Running westward from the south-east angle of the *insula* is a space 14 feet 6 inches wide and 114 feet long enclosed by parallel walls. At 7 feet from the angle and close upon the southern street lay a patch of cobble pavement, and at a depth of 1 foot 6 inches or 2 feet lower another patch of the same sort of paving. Both may have formed, at different periods, the flooring of a small court, in which was situated the stokehole of the hypocaust of room (*e*). No sign of divisions into chambers could be discovered in this wide space. It was nearly crossed by the drain from the baths at about half its length, but the drain could not be traced quite to the street.

West of this space is a house in the centre of the south side of the *insula*. This house was fairly complete. There was very little doubt about its plan. It was 66 feet in length from north to south, if the projecting chamber on the north is left out, and 58 feet in width from east to west. It resembled in plan a part of a large house, having a central row of chambers, three in number, lined on each side by corridors, with certain projecting rooms. On the east side a room terminates the corridor at each end. On the west the corridor extends the whole length of the house. No signs of mosaic pavement were to be met with and the house offered, on the whole, little worthy of remark. One supposition might give it a certain interest. Was it attached in any way to the supposed baths east of it?

In connection with this house must be mentioned a well, 7 feet from the wall of the western corridor and 34 feet north of the southern street. It was 4 feet 6 inches square and 18 feet deep from the present surface, and had been lined with wood, the planking of which remained to a height of 6 feet only from the bottom. This lining was of much rougher character than that of the well in

Insula I. It had been cut from scrub oak, and was from 4 inches to 6 inches thick, and crossed at the angles, each piece being alternately notched over the other. The depth of the planking varied very much. The bottom had no curb, as in the first example, the planking resting on fragments of sandstone roughly laid in a tenacious clay. The well had been pugged, but the thickness of the pugging could not be ascertained on account of the speedy caving in of the sides. Nothing was found in it but some traces of broken bucket staves. From the loose nature of the gravel in which the well was sunk, it must originally have been lined with wood throughout its depth.

To the west and north of the house nothing further in the way of foundations could be traced, except here and there portions of the wall lining the streets on the south and west.

Besides the architectural fragments found which have already been noticed, a piece of the base moulding (Plate XXIV. fig. 4) of some building was dug up in *Insula III.* Near the north-east angle of the same *insula* a large stone with mouldings upon it, and a lewis hole in its upper surface, was brought to light (Plate XXIV. fig. 6); it may have been the impost of an arch. A fragment of ornamental sculpture also came from a trench near, and the pinnacle of a gable, of almost medieval aspect, (Plate XXIV. figs. 7 and 8) was also dug up in this *insula*. Near the hypocaust in the south-east angle a fragment of an ornamented flue-tile was found.

Window glass was more plentiful in *Insulae II.* and *III.* than in *Insula I.*, as also were the remains of querns. Twenty fragments of these, of different stones, were dug up in the first-named *insulae*.

Another hoard of coins must be mentioned which lay concealed amongst the foundations at the south-east source of *Insula III.* The coins were contained in a broken pot and, like those of the hoard in *Insula I.*, were all of the later emperors.

It is impossible, within the limits of this paper, to give further details of the many objects of interest found: of the ornaments in bone and shale; of a statuette in terra-cotta (perhaps an image of Lucina or Latona); of the fragment of another (possibly a Venus), both belonging to a class common in Gaul; to speak of the indications of the painter's trade, or of the many relics in iron, amongst which may be detected traces of the handicrafts of the husbandman, the gardener, the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the carpenter, and the mason; in fact, several lengthy papers might be filled before the subjects suggested by the finds of this year were exhausted.*

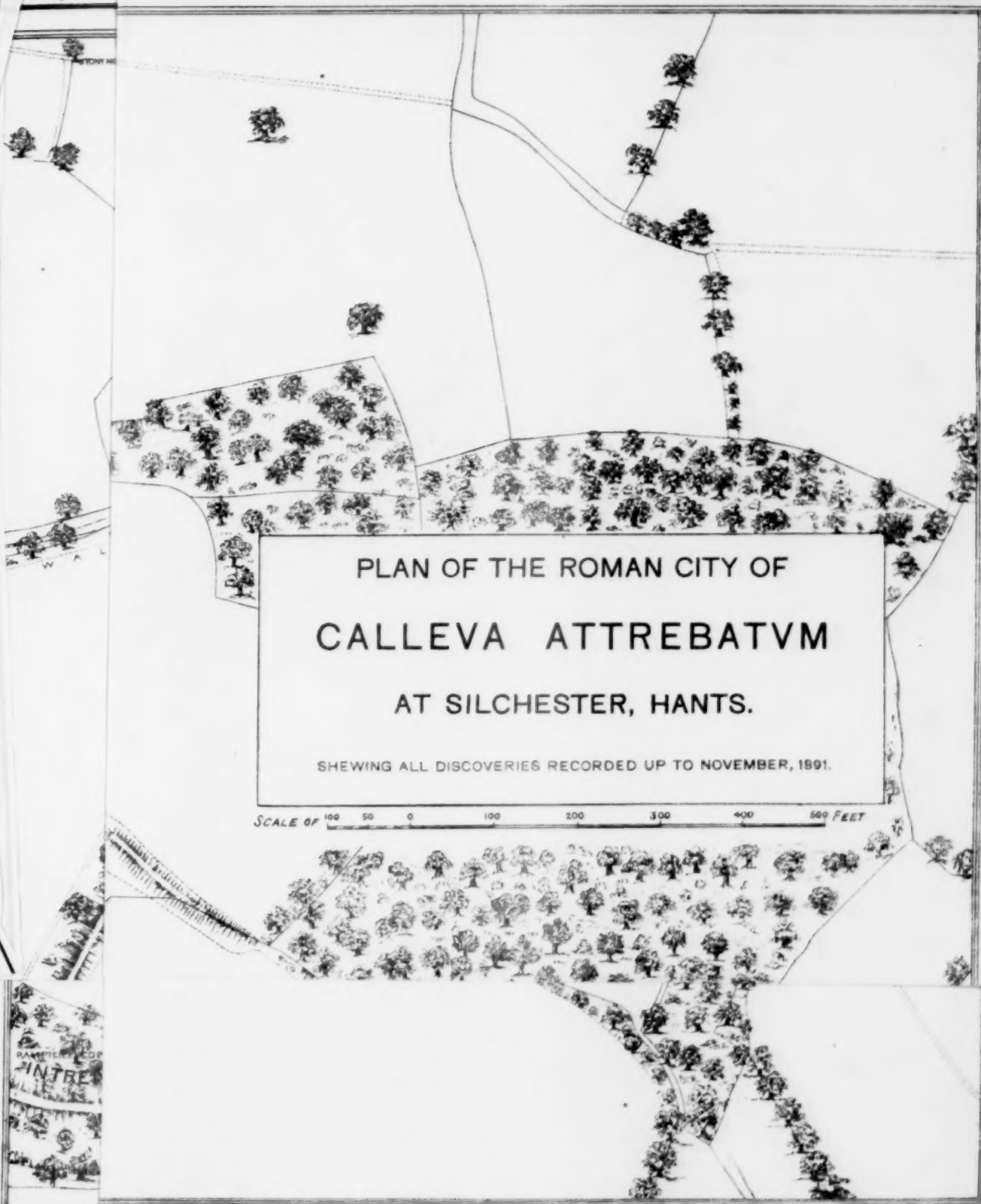
* Amongst the pottery was one small jar with the word "MINVTIONI" scratched in very distinct letters round the upper part under the rim. It was found in pit A, *Insula III.*

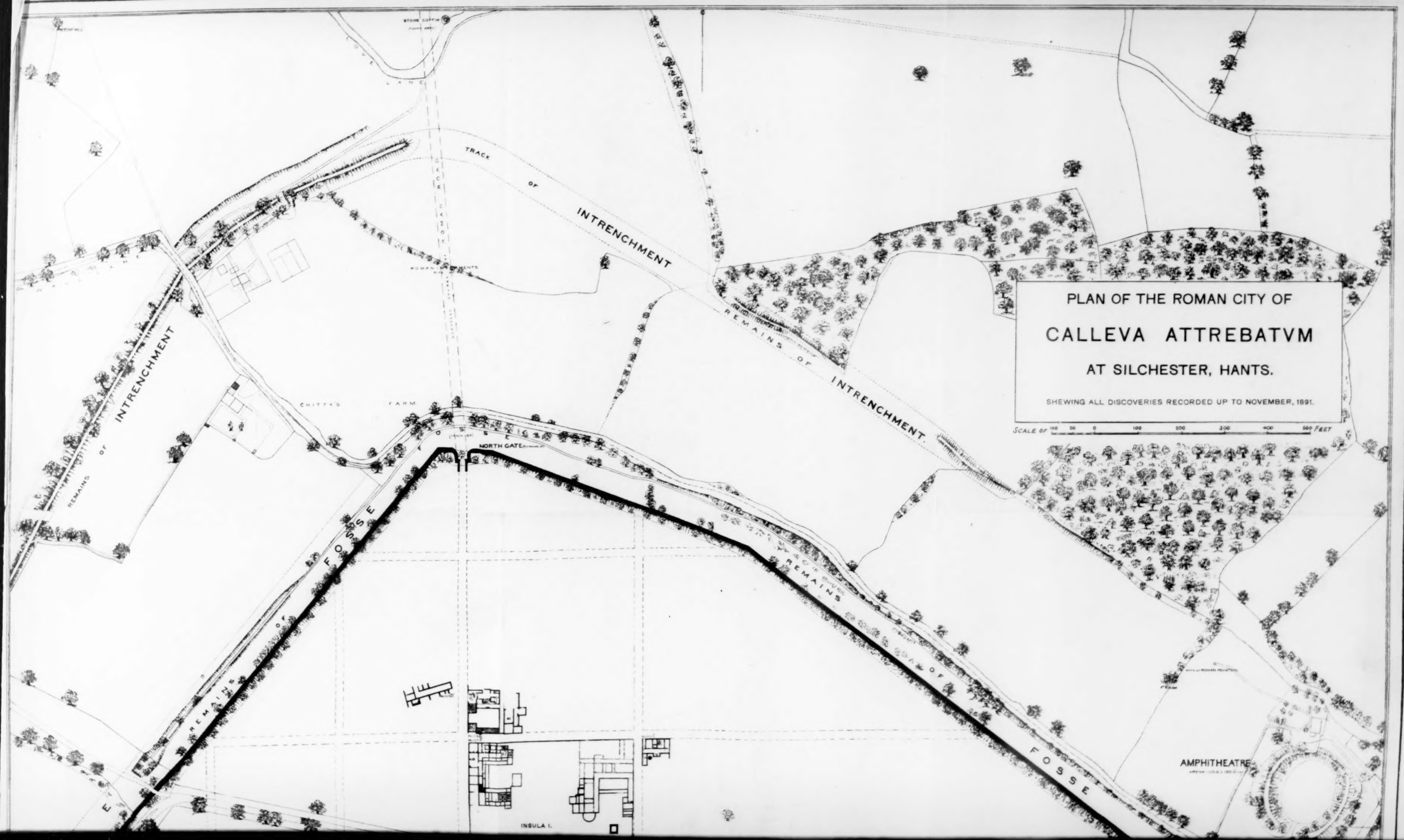
Geologia.

PLAN OF THE ROMAN CITY OF
CALLEVA ATTREBATVM
 AT SILCHESTER, HANTS.

SHEWING ALL DISCOVERIES RECORDED UP TO NOVEMBER, 1891.

SCALE OF 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET





PLAN OF THE ROMAN CITY OF
CALLEVA ATTREBATVM
AT SILCHESTER, HANTS.

SHEWING ALL DISCOVERIES RECORDED UP TO NOVEMBER, 1891.

SCALE OF 0 50 100 200 300 400 500 FEET

AMPHITHEATRE

INSULA I.





The accompanying plan of the city (Plate XXV.) shows all the discoveries made on the site up to date of which any record has been kept.

NOTE ON THE ANIMAL REMAINS FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS AT SILCHESTER, 1891.

The animal remains found at Silchester in the course of the excavations of 1891 were, as usual on Romano-British sites, very numerous; but most of the bones were in a fragmentary condition, and with the exception of one fairly perfect skeleton of a dog, and some few other bones, generally vertebræ, that appeared to correspond, the remains were wholly disjointed, hardly any two bones being certainly from the same animal. They were found all over the area excavated, often in very unlikely places. The rubbish pits yielded a large number, especially of the skulls of dogs, and of the horn-cores of oxen, the latter often with their frontal bones. Stags' antlers, both worked and unworked, occurred almost everywhere, but no place was uncovered which could be said to have been specially used as a manufactory of stags' horn implements. Many of the largest and finest antlers were found in the southern part of *Insula I.*

In a pit in *Insula III.* was found a *pelvis* or *mortarium*, broken into two pieces, but with part of its contents still remaining and partially adhering to it. This proved to be a mass of vegetable matter, probably the remains of fruit pulp, enclosing the stones of at least two varieties of cherry and two of plum. The *pelvis* shows the marks of a knife, and part of the vegetable matter, including one plum stone, still adheres to it.

From a trench in *Insula III.* was obtained, from a depth of about 2 feet below the present surface, an ordinary black pot covered with a large flint stone and containing the almost perfect skeleton of a small fish. This was probably of the carp family, but both the head and tail are wanting. When found the scales were almost undisturbed and in their natural order. In addition to the bones in the black pot, four other detached vertebræ of fish were found, of a species not yet identified. Great numbers of oyster shells, both large and small, were dug up all over the sites excavated, but only one snail shell, of doubtful derivation.

So far as they have yet been identified the bones found at Silchester are those of :

Ox (*Bos longifrons*).

Sheep (*Ovis aries*).

Goat (*Capra hircus*—probably).

Stag (*Cervus elaphus*).

Roe (*Capreolus caprea*).

Horse (*Equus caballus*).

Pig (*Sus scrofa*).

Badger (*Meles taxus*).

Cat (*Felis catus*).

Dog (*Canis familiaris*?).

Cock (*Phasianus gallus*).

Raven (*Corvus corax*).

Wild Swan (*Cygnus ferus*).

Crow (*Corvus*—probably).

Carp.

Of molluscs, shells of the Oyster, and Periwinkle (one shell) have also been found.

Ox (*Bos longifrons*). The bones of this animal were very numerous and evenly distributed. They consist chiefly of (1) horn-cores, often with the whole or part of the frontal bones attached ; (2) fragments of skulls ; (3) jaw-bones, in one case a pair ; and (4) metacarpal and metatarsal bones. Many of these last are fairly well preserved, and from them and the skulls it is hoped the approximate size of the animals may be estimated. It is possible there may be two sub-varieties. Many of the bones show marks of the knife, and the splint-bones have often been detached for the manufacture of pins and other small objects. One such was found partially trimmed down for use.

SHEEP (*Ovis aries*). Sheep bones were very numerous, mostly jaw-bones, metatarsals, and metacarpals ; and all that are sufficiently perfect for measurement have been preserved. Among them are the occipital portions of two skulls, each showing the *foramen magnum*.

GOAT (*Capra hircus*). The presence of the bones of this animal is not distinctly marked and they are always difficult to distinguish from those of the sheep. A few bones probably those of the goat have been found.

The bones of oxen and sheep are those of small animals, and although their examination and measurement have not yet been completed, it is evident that in size they correspond with those found by Lieut.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers in his excavations at Rotherley and Woodcuts.

RED DEER (*Cervus elaphus*). No complete antlers of the red deer have been found at Silchester, but many fragments, all of which have been carefully preserved. With two or three exceptions the antlers had all been shed, and not cut from the head of the animal after death, and nearly all show marks of the saw or knife. Many pieces are partly worked into knife-handles and other objects. There

are also a metatarsal and a few other bones of the stag. The animals from which the antlers and bones are derived must all have been of large size.

ROE DEER (*Capreolus caprea*). Two almost perfect horns, a metatarsal bone (length mm. 185), a metacarpal (length mm. 151), and a fragment of skull are the remains of this animal as yet identified. It does not appear to have been common.

HORSE (*Equus caballus*). The bones of the horse were not nearly so common at Silchester as those of the ox, sheep, and dog, and there is no positive evidence that its flesh was used for food. The only well-preserved metacarpal (cannon bone) measures mm. 220, and four perfect metatarsals mm. 283, 267, 262, and 252 respectively. Two fragments of skulls, two small pieces of mandibles with some incisor teeth remaining, numerous other teeth, chiefly molars, found scattered throughout the area excavated, and some few other bones complete the list.

Like the oxen and sheep, the horses must have been very small animals.

PIG (*Sus scrofa*). The bones of the pig were very numerous, but in bad condition. Fragments of skulls, some with teeth, were found, and many boars' tusks. All or nearly all the remains seem to be those of the domestic variety.

BADGER (*Meles taxus*). One very fine and almost perfect skull of this animal was found. The badger is still frequently met with at Silchester, where it finds shelter in the ruins of the Roman wall surrounding the town, but there is no reason for believing that this skull is modern.

CAT (*Felis catus*). One large and well-preserved skull with mandibles and teeth nearly perfect, the occipital and parietal parts of a smaller skull, and several bones of the extremities, all from the excavations of 1891, have been identified by Professor Stewart^a as those of the cat. The skulls were afterwards carefully compared by Professor Stewart, Dr. Edward Hamilton, and Mr. Tegetmeyer with all the skulls of cats in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, and with four from Dr. Hamilton's own collection, with a view of determining whether they were of the wild or domestic breed. The differences between the bones of the wild and domestic cat are very small, and modern specimens are almost always open to doubt whether they are truly wild or only feral. All that can be said in the present case is that neither of the skulls showed any distinctive signs that would have led to the conclusion that they were the skulls of wild or even of feral cats, had they been modern. It is, therefore, highly probable that they were domestic. This inference is strengthened by the

^a Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons.

fact that two tiles from Silchester bear footprints, impressed upon them when the clay was soft, which have been recognised as those of cats. It is certainly more likely that domestic cats should walk across tiles when laid out to dry at their place of manufacture, than that wild cats should do so.

DOG (*Canis familiaris*?). More than twenty skulls of dogs more or less perfect were found, mostly in the rubbish pits. These varied very much in size from a large wolf-like skull to one small and rounded, the occipital ridge of which has quite disappeared. All seem to be dolichocephalic. In one of the pits in *Insula* II., at a depth of nearly six feet from the present surface, was the almost complete skeleton of a dog, of medium size, but showing no remarkable features. Two *radii*, of which there are a large number, as well as of the other bones of the extremities, are much bent, and have belonged to very crooked-legged dogs. The *ulnae* of similar animals were found near Rushmore by Lieut.-Gen. Pitt Rivers.^a

BIRDS. The most common birds' bones after those of the domestic fowl have been identified as those of the raven (*corvus*). The occipital parts of the skull of one very large and old bird were found, and pieces of the skull of a second. The raven is believed to be now quite extinct in the neighbourhood of Silchester, and the numerous bones found amongst the Roman remains would almost point to its having formerly lived there in a semi-domestic state. Considerable remains of the wild swan (*cygnus*), all apparently from one bird, were recovered. The numerous bones of the domestic fowl, especially the spurs of cocks, seem to show the presence of at least two varieties.

These notes are unavoidably very imperfect, and a far wider field of observation is required before any trustworthy general inferences can be drawn from the remains found at Silchester, but there is every reason to hope that the work of future years will yield results that will add greatly to our knowledge, and will throw much light upon the *fauna* and possibly the *flora* of the time of the Roman occupation of Britain.

I am indebted to Professor Stewart and Dr. Hamilton for their kindness in examining and determining many of the bones, and to Mr. J. W. Clark, F.S.A., of Cambridge, for his examination of the skeleton of the dog from *Insula* II.

HERBERT JONES.

^a *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i. 172; ii. 223.

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OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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* Presented by Alfred Higgins Esq., F.S.A.

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ERRATUM.

Page 74, line 27, for "CASVLR" read "CASVLE."

XV.—*Calais and the Pale.* By the Honourable HAROLD ARTHUR DILLON, Sec. S.A.

Read June 18, 1891.

WHEN Queen Mary was dying, according to Mistress Rice as quoted by Holinshed, she declared, "When I am dead and opened you shall find Calais lying in my heart."

In her letter of January 7, 1558, to the gentlemen of every shire, urging them to raise men for the succour of that town, which though she was not then aware of it had already fallen; the Queen spoke of Calais as the chief jewel of the realm. That it was so in the opinion of many there is no doubt, and the delineations of the English possessions in France of those days always present the district as viewed from this country, that is with the actual south at the top of the map. The Pale contained some 120 square miles of territory, and should have been self-supporting, but for the terrible arrears which had accumulated, and the heavy charges for the continual reparation of the sea front and works of Calais. Of the state of this possession during the English occupation the French records naturally are silent, and with the capture of the town the greater part of any English sources of information passed out of our hands. Fortunately the great survey made in 1556 gives us many details, and on that and other authorities the following state of Calais and the Pale just one and a-half years before its loss is founded. It will be seen that the Pale extended from Gravelines to near Wissant, and reached inland about six to nine miles. It was divided roughly into the high country on the west and the low country on the east, and was intersected by numerous

roads and watergangs, while large plasches of water and vast marshes covered a great extent of the land. To the English occupation, however, was due the great network of canals and banks which had reduced to arable and grazing land the greater part of the low country. The large trade passing through the port necessitated the construction and maintenance of good roads and canals, and the cessation of this trade on its capture by the French threw back the country to a considerable extent. It is not proposed to touch on the events of the loss of Calais, but merely to show what was the state of this district at the time when we allowed it to be snatched from us.^a

^a The survey of Calais and the Pale in 1556 is to be found in two large volumes in the Public Record Office. These are known as vols. 371, 372 of Miscellaneous books formerly in the Augmentation Office, and the first bears as its title:

Calais. A New Survey thereof.
Ye Marches made up A° Dni. 1556^{to}.

These volumes give the names of the owners, the extent and boundaries, rent, and in some cases the names of every holding in the town and Pale. Besides these particulars the parish bounds, the principal roads, waterways, &c. as determined by the "Compass Marine" are also noted; but the map to which the survey refers, and on which no doubt all the bearings were plotted, has not yet been found. The distances are given in rods of low-country measure, but the length of that unit is difficult to determine. It must be remarked that the various bearings are as a rule given to within a quarter of a point only, and, as a compass point equals $11\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, a considerable margin for error must be allowed for. In many cases also wrong bearings have been noted, as may be seen by the reciprocals. The variation of the magnetic compass has not been recorded at an earlier date than 1576, but as in this survey the bearing of Dover Castle, from the Howberg on the borders of Scales and Sandgate, is noted as north-west by west quarter west, and the actual bearing is north-west three-eighths west, we are enabled to calculate that the magnetic variation in 1556 was about $\frac{3}{8}$ points or 10° west. In one or two cases in the survey, it is noted that a half point to the south must be allowed on certain bearings, "for so the compass stoode." This may have been due to the deflection of the compass; but in any case it will be seen that great exactitude was not the rule. However, William Pettit, the surveyor, has in this survey thrown more light on the state of the Pale than anyone else, and has unfortunately not been consulted by subsequent historians or geographers as much as his work deserves.

The Edward IV. terrier often quoted in this paper is to be found in the Public Record Office under the title of Augmentation Office Book 407. It is described within as a Terrar and Rentale of the Revenues of the lands holden of the King wthyn his Lordshippe of Oye, also a Terrar by mesurage and rentall of the parishes of S. Omerkerk, Hereway, Hofkirk, Lordship of Marke, Guempe parish, Newkirk parish, Mark parish, S. George Church parish. It appears to have been copied at a later period from one prepared in Edward IV's reign. It is an 8vo. book, and bound with it is the "Inventory of all the churches in the high and low country, taken the xxixth of May, A° 1553." This is printed in Appendix V.

The original limits of the English territory comprised in the expression Calais and the Pale may be roughly determined by the terms of the Peace of Bretigny in 1360; "the treaty with King John," so frequently referred to in the disputes between Henry VIII. and the French on the subject of Cowbridge, near Ardres, in 1540. The limits assigned by the treaty are thus given in Rymer:

"Item habebit Rex Angliae castrum et villam de Caleys; Castrum, villam, et

Harl. MS. 380, entitled "A Rental of the Crown Lands and Revenues in Calais and Guines and the marches therof, 6 Ed. VI." is an account of the holdings in Calais and the Pale. The names of several are given, but their position and extent are not described. The rents of the parishes differ from those given in the survey. This MS. has apparently formed the groundwork of all that is known about the English Pale by French writers.

A MS. in the Public Record Office, described as Calais, Liberties, and Privileges, 1 Hen. VIII. Duchy of Lancaster, Class xxv. m. n. 23. gives an account of many of the ancient customs and privileges of the Pale. It is a recapitulation and confirmation of early charters.

Of printed books which have been consulted, the following are the chief; but it must be remembered that with regard to French works on the subject, there is a natural absence of information so far as the period of the English occupation is concerned, and it must be added that the writers have in most instances copied the earlier works. In point of date the earliest is: (1) *Les Annales de la ville de Calais et du pays reconquis*, by P. Bernard, 1715. (2) The next, *Histoire de la ville de Calais et du Calaisais*, by le Febvre, 1766. This is a large work in two volumes 4to. with maps, plans, &c. (3) The *Notice Historique sur l'état ancien et moderne du Calaisais de l'Ardresis et des pays de Bredenarde et de l'Angle*, by P. J. Collet, 1833, is good for the information about the immediate neighbourhood of the Pale, but is hardly original. (4) The *Annals and Legends of Calais*, by R. C. Calton, 1852, is a pleasant account of the town and district, but deals more with the romantic history of the place. (5) *Les Annales de Calais*, by C. Demotier, 1856, gives the chief events concerning Calais in chronological order, but most of them belong to the period subsequent to 1558. (6) *Les Tablettes Historiques du Calaisais*, by C. Landrin, 1888, are very interesting and cover very many points; but the learned author is more concerned naturally with the place as affecting the history of the Huguenots. (7) The *Dictionnaire Historique et Archéologique du département du Pas de Calais*, published by "La Commission Départementale des Monuments," and compiled by M. l'Abbé Haignèré, is a very excellent work, and one which would prove a good model for a history of any district. (8) Harbaville's *Mémorial Historique et Archéologique du département du Pas de Calais*, 1842, gives very slight notices of the parishes. (9) Ernest Lejeune's *Histoire de Calais et des Pays circonvoisins*, 1880, is based very largely on the earlier works already mentioned. A few plans, &c. are given, but the extraordinary number of printer's errors make the work less useful than its predecessors. (10) Brullé's notes of the Calais street names is a useful and careful tract. Of course for accounts of the Pale in English times, the two volumes published by the Camden Society, viz., (11) *The Chronicle of Calais*, edited by John Gough Nichols, 1846, and (12) the *Commentary on the Services, &c. of William Lord Grey de Wilton, K.G.*, edited by Sir Philip Egerton, 1847, are by far the best and most interesting. These give some of the maps and plans to be found in the Cottonian MS. Aug. I. ii.

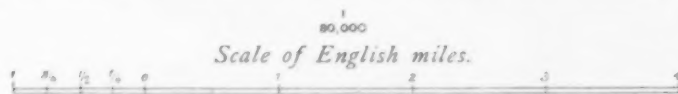
dominium de Merk; Villas, castra et dominia de Sandgate, Coloigne, Hammes, Wale, et Oye, cum terris, boscis, marois, rivis, redditibus, dominiis, advocacionibus ecclesiarum, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis, et locis, interjacentibus infra metas et bundas quæ sequuntur; videlicet, De Caleys usque ad filum rivi coram Graveling; et etiam, per filum ejusdem rivi, totum in circuitu Langle; et etiam rivi qui vadit ultra Poil; et etiam per eundem rivum, qui cadit in magnum lacum de Guynes, et usque Freton; et exinde per vallem, in circuitu montis Calbally, includendo eundem montem, et etiam usque ad mare, cum Sangate, et omnibus suis pertinentiis.

Item, dictus Rex Angliæ habebit castrum, et villam, et totum integraliter cointatum de Guynes, etc."

Of the places above mentioned most will be at once recognised on referring to the modern map (Plate XXVI.), but a few of them need some explanation. Langle was the south-east part of the territory called by the English in later times The Hook. In modern times the country outside this Hook is called by the French the Pays de l'angle. The "Poil" cannot be identified with any modern name. The *Lacus de Guynes* was Guînes Plash, now drained. Montis "Calbally" is rendered in the French copy of the treaty "Calkully," whence some writers have claimed that it referred to Calkwell, but as there is no high ground there, nor was there any frontier in that part, it is clear that the Mount Cople of the survey of 1556 (Mont Couple of to-day) was meant, the English boundary being outside of it.

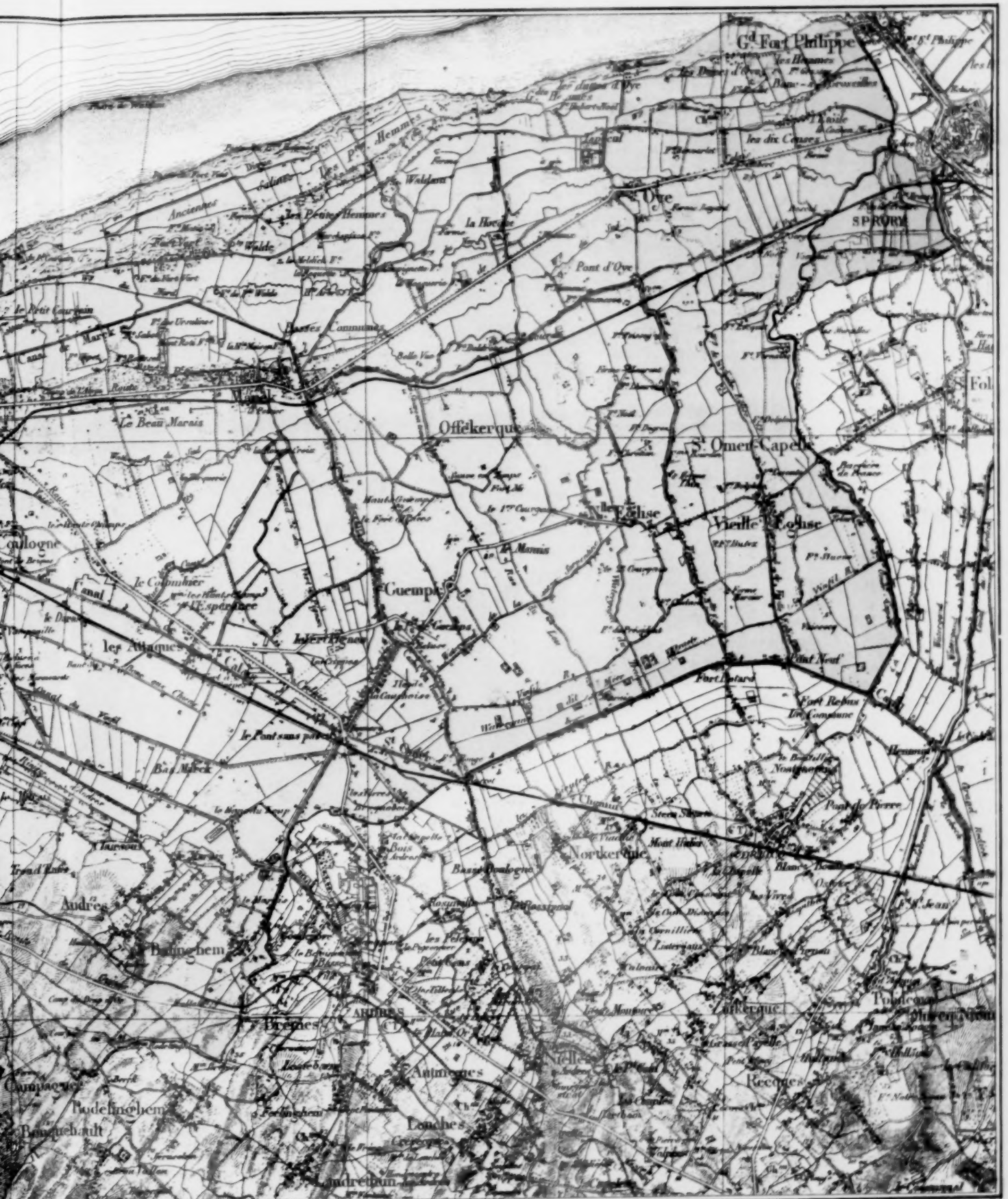
The northern boundary of the English Pale was the sea, and commencing at the western end by the cliffs of Scales with the headland of Blancnez, then called Blacnes, next came the dunes of Sandgate, which led to the saltmarsh called Dykeland, until the mouth of the river of Hammes was reached at Calais. Ascending this river, which was the continuation of the haven of Calais, the fort and sluices of Newenham Bridge were reached, and then large plashes or flashes, as they are still called in Hampshire; after these the river, on which at the various bridge heads were the bulwarks or forts forming the real line of defence. Into Calais Haven also fell the river of Guînes, which, after leaving that town, traversed the large marsh lands lying south of the great stony bank from Newenham Bridge to Mark, and having crossed the parish of St. Peter's entered the town of Calais in canal form. East of Calais the land on the sea-shore was low and subject to the inroads of the sea. The actual shore was called the Hemmes or Flow Marsh, in French *renclôtures*, behind which the Polders and

CALAIS AND THE PALE.



The limits of the Pale in 1556 is roughly shown by the pink tint. Dotted lines.....show the limits of the modern Communes corresponding to the English parishes.





Cling^a formed an intermediate district behind which again the arable lands of Mark and Oye lay. So the English territory stretched up to Gravelines and even beyond,^b for the modern Canal de Gravelines or straight cut to the sea did not exist, and the waters of the Flemish Gracht, now the Drach, found their way to the sea some distance east of the present port. Though the Sluice Haven and its southern continuation the Gracht was considered the English frontier, it seems that a large piece of land bounded on the east by the modern River Aa and

^a The word Cling I have not found in any dictionary in a suitable sense, but Mr. Norman, F.S.A. informs me that the similar word Clink, which occurs in the topography of South London, was there associated with a street between the river and the site of Winchester House. Clink Street still exists, and is crossed by Stoney Street. Cling and Polders may then be the term for expressing the idea of a stony steep of land near the shore, and the polders or dyked pastures.

^b The ancient limits of the Pale on the north-east appear to have extended some distance beyond the present canal or river connecting Gravelines with the sea, and the following note in the survey of 1556 explains this:

The East Hemmes of Oye: The town of Gravelin as tenants to the Eschevins of S^t Omer and they as tenant to the C^{te} de S^t Pol, who holds the same of the grant of Edward, pretend that a piece of land called S^t Polles Hemes, which they say is so much ground as is contained from the sea on the north between Gravelin Havon on the east and the level of the three posts or stakes set as it seems in our level levelling from the sea to the uttermost of the Spriory lands towards Flanders; although they seem to have been none other than stakes fitte for the cattle to rubbe on, the which clayme our auneyente recordes of rentale and enquines for the Lordshippe of Marke and Oye do dysprove, the same rentales and enquines butting and lymyting the *farme of the Greate Coppe* east upon the Havon of Gravelyn and southe on the *Lyttell Coppe Hemmes* and the beake waye and butting the *Lyttell Coppe Hemmes* east upon the Greate Coppe Hemmes and south upon the *Sluice Hemmes* and *St. Pole Hemmes*, and butting the Sluice Hemmes east upon the Havon of Gravelyn and *St. Pole Hemmes*, whereby it appeareth that the S^t Pole Hemmes lande lyeth in canton-wise against the river within of the Sluice Hemmes and stretched on no further to the north than a waye which was called the Beake waye. For so much as the butting of the Lyttell Coppe Hemmes east against the Greate Coppe Hemmes and the Greate Coppe Hemmes butting east upon the river do prove that the Greate Coppe Hemmes stretched by the river towards the south so farre as all the Little Coppe Hemmes, and so the said S^t Pole to stretch no further north than to a right levell from east to weste brought by the south parte of the Little Coppe Hemmes. Nevertheless after communication thereof had by Commyssioners in the reign of Edward the VI. the matter not decyded nor concluded the said Eschevins after the departure of the Commissioners conveyed over unto the said *iii.* stakes certain large stones for markes of their boundes graven with the armes of S^t Omer and they laide them intending to have erected them for monuments and testimony of them lymittes there, which thing was done without agreement or knowledge of the Commyssioners and therefore are no limitts which ground as they claim contained as appeareth in the margent (i.e. M. *iii.* ^{xx}*iiij.* *xi.*)

south by a line from the sluices called the Bajettes to the Gracht, was also included in the English territory. It was called the Sprury. From this point to the Hook the Gracht, with various banks, separated the English Pale from the Imperial dominions. The English were thus in a very favourable position for those sudden changes of policy which took place in the reign of Henry VIII.

The south-western boundary of the Pale at the time of the survey was known as the Picardy encroachment, and was the result of the quiet action of the French, who gradually occupied much of the waste land included within the limits of the ancient boundary. Frequent mention is made in state documents of these encroachments, and commissioners were often appointed to determine the exact line of boundary, but the surrender of the territory about Boulogne in 1550 helped to make the definition of the two territories very vague. In 1556 the limit began at the sea shore near the present boundary of Scales parish, about half a mile north of Strones, now Estrouannes, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the ancient boundary. It then ran south-east to Mount Pretez, not now shown on the maps, but near the altitude of 150 metres to the west of Fol Empries. Thence it turned southward to Mount Cople, the highest point of the ridge of high land running from Guines Forest west. The boundary then passed along the south of Hervelingen towards Sandingfield, leaving the hospital on the north, and following the line of the southern limit of Pitham parish with the Colway Wood on the north. From the partition of Pitham and Buccard the line ran south-east through the woodland to the chalk pits north-east of Fynes, now Fiennes.

This seems to have been the extent of the encroachment, the ancient boundary being undisturbed eastward.

The ancient boundary of the Pale on the south-west began at the coast where the stream now called l'Anglais, then Summers Brook, fell into the sea between Whitsand (now Wissant) and Strones (now Estrouannes). About 360 yards from this was a place called Linkye, and 1,230 yards along the brook was the ford called in 1556 Pont de Callice.^a The house where the old way crossed was 300 yards to the south-east, and at 170 yards further on was the bridge and old ford of Pont de Callice, where the tolls used to be levied before the encroachment. The head of Summers Brook was 1000 yards south-east of this, and from it the boundary followed the way to Mount Cople and then round the hill on the south side. The boundary then ran east to the lazar house of Sandingfield, where the

^a See p. 92.

road to Boulogne crossed; from this point the boundary ran eastward to Caffers or Camfers, now Caffiers, and then, inclining somewhat to the south, it passed by Fynes Mill and Fynes Hill to the chalk pits. It was as far as this that the Picardy encroachment extended. The old boundary continued eastward, drawing a little to the south till the end of the trees in Park Valley, when it turned south south-east through the woods to the great trees called Houches Brittone on the edge of Buckholt (Bouquehault) Common. It was at this point that the English street began, which, running outside the Pale as far as the chalk pits, seems to have been a still older boundary in these parts. The street took the line now shown as the southern limit of Guînes parish, and after passing the chalk pits ran apparently inside the old boundary at varying distances from it until the sea coast was reached. This English street and the two boundaries are minutely described in the survey. From Houches Brittone the old boundary ran north-east to Camp village, the eastern portion of which was always French. On reaching Ballangen the boundary skirted that parish, reaching south to the Ewlin Way at the foot of the hill called the Humblingberg. This, though not shown on the map, was probably the spot marked as 35 metres in altitude. From this point the boundary ran for a mile or so in a northerly direction till the marshy land prevented the frontier from being clearly defined until the Ballangen Bulwark was reached. From this place the great river from Boothackes marked the limits of the Pale as far as the Cowbridge, from which a line with bends and curves extended as far as Boot's Bulwark and the west end of the Polyvard.

The high country is totally dissimilar from the low country; in the former the villages are generally found nestling down in small valleys, and are often not visible till within a very short distance. The roads in this part are often winding and circuitous, while in the low country the shortest distance between places has controlled the laying out of the roads of the water communications. In the low country the inhabitants have been obliged from very early days to continually repair and keep in order the numerous ditches and banks, on the good condition of which their crops and their cattle alike depended.

"Waterworks be strange and marvellous to keep in order," wrote Sir Robert Wingfield in 1528, and he had much experience of the truth of this. The greater number of the watergangs,* or as they are now called watergands, date from the period of the English occupation, and they served not only for the reclamation of the land but as highways of communication in peace and war. It will be well

* The word watergangs occurs as early as 1209 in an inedited charter of La Capelle.

therefore in describing what the French call the *viabilité* of the Pale to note also the chief watercourses.

The oldest road in the Pale was the Ewlin Way, which starting from Sandgate ran south-south-east to the borders of Pepling, and then turning south-east, ran by Guînes to the field of Arches. It can still be traced as a narrow lane unfit for wheel traffic. From the lower end of Causie town ran the old and new ways to Boulogne and also Guînes Way. The first of these ran by Pepling down to the old Pont de Callice at the frontier. The New Bullen Way was much the same as the present high road passing by the Lazar House at Sandingfield. Guînes Way ran through the old village of Calkwell and then turned to the south-east, passing by St. Tricaise and Hammeswell, reached Guînes at its west gate, and left the town by the south gate, and continued in a south-east direction. For much of its distance it ran parallel to and north of the Ewlin Way. From the Guînes Way, at a point in Froyton parish, Fynes Way turned southward to Fynes Mill. The Bore or Bear Way ran parallel to but south of the Ewlin Way, from near the village of Stone. Eventually it separated the parishes of Andren and Camp. Another great road was the Colham Way from the river of Guînes through Colham village to Guemp Bridge. Here it changed its name to Guemp Street, and passing through that village reached Newkerk. Here it again changed its name to V Street, and passing through Old Kerk passed out of the Pale at Capel Bridge, now called *Barrière de France*. In Mark and Oye were other important roads, such as Procession Way, Our Ladie's Way, Bandike Street, Calice Dam, and the Way to the Sluice. There were also in this part, the Way to Tartars Land, Market Street, the Lodge Way, &c. South of Guemp Street were Slang Street, now *Rue Serpentine*, Knight or Riddar Street, and Middle Street. These ran in the same direction as the English street or *Polyvard* forming the southern portion of this part of the Pale. Of the smaller roads there were many, but as the majority of them have much changed it would be useless here to identify them all. In Sandgate were the Beggars Way, Gallows Way, Holte Way, &c. Between the Scunnage and Colham was the Delph or Elf Way, and between Bonnings and Froyton on the west of Pitham and Nele on the east ran Cokilian Street with its continuation Margaret Street.

In the lower part of Mark were Cranebrook Street, North Lead Street, Mary Lead Street, Middle Street, etc. In the southern portion of the Pale were the Buck Way from Fynes to Guînes, the Green or Middle Way, Stony Street or *Rue des Pierres*, the Morrell Way, etc.

In the Marsh were several banks and ways with their drains on one or both

sides, such as the New Main Wall, the New South Way, Coskie's Way, the High Thorn Way, the March Bank, Michaelmas Bank, etc. The number of banks and ways in the low country was very great, and in a report by a jury *temp.* Henry VIII. it is remarked that "every ground though it pass not two or three acres large is dyked rounde aboute."

These ditches led into the larger watergangs, which varied in breadth from eight to twenty-four feet, and formed the arterial system of the district. Of these many still exist and many new ones have been cut in some parts, whilst in others, the drainage of the ground having been effected, the old watergangs have been obliterated.

The chief waterways of the Pale were in the western part, the river of Hammes and the river of Guînes. From near Mark town ran the Havon under various names to the Sluice near Gravelines, and from it were several large watercourses branching off to the north and south, while to the west the Havon, under the name of the Old Great River, reached eventually to the great plash near Newenham Bridge. Of these feeders of the Havon the chief on the north were the North and South watergangs, running generally east and west, and joining the Havon near the Sprury. On the north side also were the continuations of several large watergangs coming from the south, such as the Flemish Gracht, now the Drach, the Harraway, now the Watergand de Nouvelle Eglise, the Sandrinne or Chauntryne, now the Sauve en Temps, the Hollet, now the Houlet. There were also others, such as the Nonnerie, the Kettings, etc. In the notes on the various parishes will be found many others, such as the Stake Mart,^a the Ven or Fenne,^b the Baines,^c the Quade,^d the Fleete,^e etc. The inexact nature of the survey, as noticed elsewhere, prevents a close identification of all of these with their modern equivalents, but it is hoped that further information may enable a map of the country as it was to be drawn up later.

Of the defensive works of the Pale the chief were the three fortresses of Newenham Bridge, Hammes Castle, and Guînes Castle. Besides these were the series of bulwarks or small forts, in some cases actually on the frontier, in others at a distance within.

Those within the boundary consisted of a series of small works placed at or near the bridges on the roads leading to Hammes River.^f These, which were

^a W^d du Trackmaer.

^b W^d de la Vieille Eglise.

^c W^d Banse Vernalde.

^d W^d Banse Dutracq.

^e W^d Sauvage.

^f On Little Bridge Creek in Calkwell was a bulwark not mentioned, except in the description of the Fishery. St. Tricaise bulwark was evidently on the north side of the river.

apparently only for infantry were as follows: Froyton Bulwark, Nele Bulwark, St. Tricaise Bulwark. It was between the first two that the forces of the Duke of Guise poured into the inner part of the Pale on January 2, 1558. The date of these works is not known, but the fact that some of the church bells of St. Tricaise were sold for the construction or repair of that bulwark suggests that they dated from the time of Lord Cobham's tenure of office, 2 Edward VI., as he had previously redelivered the bells to that church.

From St. Tricaise Bulwark to one of the numerous slashes ran the Rampire of Hammes with its turnpikes or entrances.

The next small work was Andren Bulwark, situated near Clairsous on the modern map. It only appears in the map of M. P. l'Espinoy^a and the Cottonian map. Beyond this was Ballangen Bulwark, also called Jones Bulwark from the captain of it in 1545. This was a larger work, for in the 1547 Inventory its armament is given as 1 sacre, 2 fawcons, 3 slings, 5 fowlers, 5 bases all of iron, besides 19 hagbushes and 10 handguns, in fact a battery of 16 pieces. Its position on the frontier and near the Cowbridge was important. Next came the Mount on the great river of Ballangen, also called Boothackes Mount, situated a little south of the modern Pont sans Pareil. No armament is mentioned for this in the inventory, so it was probably not so large as the last work, or the next called Boots Bulwark, situated at the south corner of Guemp parish and getting its name from a former tenant of this part of the Pale. The armament of Boots Bulwark was 2 brass fawcons, 1 fawcon, 3 slings, 4 fowlers, and 5 bases of iron, besides 16 demyhacks or handguns, in all 15 pieces of ordnance. The next works also were on the Polyvard or English street. The first, Harraway Bulwark was at the lower end of the street of that name. It was also called Habberdyne Bulwark, probably in compliment to the count of St. Pol, who had lands in the east of the Pale, and whose son John of Luxemburgh, bastard of St. Pol, *temp.* Henry V., was also lord of Haburdyne. The Red Bush Bulwark mentioned in the survey appears to have been the same. The armament of this fort was 3 slings, 3 fowlers, 4 bases, 11 hagbushes, all of iron, and 4 demyhacks. The two next forts, Crablers and Knowles, were situated, the first at where is now Pont Neuf, and the other at the Hoke, where is now shown on the map Fort Rebus, at the junction of the Gracht and the English Polyvard. These seem to have had no guns. The size of the Gracht and the Sluice Havon would account for the

^a This is a copy of an older map of the sixteenth century, and by the kind permission of Commandant D'Or, I was permitted to examine it in the citadel of Calais, where it now hangs.

absence of forts along the eastern line of the Pale; and the Castle of Oye, though a strong one, was so far inland as hardly to constitute it a frontier defence.

To return now to the larger works of Newenham Bridge; beyond the sketches and plan in the Cottonian MS. we know nothing of its arrangement, but there was a keep, for its bearings occur often in the survey. The inventory of 1547 gives its armament as 1 demy cannon, 1 culverine, 4 sacres, 1 fawconett, 1 organ pipe of brass, and 1 sling, 5 demy-slugs, 6 fowlers, 4 double bases, 6 demy cart bases, 20 croke bases, and 5 Boymishe (Bohemian) hagbusshes on stocks, all of iron. In fact

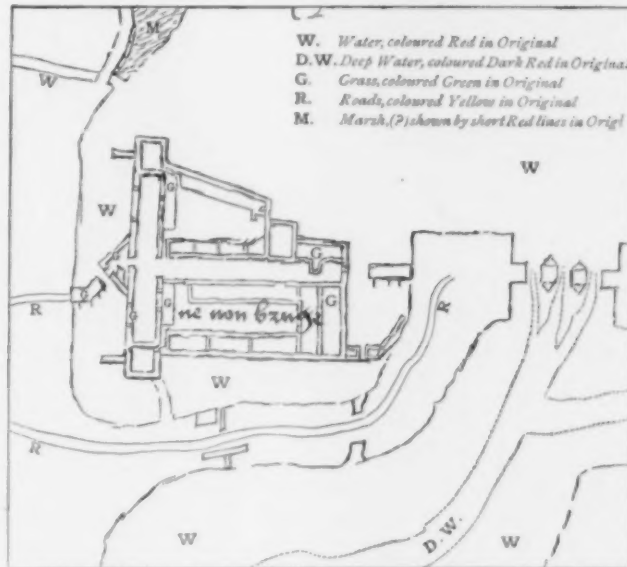


Fig. 1. PLAN OF NEWENHAM BRIDGE. (From Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 71.)

55 pieces in all, and most of them very light; but the fort was merely a *tête du pont* for Calais. It had its own commander and garrison, and the sketch plan (fig. 1), shows several buildings. The name was probably a corruption of its Latin one *Neuna*, but the French have always called it Neuillet or Nieulay. After 1558 it was further strengthened, and a square fort with four bastions is seen in a plan of 1633. In 1680 Vauban constructed the present work on the old site, where now, as then, it acts as an outwork to Calais, and controls the letting in and out of the water of a portion of the district.

The small plan of Guînes Castle in Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 71 (fig. 2, see p. 12), shows the castle of quadrangular form with eleven towers on its circuit, and the Catt communicating by brayes with a trefoil-shaped work at the south-east, and another at the south-west. In the *Domestic State Papers* of Henry VIII. for 1536,^a is an inventory of the armament, etc., of the English fortresses in France. In this inventory the following places are named at Guînes Castle, and some may be identified :

^a xi. 488.

The Mount, beginning at the east end from the Whight Gate to Preste Tower, called the short ward. The vault under the Mount. The Preste Tower. The

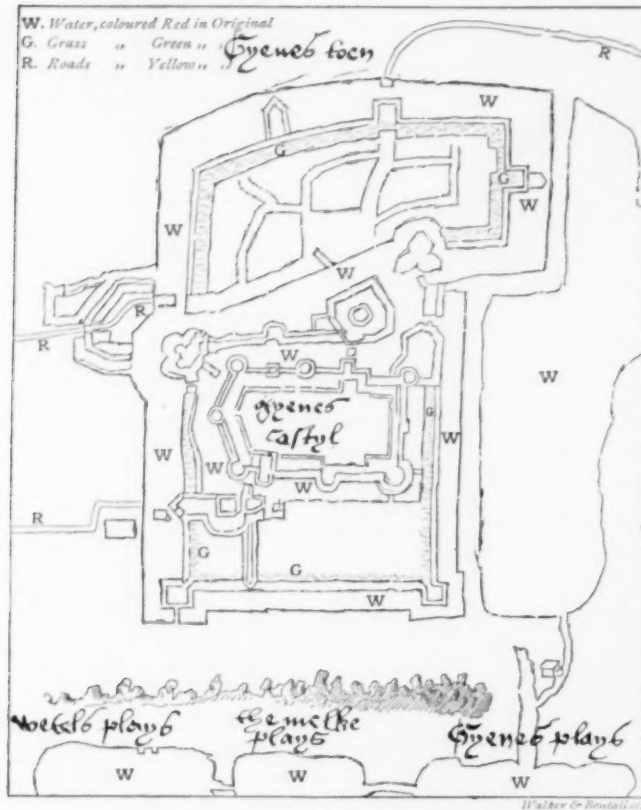


Fig. 2. PLAN OF GUINE'S CASTLE. (From *Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 71.*)

Chapel Ward. The Long Ward. The Chamber Ward. The Catt. The Keep. The Gate House. The Ward House. The Utter Herse. The Brayes called the Doves. Pirton's Bulwark in the Brayes. The wall next the bulwark. The half-tower and its vault next. Whethill's Bulwark and vault in the Brayes. The Base Court. The North Bulwark. The South Bulwark. The court within the castle. The bulwark next the Whight Tower. The Ordnance House with its gallery, loft, and house beneath, and the chambers of crossbows and hand-gonnes, and of wildfire.

If any reliance may be placed on the picture at Hampton Court, the large

trefoil-shaped works south-east and south-west of the castle were not built in 1520, but it is to be feared that the view is almost an imaginary one.^a

^a In the 1547 inventory are other notices as to towers, etc. from which we learn that of the body of the castle, next to the Old Gatehouse was the Corner tower, this quarter being toward the park hedge. The quarter between this and the Storke Tower was toward the town. The quarter from the Storke Tower to the Mill Tower was toward the marsh, and that from the Mill Tower to the Gate House was toward the Base Court. The traverse wall is also mentioned, and of the Brayes, the "cassymate." Pirton's Bulwark, the Keep, Whethill's Bulwark, the three cornered Bulwark, the Catt are all mentioned.

The clock tower, now seen on the mound of the Catt, is the second one that has been built since the English days, and dates from 1763. The cellar of this tower was used as a prison till 1794.

From the plan it will be seen that the castle was enclosed by a wall with small square towers at the north-eastern and north-western corners, and the whole, including the town, was surrounded by a ditch. The armament of the castle was in 1547, 56 pieces of brass and 230 of iron, many of the pieces being of large calibre, such as 4 cannon, 2 culverines, 22 sacres, 8 fawcons, 6 fawconetts, 4 robinetts, 18 serpentines, etc. The town of Guines also had 56 pieces for its defence. The accounts of the siege as detailed by lord Grey, Churchyard, and others mention many of the sites noticed above. Of the castle there are no remains now save some large banks and the great circular mound on which stood the Catt.

Hammes Castle is figured in small sketches and with a little plan in the Cottonian MS. (Fig. 3). In the picture of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, also, it is seen in the midst of the marsh land, the chief object between Guines and the towers of Calais on the horizon. The massive mounds on which the castle and its outwork stood are all that remains of the fortress, the site of which is seen on modern maps close to the farm called Fort Château. The castle was a pentagonal work with towers at each angle, and a gateway in the longer or western face, communicating with the Base Court between it and the outwork. This latter consisted of three towers with their curtains, forming a line with two flanks, the northern of which had another tower at its eastern extremity, just beyond the west face of the pentagon, and protecting the entrance from the causeway. The inventory of 1536 mentions the following localities: St. Catherine's Ward on the Mount, St. Gertrude's Tower, the Wardrobe Tower, the Entry, the New Tower, the Slepars' Ward in the tower there, the Gate to the Mount, the Gate House, the Base Court in the Mount's Tower, Worsley's Tower, and the Armory. In the inventory of 1547 the armory is given as 13 guns of brass, 71 of iron, in all 84 pieces; of which 5 were broken or not

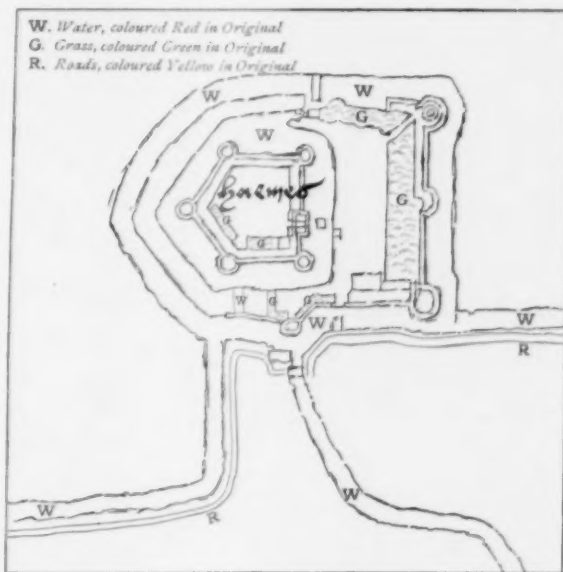


Fig. 3. PLAN OF HAMMES CASTLE. (From *Cott. MS.* Aug. I. ii. 71.)

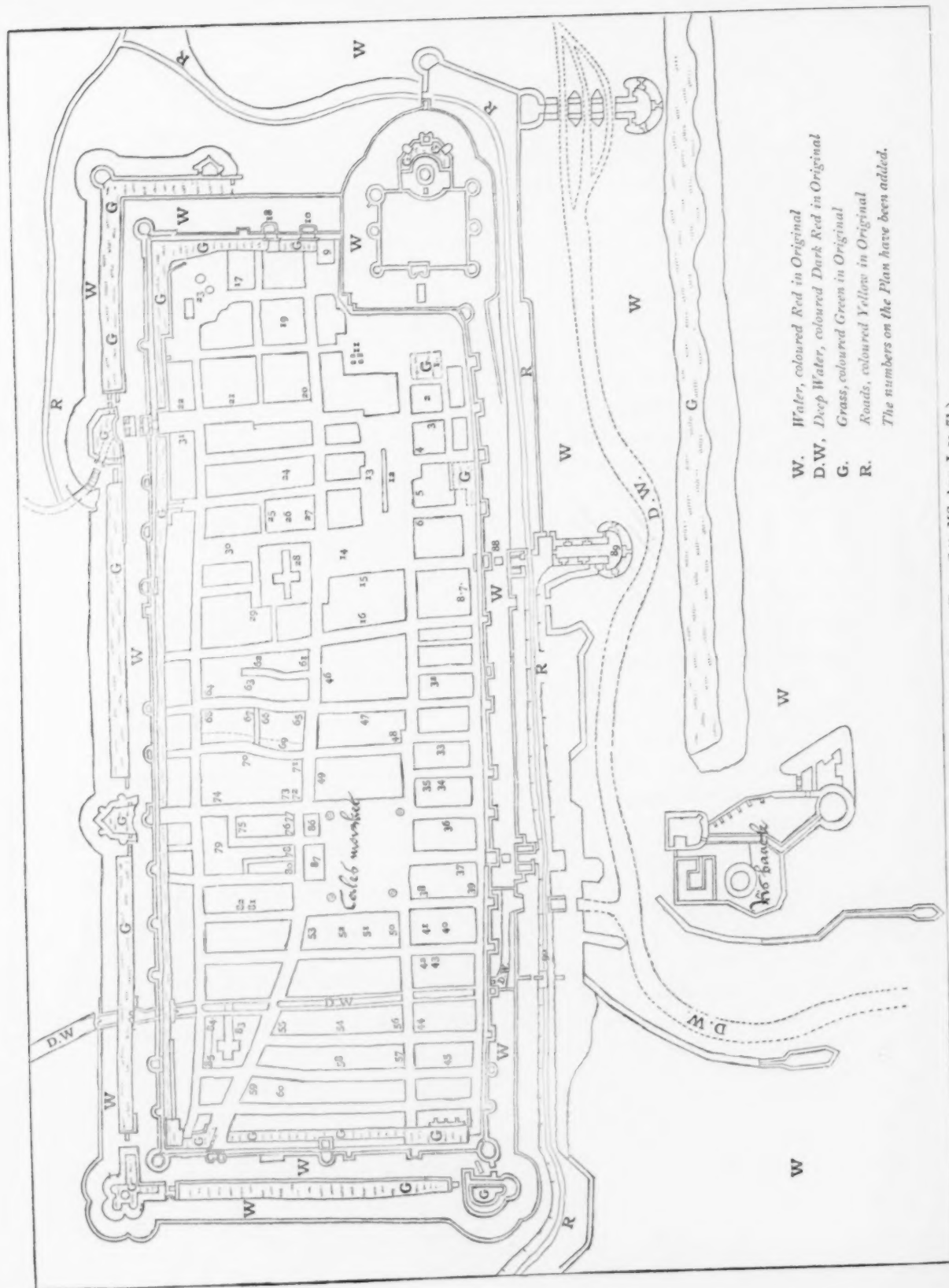


Fig. 4. PLAN OF CALAIS. (From *Cott. MS. Aug. I. II. 71.*)

good.^a The fortress was strong by reason of its position, and had its captain, Lord Edward Dudley, not evacuated it by night, might have made as good a defence as did Guînes.

It will be seen that, besides Calais and its castle, the defensive works of the Pale had, in 1547, an armament of 563 pieces of artillery. These, added to the 478 pieces at Calais, etc. made a total of 1041, all of which were lost to England. It required much time and money to replace them, and Elizabeth had good reason to be economical.

Having now given some idea of the boundaries and main features of the Pale, it will be best to consider first the town of Calais, next the Scunnage or district immediately around it, and then the various parishes represented by the modern communes. These, for convenience, may be dealt with alphabetically and according to their English names. Finally, the tolls and customs of the Scunnage and other parts of the Pale, with lists of church goods in Calais and the Pale, will give some idea of the state of the district in 1556.

The Calais of 1556 included the existing town and the ground now occupied by the citadel and its ditches.^b All traces of the English occupation, except the parish church and portions of the Staple inn, have disappeared, and the names of the streets have undergone many changes since the English left. The disposition of the streets, however, is the same as in 1556; and, with the aid of the sketch map in *Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 71* (fig. 4), the sites of the principal buildings may be determined.^c

The town, it will be seen, was in the form of a parallelogram, having to its north the harbour, or Haven; and with the parish of St. Peter to its south, west, and east. This parish of St. Peter, or the Scunnage, is now represented by the commune of St. Pierre, with the large manufacturing town of the same name

^a A French inventory of the artillery found at Hammes in 1560 mentions only 10 pieces of ordnance, besides 3 muskets and 6 arquebuses à crocq as being there in November. Either the fort had been much reduced in strength between 1547 and 1560, or the Duke of Guise had carried off most of the guns.

^b The citadel was made by the cutting off and partial levelling of the western part of the town. The bas-relief in stone of Neptune, now over the gateway, was found in 1600 in the sand-hills to the east of the town, and is supposed to be of the time of the English occupation. In 1632 the present arsenal was built by direction of Cardinal Richelieu, and a bust of that minister was erected. This however in 1792 was removed to make way for a "tree of liberty," and in 1818 was placed on its present pedestal in front of the Hotel de Ville, close to the bust of Eustache de St. Pierre, erected there in 1818. In 1638 the powder magazine in the citadel was erected. About 1632 the small chapel of St. Nicholas was built, but has of late years been secularised and used as a military store.

^c I have inserted on the plan numbers to indicate such sites of buildings, etc., as I have been able to identify.

forming a suburb and indeed a rival to Calais. At the north-west corner of the old town stood the Castle.^a It will be best to describe, as well as we may, the town, commencing at this point, and then the walls with their towers and gates. The Castle, said to have been erected in 1229 by Philip Hurepell, consisted of a square enclosure with six towers, and a larger one on its western face. Though a strong fortress it had the defect that, except at the large tower, there were no earthworks. Like other castles, it served as a palace or a prison, as occasion required. Edward III. and his queen rested here for a month after the capture in 1347, as did the Dauphin in 1558, after its recovery by the French. In 1398 Thomas duke of Gloucester was confined here,^b having been sent prisoner to Calais by his nephew Richard II. In 1533 there was a payment for sixteen pieces of painted glass for the chapel window of the castle. Various parts of this building are mentioned in 1536 and in 1547, such as the Dungeon within the Castle, the Brayes, the Watch House, the South Tower, the Gate House, the Shaking Tower. On the north-east, the Gunpowder Tower, the Ladder Tower, and the Artillery Chamber. In this last are mentioned, "feighting bills of brymingin making," an early notice of Birmingham manufactures. In 1547 the armament consisted of 56 pieces of iron and 28 demyhacks (hand-guns).^c

Besides the castle the town was defended by several towers along the walls. The whole enceinte was for certain purposes divided into 17 wards, but for others into 6 quarters. Commencing at the north-east corner, the highest ground in the town, the king's deputy had charge of the walls and towers from the Beauchamp Tower and its bulwark along the east side of the town, as far as the Milk Gate. This quarter included four towers, and the armament of Beauchamp Tower,

^a It has generally been said that the castle was destroyed in 1560, but from maps and plans of 1633, signed by the Minister Argenson, and now in the British Museum, it will be seen that in that year the castle still existed, though only possessing the eastern gate tower, the north-west and south-west angle towers, and one on the south face. In later plans only the north-west and south-west towers are seen, and in one of 1793 the castle is seen only as the cavalier of the north-west bastion of the new citadel, the western face of which bastion is formed by the Brayes and two towers shown in the Cottonian plan. It is these towers, and not parts of the old castle, which still form part of the modern citadel. All traces of the castle have now disappeared.

^b According to Holinshed, his murder took place in the Prince's Inn, Calais.

^c The armaments given above are those in 1547, as noted in the Brander MS. *penes* the Society of Antiquaries. The armament of the different towers in 1536 will be found in State Papers, Domestic, Henry VIII. xi. 488, but it is probable that there was not much difference between those of 1547 and of 1556. Mary, we know, attempted to reduce the garrisons by cassing or discharging some of the soldiers, but her inability to clear off the arrears of pay prevented this being done in many cases.

on the site of which now stands the lighthouse,^a and its bulwark was a strong one. It consisted of 53 pieces of artillery, including two cannons.^b Stretching along the east, south, and part of the west sides of the town were also the Brayes or low works for infantry, in the ditch and connected with the various bulwarks or advanced works by light bridges. It was along the Brayes that the scout watch patrolled.

The High Marshal had charge of the walls from the Milkgate or Millgate round to the Prince's Tower. This quarter included the Milkgate^c at the end of Milgate Street; the Develyn or Dublyn Tower, with its bulwark at the south-east of the town; the next or East Watch-tower; the Day Watch-tower; the sluice by which the Guînes river entered the town; another tower; and then the tower of Our Lady on the walls. There was one small tower still west, and then the Prince's Tower. The Develyn Tower and bulwark were strongly armed, having some 65 pieces of artillery, including 2 cannons.

The Comptroller was in charge of the works from Prince's Tower as far as the Bullen Gate. This quarter included three small towers, then the Northumberland Tower, and west of that, two more towers. The Prince's Tower, which had a bulwark or outwork, got its name from the Prince's Inn, a part of the staple buildings. The armament of this quarter was 26 pieces of artillery, mostly light ones.

The Treasurer was in charge of the western end of the town, which included the Bullen well quarter,^d and extended up to the castle. This Bullen Gate was one of the most important of the entrances to the town,^e and had in front of it a bulwark. Next to this tower was a small one, and then came the Corner Tower, with another tower on the Brayes in front of it.^f North of the Corner Tower were

^a Demotier says, that it was on the spot called La Coulevrine, a name the site had acquired after 1713, when the famous Coulevrine de Nancy was transferred thither from Dunkirk. This gun was in 1764 sent to Douai and melted down.

^b The cannon in 1588 was a sixty-pounder with a bore of 8 inches.

^c The Cottonian plan shows a double gate at the end of Milgate Street, but in a more exact plan of 1633, signed by the French minister Argenson, the gate is not seen. The Day Watch-tower is shown as a large closed work, and named Tour de la Grille.

^d In this part, but to the east of the gate, was the Queen's Tower, at the end of Exchequer, or Chequer or Farthing Street. Other towers, as the Mermayden Tower, etc., were hereabouts, but cannot be attributed with certainty.

^e There were fifty-three guns mounted on it.

^f The Snayle Tower and Snayle's Bulwark is mentioned as on the south-west, but more definite description is not given.

three towers, the second and third of which were respectively the Under-Marshall's Tower and the West Watch-house. Where the Brayes ended opposite to the first of the three was an angular tower. The armament of this quarter consisted of 25 pieces, including 2 cannons on the Boulogne gate.

The counterscarp of the town ditch turned to the north-west, near the Watch-house, so as to include the castle, and then due west to a large tower connected by a curtain with another at the west end of the wharf. These two towers and their curtain form the face of the north-west bastion of the present citadel, and are all that remain of the old works of Calais. From the tower at the wharf ran a pier or jetty, which formed the west boundary of the West Haven. There were gaps in this jetty to allow of vessels passing through to Newenham Bridge, and at the end of it, almost touching Rushbank, was a fort.

Commencing now at the north-west corner of the town,^a the Under-Marshall had charge of the five towers west of the Water Gate. The fourth of these was the Woodhouse^b Tower and the fifth the Old Calais Tower. In front of the Water Gate was another jetty or pier, at the end of which was the Searcher's Tower.^c Beyond this were five more towers on the walls, the last of which, the Rose Tower, was the limit of the under-marshal's charge.

The Master Porter commanded the rest of the north front from the Lantern Gate to the Beauchamp Tower, including five small towers and the outfall of the Guînes river into the town ditch, along which it ran westward to the end of Pickering Street, where it ran beneath the wharf into Fisher's Gap.

The Lantern Gate had over it a watch-house and a lantern, the service of which it was claimed was hereditary. Below the lantern was the Banket room, payments for the repair of which occur frequently, temp. Henry VIII. In 1533 occurs one for "The Banket House over the Lantern Gate, new glazed." Two

^a This was called the Castle Hill Quarter, and between the north-west corner and the Water-gate there were some nine pieces of artillery.

^b John Woodhouse, whose arms were formerly to be seen on the walls of St. Mary's church, was Mayor of Calais in the 13th Henry VI.

Thus, according to the survey, there were for the defence of Calais, in 1547, 478 pieces of artillery, of which there were 56 in the castle, 238 on the town walls, 59 in Risbank, and 125 in the Ordnance House. In 1533 there was 284 pieces in the town.

Highfield, in his memorial to Queen Mary in 1558, says there were at the time of the attack more than 60 pieces mounted in the town.

The French say that by the capture of Calais they gained 300 pieces of brass and as many more of iron.

^c Now Cap Gris. There were 13 pieces mounted here.

guns were kept in this tower, loaded from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day, in fact, during the herring fishery. They were chiefly used for signals or alarms.^a

Opposite the town stood the fort called Risbank or Rushbank,^b now Risban. In the Cottonian sketches it is shown detached from the spit or bank, but it is now part of it. It is said to have been built by John of Gaunt, 1348-1361, and was originally called La Tour Neuve or du Lancastre.^c

In 1547 the armament was some 59 pieces, and the small arms consisted of 35 handguns, 20 bows, 50 morris-spikes, and 40 bills. From these we may judge of the strength of the garrison. The following places are mentioned in 1536: the countermure, called the base court in the Mount, the kitchen, the middle hall, the constable's chamber, the leads, and the new tower. Of its appearance temp. Henry VIII. the *Cottonian MS.* Aug. I. II. 57*b*, gives a very good idea.^d Rysbank was the title of a pursuivant-of-arms, others were named Guînes and Calais.

Demotier says that documents at Lille mention the erection in 1444 of the first jetties. In 1533 a west pier was built, and in the survey of 1556 the east and west jetties are mentioned.

The streets of Calais have changed names so often that it is useless to do more than to identify the present names with those obtaining in 1556.

It will be seen that with the exception of La Rue des Prêtres, La Rue des Boucheries, and the case of La Rue de l'Etoile, noted elsewhere, the names of to-day have little in them to recall the English titles. Nor is it to be expected, for though Edward III. did allow three persons to remain in Calais to assist in the redistribution of lands, etc.,^e there is no record of such being the

^a The Port du Havre, the gate painted by Hogarth, is on the site of the Lantern Gate, but is and was in his time a French work. Bernard in 1702 speaks of it as "proprement travaillée et ornée d'une trophée aux armes du Roi et à été ainsi réparée en 1690." Now the French have so carefully obliterated all traces of English arms, badges, etc. everywhere in Calais, that, accepting Bernard's distinct statement, it is clear that Hogarth, who finished his picture from memory after his return to England, could never have seen the arms of England on this gate. Nor, had they been there, would they have been shown as he has painted them. Hogarth was at Calais in 1748, nearly fifty years after the French king's arms had been put on the gate, and in his diary he only says, "some appearance of the Arms of England." The gate as he saw it was probably built in 1633, when the old English works were modified and adapted to the improved ideas of fortification.

^b Rushbank, as it is called in the survey, probably was the original form of the name.

^c Demotier says it was built in 1405.

^d In 1586 the fort was altered so as not to command the town. In 1602 bastions were added, and it is now a very strong work.

^e Mr. Haignère says that some of the French inhabitants afterwards returned to Calais and

case when the Duke de Guise took the town. There was indeed a certain Doctor Philibert Garry, mentioned as being in the town and giving assistance to the French at the time of the capture, but there was every reason for the new possessors to obliterate so far as possible all traces of the English occupation. But among the names still to be seen in Calais are a few such as Tartare (Tartar's land in Oye), which recall those of the old occupiers.

Of the streets no longer existing, whose sites are occupied by the modern citadel, the following occur in the survey: Fuller or Silver Street, Golden Street, Watergate Street, Boulogne Gate Street, Cow Lane, Shoe Lane, Farthing or Exchequer or Chequer Street, Penny Street, with its prolongation, Old Haven, and some other little lanes. These ran north and south, and were traversed by Castle Street, St. Nicholas Street, and Hemp Street, running east and west.

Taking now the streets existing to-day, and beginning by the north part of the town, that is, all north of Castle Street, now Rue de la Cloche, and at various periods Rue de Han, Rue de Lorraine, and Rue du Château, we commence with Maisondieu Street, now Rue des Pélerins. Next was Love Lane, now Rue des Cinq Boulets; then Prison Lane, now Rue du Port; Coxe Street, now Rue de Paradis; St. John Street, now Rue de Thonis; Whethill Street, now Rue du Soleil, and at one time Rue du Maréchal; Staple Court Street, now Rue de la Mer, and at various times Rue de la Flèche and Rue du Vieux Major; Lantern Gate Street, now Rue du Hâvre, at one time Rue de la Lanterne; Pickering Street, also known as Bentham Street, or Ladie Street, or Calkwell Street, is now Rue de la Tête d'Or, and has been called Rue M. Rémond; Bigging Street, now Rue de l'Etoile, at one time Rue de l'Ange; Larden Street, now Rue de la Poissonnière; James Shaft Street (after an old tenant of that name) is now Rue de Courtenvau, after the French savant; it has also borne the names of Andelot, and Clery; Bucket or Broket Street is now Rue des Mariniers; Old Fisher Street is now Rue Berthois.

In the central wards, that is between Castle Street and St. Nicholas Street, were the following: Maisondieu Street, now Rue St. Nicholas; Coxe Lane, now Rue de la Harpe; a little lane now Rue du Lion Rouge, and at various times Rue Calandre and Rue Changée; the Market Place, now Place d'Armes; Foxton Street, now Rue du Cygne (it has also had the names of Anjou and Hubert); Larden Street, also called by the English New River Street, Burnett Street;

mentions the grant by Edward III., 8th October, 1347, to Eustache de St. Pierre of a pension of 40 marks for services rendered in maintaining order in the town.

Lardover Street and Martyn Street is now Rue de Croy, but has also been called Rue de la Corne and Rue d'Orléans; Duke Street, now Rue Eustache St. Pierre, and at one time Rue d'Angoulême; Parsonage Street, now Rue des Prêtres; and Old Fisher Street, now Rue Berthois.

In the south of the town Maisondieu Street is now Rue du Roule; a little lane, now Rue du Hazard, has also had the names of Rue St. Martin, Rue des Archers, Rue des Arquebusiers, and Rue qui n'a point de bout; Coxe Lane is now Rue de la Douane; Little Friars Lane has been built over: Great Friars Street is now Rue Leveux, but has been Rue des Capucins, Rue de la Comédie, Rue des Petits Andouilles, and Rue des Minimes; Shewe Street, now Rue Royale, has been Rue de Diane and Rue des Carmes; Roper Lane, now Rue de Guise, has had the names of Guise, de l'Etape, and de la Prison; Brampton Street has been built over; Myngraven Street, or Mingraveling Street, or Our Lady Street, is now Rue d'Admiral Courbet, and has been Rue Ste. Catherine and Rue Neuve; Langham Street is now Rue St. Michel; Bingham Street is now Rue St. Denis. This portion of Larden Street is now Rue de la Rivière, and has been Rue de l'Eglise; Stewes Street is now Rue du Presbytère.

Of the streets running east and west, Castle Street, also called Benchcourt Street, is now Rue de la Cloche, and has had various names; Sampport Street is now Rue des Camionneurs; St. Nicholas Street, now Rue de la Citadelle, has been Rue Royale and Rue de Boulogne; Milgate Street, now Rue Notre Dame, has had the names of Pedrowe, d'Orléans, and du Maine; Hemp Street, as far as Rue Leveux, is now Rue Française, east of that it is Rue des Maréchaux.

The Butcheries is now Rue des Boucheries, and has been Rue du Cardinal.

Other streets are mentioned in the survey, but have not been identified, except Mynte Lane, which of course ran by the Mint between Penny and Farthing Streets; Havering Street or Bishop Street was near Prince's Inn; Butt Street was near the foundry; Boundegarde Street was in the east of the town; Canwayke Street and East Calais Castle cannot be identified at all. Randall was appointed constable of the latter in March, 1356.^a

Bigging Street was, like its namesake in Dover, probably called after the Beguines.

Commencing with the portion of Calais no longer existing, at (1 on plan), on what is called in the survey the Great Hill or Castle Hill, stood a windmill.

^a A very interesting note on the old street-names of Calais, by M. Brullé, was published in 1880.

East of this at (2) was the king's foundry, occupying in 1556 the former site of a brewhouse. At this foundry in 1515 the brothers Owen had worked, and some of their guns are still to be seen in the Tower of London. Further east at (3) stood the great house place called the Cappel of St. John, now called Tholie Roode, "with a voide place lying in the same, which was edified, called the new Garier (? Garner), and ordeyned to be occupied with the king's victuals and other stuff, and one part under the chappel for the king's plomerie and another for the storage of the king's stuff." The chapel of St. John the Baptist is mentioned as early as the year 1226 in a charter of the Abbey of St. Bertin, where the site is described as being that on which mass was first said in Calais, "but now deserted." Certain rents were assigned at this date (1221) for the maintenance of a chaplain. In the payments for the year 1518 is one of 20*l.* for Seynt John Baptist. However, it was disestablished soon after this, and converted into a store for lead and other munition, being let to John Luson, merchant of the Staple.^a East of the chapel at (4) were fifteen almshouses belonging to the wardens of the "Brothered of St. George" in the church of St. Nicholas.

At (5) was what in the survey is called Old Calais occupying all the quadrant or block, and held by Thōmas Brook, and late by Lord Rivers. Of this place or its name no traces have been found in the papers of the period.^b

At the south-west corner of the next block Lord Grey held a mansion with three tenements and cellars, and a cellar called the Vine (6). The next street was Watergate Street, running from the Watergate southward, and in the block on its east were the official residences of the Master Mason of Calais (7), in 1556, Nicholas Thompson, and next to it "the Mason's Lodge of the Company of the king's Master Masons of Callis, built at the king's cost as well for the storage of His Highness' stores and other necessities" (8). Both of these holdings faced north.

Commencing again at the west, adjoining the castle wall, was the Castle Garden (9), held by the captain of Calais Castle; it touched the West Watch-house (10). Somewhat east of this, and standing on the king's ground, was the South Mill (11), held by Robert Whethill. South of Old Calais was the Tylte;

^a Dufaitelle says that remains of this chapel were to be seen in "une ancienne dépendance de l'arsenal de la marine, Rue du Soleil," and that they dated from the twelfth century. But that street, the Whethill Street of the English days, was further east, and the remains must have been of some other building.

^b John Duke of Bedford held this as appears by his p.m. inquisition temp. Hen. VI.

(12)^a and in the plan is seen the wooden barrier, on each side of which the jousts rode. On the south of this, at (13), Richard Carr, or Carye, man-at-arms, held a "Powder mill, called a Horse mill;" and further east was a block of buildings (14) called the Grene Yard, formerly held by Lord Berkeley, but of late forfeited to the King, it having been allowed to fall into decay. It had at one time consisted of a woolhouse, brewhouse, and tenements, with cellars, gardens, and void ground.

On the opposite side of Watergate Street, at (15), stood the King's Weigh-house, for tin and lead, and a large portion of the same block was occupied by the King's Carpentrie (16), consisting of a mansion, garden, and void ground. Here was stored the timber used for fortifications, etc.; and most of this, as may be seen from the frequent mention of conveyance from foreign parts, was imported. Colway Wood in the Pale probably did not furnish the large stuff necessary for the repairs of the sea front, etc.

We begin again at the west end of the town, and the survey notes that part of the quadrant or block in which, in 1556, was the cottage called Mill Hill (17), had "lately been taken into a mount or battery close to the Under Marshal's Tower" (18). In the block south of St. Nicholas Street and east of Fuller or Silver Street, was a piece of void ground called Golden Hill (19), which gave the name to the next street on its east. In the next block, at its north-east corner and fronting on Boulogne Gate Street and St. Nicholas Street, was the Garderobe (20), held in 1556 by Richard Blunt, the Master of the Ordnance of Calais, by virtue of his office. This place consisted of "a great place with a garden and yard, and other storehouses appointed for the habitation of the Master of the Ordnance for the time, and stowage of the king's artillery and munition."^b

^a This place, at one time called the corn-market, *Mercatum Granorum*, is often referred to under this name in old documents.

In 1537 a house near the Tilte called Mounteney's House was granted to Rob. Ap Reynolds.

^b This large storehouse consisted of several rooms and lofts in which were kept the necessary supplies for the defence of Calais. The different parts of the house may give some idea of the building. They were: the long court; the little court next; the court within the gate; the great grene yard, where there was a great bombard of iron, the only gun of its class in Calais, the room under the stairs going to the high tower; the long gonne house, where were kept 14 blacke cartes covered with haire, having 4 bases with 3 chambers to each chamber; 3 shrympes with 3 bases, &c. 22 single bases; also 9 sacres, 11 fawcons, 2 fawconetts, 8 organ pipes, all these of brass. Then the great gonne house, in which were 6 great port pecis of iron. Beneath this was the casting vawte, the forge, the wildfire house, the house above the stair head, the cresset loft, the collar loft (in this, among other stores, were "dartes for Irishmen croked," i.e. barbed darts for the troops from

In the block south of this, and fronting on Boulogne Gate Street, were certain houses and ground occupied by the King's Bakehouse (21); and somewhere to the south of this last stood, as far as we can judge, the ancient Hôtel d'Escalles,^a the palace or mansion of the Lord Scales (22). The ground in the south-west corner of the town was called Bullen Well, and consisted of a space 200 feet square. On this spot was a conduit of fresh water, given to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Calais by king Edward IV., chiefly for the profit of the town, and especially for purposes of brewing.^b In the plan two wells are shown, and in

Ireland, (of which a party is seen in the Cowdray picture of the siege of Boulogne), the little chamber next, the speare loft, the arrowe lofte, the armery where armour was stored, the hand-gonne chamber, the malle chamber, the crossbow chamber, the salt peter house, the iron house, the great vault. Opposite the Ordnance House was another great storehouse with a powder house, Morris picke house, with a long house underneath; another long house, the Myle house, and last the Foundry. It is not quite clear if this was another foundry, or the one mentioned in the survey, to the west of the Ordnance House. The Foundry consisted of a yard, the workhouse, the forge, and the iron house.

^a Bernard says in 1702 that this building still stood in the citadel, and till 1636 the governor of the town always resided there; also that within his memory many of the old houses of the town had remained in existence in the citadel. Civilians continued as late as 1660 to reside there, but at the date of his writing there only remained the quarters of the Lieutenant du Roi, the Major, and also the barracks.

^b Beer brewing in Calais was a very important concern, as is evidenced by the number of brew-houses, and also by certain remarks made at the time of the capture of the town by the French. In 1532 the Council of Calais say, the Picards, who buy flesh and other victuals twice a week, always take back beer brewed in Calais. There were in Calais in 1556 at least six brew-houses, besides the great brew-house of the king called the Swanne, the position of which last is not known as it is not mentioned in the survey. A license was required for holding a brew-house either in the town or in the Pale, and if the outside world was to be supplied with beer, as is suggested by the note of 1532, a good deal of this English liquor had to be made.

Lord Wentworth, the last lord deputy, in his letter to queen Mary on Jan. 1, 1558, at 10 p.m., when speaking of the measures he had taken for defence by cutting the ditches and flooding the country round the town, says: "I would also take in the salt water about the town, but I cannot do it by reason I should infest our own water wherewith we brew; and notwithstanding all I can do our brewers be so behindhand in grinding and otherwise, as we shall find that one of our greatest lacks." John Highfield, master of the Ordnance at Calais, in his narrative of the capture of Calais addressed to the queen, also says: "And then (Jan. 2, 1558) it was moved to my lord deputy that the sea might be let in as well to drown the Causeway beyond Newenham Bridge, as also other places about the town, wherein was answered, 'not to be necessary without more appearance of besieging,' and because that 'the sea being entered in should hinder the pastures of the cattle and also the brewing of the beer.'" Beer, it must be remembered, was a very important part of the soldier's ration, and Captain Robert Hitchcock, who served under Charles V. in 1553, and after-

the modern citadel there is still a well lying within the Bastion de Terme or Thermes. In 1528 there was also a lime-kiln close to this spot (23).

In the block between Cowe Lane and Farthing Street, and separated from St. Nicholas Street by a piece of void ground, stood certain tenements forming part of the Exchequer (24). The main portion of this office (25) was on the east side of Farthing Street, or as it was also called Exchequer or Chequer Street. This, with the Treasury (26) and the Houses of Mynte (27), occupied the whole block from St. Nicholas Street to Mynt Lane. Here were struck the Calais pieces,^a and the whole quadrant was held for the king's use by the treasurer of Calais (Thomas Cornwallis in 1556). A room in the Exchequer called the King's Great Parlour is often mentioned.

At the corner of St. Nicholas and Penny Streets stood the parish church of St. Nicholas (28) in the midst of its churchyard. Sir William Pelhouse, clerk, held by demise of the commissary the house and ground called the Anker House adjoining to the south side of the church. This was evidently the former habitation of an anchorite or hermit. The church, itself, one of the most historically interesting buildings in Calais, of course no longer exists, and of its appearance we can only judge by the conventional sketches in the Cowdray picture and the Cottonian MS. It appears to have had a square steeple of three stages. In 1518 it was in a bad state and leave was given to the churchwardens to beg for one year in England for money to make good the structure. Its steeple being a beacon for mariners was one of the reasons assigned for this permission, which soon after was extended for a period of three years. In the survey, however, the steeple of the church of Our Lady is the one most generally mentioned when the bearings of any place are mentioned. In the church was a chantry of the Brotherhood of St. George and it was this body who held fifteen almshouses in the north of the town. There was also a chantry of the rood loft, sometimes called of the roode service (if they were not two different chantries). In 1420 Nicholas Midylton was presented to the chantry called the rode lofte in the church of St. Nicholas, Calais. In 1521 John Peynton was presented to the chantry of the

wards held commands under Elizabeth, gives as the daily allowance for each soldier, half-a-gallon of double beer rated at 1d. and this at a time when the soldier's 1 lb. ration of beef was rated at 1½d. only.

^a In 1470 Edward IV. granted to J. Langtoft, Primate of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the coinage of gold and silver in England and Calais by patent. In 1544 Martyn Parry suggested to the Master of the Mint in England that a mint for Boulogne, to commemorate its capture, should, according to custom in like cases, be established in that town or at Calais.

Holy Cross in this church, and Henry VIII. is mentioned as making offerings at the Jesus and St. George altars. The wardens of the Trinity table in this church, also called the fraternity of the Trinity in St. Nicholas, held much property in the Pale and many tenements besides herring-hangs in Penny Street and Mint Lane in Calais itself. It was in this church that Edward III. and Henry VIII. made offerings and returned thanks to Heaven after crossing the channel. Edward III. and the French king met here and embraced on the ratification of the Peace of Bretigny in 1360, and later Richard II. was married to his child wife Isabella, afterwards wife of the duke of Orleans, poet and prisoner, after Agincourt, for so many years in the Tower of London. In 1528 among the royal payments of salaries, etc. are Jesu and St. George 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1534 Sir Robert Skeffe is mentioned as chaplain to St. George in this church, while Sir Alexander Flecton was the priest of the parish.^a South-east of the church were ten of the almshouses of the town (29) held in 1556 by Margaret Baynham and Leonard Snowdon alias Holland. South-west of St. Nicholas was the open space called Old Haven (30), a prolongation southward of Penny Street, though why so called it is difficult to say. In *Harl. MS.* 3880 it is called the Common Shewe of the town of old time.

On the eastern corner of the southern extremity of Boulogne Gate Street, and hard by the gate (now called Porte de Secours) was the Hermitage (31). This building, the name of which is preserved in the demi-lune or ravelin which covers the Porte de Secours or southern gate of the modern citadel, consisted of a mansion, three wool-houses, store house, cottages for almshouses, and a great yard held by Thomas Pettyt, surveyor of Calais, the individual who drew up the survey now before us. The Hermitage is often mentioned in state documents as a store house for timber and other materials for the construction and repairs of the fortifications, etc.

The above are all the noteworthy sites now obliterated by the citadel. At first the French merely cut off the western part of the town and made of it the citadel; later on this portion of Calais was levelled and the present work was built.

Taking now the existing portion of Calais, which includes parts of the north-west, middle-west, south-west and southwards, and the whole of the north-east, east middle and south-east wards, we find the blocks of houses in almost all cases arranged as in 1556. Commencing at the north-west the street next to Maison-

^a The church of St. Nicholas was pulled down in 1564.

dieu Street was Love Lane (now Rue des Cinq Boulets), next came Prison Lane (now Rue du Port), at the south-east corner of which was the common prison (32) held by John Witamore. In 1535 it was called "the prison on the walls" in a letter to Cromwell from Lord Lisle, who also mentions that to cross the town ditch near this place "they should not wade to the calf of the leg." This prison does not appear to have been used by the French after 1558, but it is curious that when in 1825 the present Palais de Justice was erected just behind the town hall on the site of another prison, a house and ground in this block were purchased and the present Maison d'arrêt was built, occupying the greater portion of the block. The next street, Coxe Lane, recalls by its modern name Rue du Paradis, the old place so often mentioned in all accounts of Calais, called Paradise. It received its name, most probably, from one of the family of Paradise, who seem to have been tenants from the early days of the occupation up to the last. The name Petit Paradis has been given to the small basin situated more to the eastward opposite to the end of Rue du Hâvre, formerly Lantern Gate Street. Next to Coxe Lane was St. John Street about halfway down the east side of which Cornelis Wading held "a ruinous mansion" called the Redde Crosse (33). At the south-east corner of the next street, Whethill Street (now Rue du Soleil), were two tenements held by Richard Windebanke. These were called the Vaunte (34) and the Crooked Staffe (35). The three next streets, Staple Street (now Rue de la Mer), Lantern Gate Street (now Rue du Hâvre), and Pickering or Calkwell Street (now Rue de la Tête d'Or), communicated directly with the market-place, and Lantern Street was also the thoroughfare from the wharf to the centre of the town. About halfway down the eastern side of Staple Street stood the Staple Court Hall (36), described in the survey as a great house, but we do not know what this building held by John Holland had to do with the Staple itself, the principal buildings of which were in the heart of the town. Lantern Gate Street has of course a peculiar interest for Englishmen from the slight view of it in Hogarth's picture. A little below the north-east corner were "three tenements new builded, made by the name of a lodging or inne" (37) held by Thos. Meredith. In the same block, but fronting on the market place, stood "a new tenement called the Kitle" (38) held by Peter Bate's widow.

Near the north-west corner of Pickering Street was the Plough (39), and on the east side of the street Edmund Davie also held the Harte's Horne (40), whilst a little lower down Robert Whethill's mansion called the Kinge's Armes (41) extended right across the block.

In the next block at the corner of Bigging Street and Sampport Street were two tenements called the Starre (42) and the Angell (43). The former held by William Tailor and the latter by Eustace Habington. Both of these houses fronted on Bigging Street, and the later French name, which indeed has continued to modern times, viz., Rue de l'Etoile, no doubt was given to it from the sign of the first of these, which would be understood equally well by French or English.

The next street, Larden Street, now Rue de la Poissonnière, had running down its centre the canalised river from Guînes. At the wall the river passed by a double arch into the town ditch along which it ran westward (within a partition) until it reached the end of Pickering Street, when turning northward beneath the wharf it fell into the harbour at the place called Fisherman's Gap. The Cottonian view of the town shows the machinery for working a sluice gate at this point on the wharf edge. At the south-east corner of the next street, James Shaft Street,^a was a ruinous house called the Flower de Luce (44) held by Thomas Lee.

East of James Shaft Street was Bucket or Broket Street, on the west side of which Sir John Butler, clerk, held "a great mansion and gallerie and a porche" (45) in the right of his wife. This is the only house so described in the survey, and was one of his many possessions in the town and in the Pale. He had been commissary and king's chaplain in 1534, and is often mentioned in the State Papers, and not always in favourable terms. He was probably son-in-law of Lady Banester.

There were no other houses of note or specially mentioned in the survey in this part of Calais.

Commencing again at Maisondieu Street, and taking the west and east middle wards, on the south front of the block, and extending to Coxe Street, stood fifteen tenements sometime a mansion, and tenements called the Faulcon (46), held by Richard Blunt.

In Coxe Street on its eastern side about half-way down, but also reaching to Castle Street on the north, was a mansion with stables and wool-house called the Rame (47), held by Symond Jennings, whose garden and void ground formed the north-west corner of the block. The north-east corner was held by Jane Perry, who had a great tenement called the Wild Man (48), but at the time of the survey broken up into four tenements.^b This block was separated from the next

^a James Shaft was son and heir of Symon Shafte and Katryne his wife, daughter of Henry Hilliarde. He was born in Mark and held land there. *Augmentation Office Book*, 407.

^b In Miraumont's terrier La Siraine Sauvage or l'Homme Sauvage was in this street, perhaps the sign of the Wild Man was adopted by the new occupier.

one by a small lane, to which no name is given in the survey, but it is now the Rue du Lion Rouge. Between this lane and the market-place and fronting on St. Nicholas Street the Chamber of London held six tenements and void ground with a great wool-house (49).

Crossing to the east side of the market-place and leaving the buildings standing detached thereon, the first house with a name was the Swanne (50), a little south of the end of Sampson Street; this was held by Robert Love. A little south, Richard Swart held a tenement and cellars called the Rose (51), and still further down John Delanoy had a similar holding called the Woolsack (52). The southern end of this block fronting on Milgate Street consisted of five tenements with cellars and void ground, and also the Crane (53). It is impossible to say whether this was an inn or a machine, but as the wool would be weighed at the town hall by the Wool Pavement it was probably an inn. All these holdings on the west side of the market-place extended right through to Foxton Street,^a in which no houses of note are mentioned. French writers have suggested that it was really Folkestone Street, but in the 18th of Richard II. William de Foxton appears in his p. m. inquisition as holding land in the town.

Next to Foxton Street was Larden Street,^b through which the river from Guînes ran, and the water is shown bridged over in various places. The street, now called Rue de la Poissonnière, has been entirely arched over the river, which does not show anywhere in the present town, and indeed falls unseen into the Bassin du Petit Paradis. The greater part of the block east of Larden Street was occupied by what was called Duke's Inn^c (54), held by the Duke of Lancaster (*i.e.*, the sovereign); it is described as consisting of eighteen tenements, and extended right across the block to the next street, Duke Street^d or Duchy Street, and down to Milgate Street on the south. On the north-west of Duke Street John Davye or David held three tenements called The Moone (56). On the north-east corner of Duke Street W. or J. Johnston held a tenement called the Exchequer (57). This was probably an inn, the king's exchequer being in the west part of the town.

South of this holding and extending through to the next street were five more tenements held by the Duke of Lancaster (58), who also had here four herringhangs and void ground.

^a Now Rue du Cygne.

^b Now Rue de Croy.

^c The "Dukes inne" was so called as early as 8 and 9 of Henry V.

^d Now Rue Eustache St. Pierre from the famous burgess of Calais, whose house was at the south-west corner of it (55).

The next street, Parsonage Street,^a took its name from the Parsonage (59), situated at almost the southern end of the block and extending through to Old Fisher Street. The Parsonage in 1556 was occupied by William Moots, parson of the adjacent church of St. Mary or Our Lady, as he is styled in the survey. But in Mary's reign he can hardly have exercised his calling there.

The Parsonage consisted of a mansion and garden. Near to it on the north Widow Gibson held five tenements and gardens called the Blinde Esyll (60). What this means I cannot say, but the name is so written most clearly both in the survey and in *Harl. MS.* 3880.

The houses on the east side of Old Fisher Street do not seem to have been of importance, and some of them are mentioned as having been taken a short time before the survey, for the erection of a mount or battery, which, according to the scheme for the fortifications of Calais, was "for the beating of the parke, the pawne, the downes, and the contreth all aboutes the same."

The site of Old Fisher Street, now the Rue Berthois, was the eastern limits of the French town, a large series of fortifications called the Tête de Gravelines being erected therein.

Again, commencing at Maisondieu Street, the corner of this and Castle Street was occupied by the Maisondieu, the hospital of the town (61) with its grounds, held by the mayor and aldermen of Calais.^b South of the ground occupied by this institution was a mansion with woolhouse, storehouse, and void ground called the Nettlebed^c (62) held by Thomas Windebank, late by the Lord Hastings.

South and east of this was the Artillery garden or ground, also called the Archery gardens (63) consisting of a tenement, great garden, and void ground held by John Jonys. This ground, which abutted east on Coxe Lane, was reached by a small lane leading also to the Nettle-bed from St. Nicholas Street on

^a Now Rue des Prêtres, one of the very few instances of an English street name being continued on by the French.

^b Turpyn, in the *Chronicle of Calais*, says that in 1527 "the church of the Maisondiewe, in the town of Calais, was taken down to the ground, and in the xiiij of May, in the 19 yere of Henry the Eighth was the first stone of the new worke layde." King Edward the Thirde conqueringe the towne, in all charters and patents, that he gave every howsynge or londs within the sayde towne he gave out of the same a quit-rent to the Maisondiewe, and Kyng Richard the Second dyd the lyke. Of the church there is no mention in the survey. This hospital continued long after the English occupation, and Maisondieu Street, now in this part called Rue St. Nicholas, was for some years called Rue de l'Hopital.

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Calais and the Pale.

the north, and was the place where, as we are told in *Gayle*, successfully competed with his yeomen of the guard at the archery. The lane now called the Rue du Hazard has at various times the name of St. Martin, des Archers, and des Harquebusiers.

At the south-west corner of the next street, Coxe Lane,^a was a mansion the Belstewe (64) with some twenty-five tenements, gardens, void ground, held by Nicholas Basse.

The next blocks of buildings, on the east, as seen on the plan *temp.* Henry VIII., had somewhat changed their arrangement at the time of the survey. In the former, bounded on the west by Coxe Lane and on the east by Great Friar Street, they were separated from east and west by a small lane. This ran from Coxe Lane to another, which traversed both blocks, from St. Nicholas Street to Henry Street, and was called in the survey Little Friar's Lane. This lane is not shown in the plan *temp.* Henry VIII.

At the corner of St. Nicholas Street and Coxe Lane Lord Brough held a mansion with cellars, etc. called the Christopher (65), and at the corner of the small lane running east and west, and Coxe Lane, Robert Horner and John Hilliard held a house called the King's Stewes (66), with three cottages, gardens, &c. Eustace Abington held a mansion called the Helme (67), with garden, woolhouse, etc. on the north side of this little lane, also at the corner of Coxe Lane.

On the south-west of this block, and at the corner of Coxe Lane and Hemp Street, was an oyle mill (58), held by John Buskin and Mathew Colclough, heirs of — Tate.

On the east of Little Friars' Lane, and between it and Great Friars' Street, Lord Lysle held the grounds belonging formerly to the Friars Carmes^b (69), with a church, mansion, woolhouses, cottages, gardens, &c. These were situated at the south of this strip of land, and reached to Hemp Street.

The south-east ward began on the east of Great Friar Street, now Rue Leveux, on the east side of which John Hounde held the tenement called The Blew Bell (70) near to which lived Nicholas Gardener, the Trumpeter of the town of Calais. At the corner of this street and St. Nicholas Street, William Johnson held "the Burdnexe (71), now called the Causkey" (cross-keys?). Next to this,

^a Now Rue de la Douane, the barracks of the custom-house officers being situate therein.

^b It was in 1397 that Richard II. gave the Carmes or White Friars this site, occupied in modern times by Dessin's Hotel.

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and at the corner of the market-place, was a place at one time called "the lyon;" but in 1556 held by the mayor, constables, and fellowship of the staple of Calais, and used as the town prison (72). It consisted of two mansions, cellars, &c., and here, also, was a weigh-house. This prison was in use as the prison of the town from 1436 until 1828, and it was not until 1845 that the modern prison was built on the site of another old prison in the north of the town, and the Palais de Justice erected on its site.

Just south of the Town Prison the same authorities held a plot (at one time a stable) on which was the Staple Prison (73). This was evidently for the punishment of offenders against the customs of the Staple of Calais.

The whole of the southern portion of this block between Friar Street and Roper Lane (which appears to have run through to Hemp Street) was held by the mayor, constables, and fellowship of the Staple, and included "a great mansion (74) ^a sometime called Prince's Inn, and now part of the staple." This lower part of Roper's Lane, now Rue de Guise, was, in 1510, by a grant of July 1 of that year, from the King, inclosed in the staple grounds, and so connected the Prince's Inn with the other possessions of the merchants of the staple. On the east side of Shewe Street, and between it and Roper's Lane, were Shewes gardens (75) held by Lord Brough, and bounded on the south by a watergang, now arched over and made a part of Roper's Lane leading west.

At the north-west corner of Roper's Lane and fronting on the market place, Eustace Abington held a mansion and cellar called the Key (76), and on his west John Irisshe held a tenement called the Golden Coppe (77); while on the opposite corner and extending between Roper's Lane and Brampton Street (now built over) was the Crane, or Crowne (78), a mansion and tenements held by the heirs of Richard Swart.

At the south end of this block were the main possessions of the Staple (79), consisting (besides those already noted) of eight tenements and gardens, four woolhouses, and much void ground, now enclosed in the staple garden.

On this land, which at the capture of the town was given by the grateful king to the Duke of Guise, stood the Cour de Guise,^b by which name it was consequently known; but in 1577 his son sold the whole to the town.

^a The old brick chimneys of octagonal section with crenellated tops can still be seen.

^b The archway leading into the courtyard has been figured in M. Hédoin's work, 1828, plate 18, and Calton's *Annals and Legends of Calais*, 1852, gives what purports to be a restored view of the gate. But little value can be attached to this last, and it must rank with another in Nodier's

On the east side of what was Brampton Street, and facing the market place, Leonard Holland held a tenement and cellar called the Scala Celi (80). The next street, Mingraven or Mingraveling Street, *temp.* Henry VI., or, as it was some time called, Our Lady Street,^a had on its west side low down a house place called the Slaughter-house (81), held by the heirs of Henry Poole, and just beyond this were situated four almshouses (82), held by the Trinity wardens of Our Lady church. Next to this street came Langham Street, now Rue St. Denis, and then Larden Street, now called Rue de la Rivière from its having the river from Guînes passing along it. A small lane called Biggin or Bingham Lane also led out of Milgate Street, southwards between Langham and Larden Streets. There seem to have been no houses of note hereabouts, but on the east of Larden Street, or Landover Street as it is sometimes called, was the church and churchyard of St. Mary (83), or Our Lady, the existing parish church of Calais.^b

South of the churchyard John Aster held a mansion and void ground called the Myddel Stewe (84); while a little east of this the Trinity wardens and Alice

Pittoresque Voyage en Picardie, which Calton calls "a paraphrase" of the building. In the courtyard some square-headed windows still remain.

^a Now Rue St. Michel.

^b The church of St. Mary or Our Lady is a building of the thirteenth century, with additions in the fifteenth and sixteenth, and a lady chapel in the shape of the vesica erected in 1631. The total length is about 286 feet with a breadth of 188 feet. The church consists of a nave about 95 feet long by 78 feet broad, with two aisles separated from it by five pairs of columns alternately circular and prismatic in section. The steeple, 191 feet in height, has always been a prominent landmark and is very frequently noted in the survey. There is an English Perpendicular window in the north aisle. A very incorrect view of it is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1814, and in the volumes for the years 1814 and 1816 are various notes about it and the town.

In this church "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence" married, in 1462, the daughter of the king-maker. In 1533, John Bouchier, Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, was buried there, and many other Englishmen were interred in the church during our occupation. Afterwards, in 1583, the burials were restricted in number by the fees being increased. In 1633 the large cistern or reservoir abutting on the church was built.

La Belle Anglaise, the great bell of the church cast in 1462 at the cost of — Flambe, was in 1710 recast, but was eventually broken up at the beginning of the Revolution, 1792. The wardens of the Trinity table* of this church held many sites in the town and the Scunnage. The churchyard was utilised in 1722 for the erection of barracks.

* This body, the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary, in the parish church of St. Mary, was founded by patent 30 Edward IV.

In 1556 it is noted that the total rents of obit lands, church lands, and brotherhood lands in Calais and the Pale, all of which land had been taken into the hands of the crown, amounted to 25*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

Clarke held "five tenements and gardens, now part of the Gramer Scole" (85). Stewes Street, now Rue du Presbytère, was the eastern bound of the churchyard and schools, and the next two blocks, separated by unnamed lanes, are of no interest except that the eastern one was taken for the erection of works to strengthen Develyn Tower.

It seems certain that there was at one time a fountain or conduit in the market place, but no signs of it remain.^a The two small blocks on the south side of the market were the Hall of the Mayor and Fellowship of the Staple of Calais (86), now the site of the Hôtel de Ville,^b and east of it the town hall (87), held by the mayor and aldermen of Calais. Of this building, the western part above was where they held their courts, beneath was a weigh-house and store-house occupied by the "Treasurer of Calais with the king's stuff and treasure in charge." The upper part of the eastern end, consisting of "2 great sellers" (*sic*) called gardeners, was held by the mayor and fellowship of the staple, who also held the lower part on the south side as a weigh-house for wool. Below, on the northern side, was the council chamber of the lord deputy. The chamber of London also held two houses called the Butcheries on the south side. Further east Margaret Baynham held a place between the council chamber and the wool pavement in tenure of Leonard Snowdon, alias Holland.^c

^a The Terrier of Miraulmont, c. 1580, mentions four small shops between the pillars of the fountain in the market place.

^b The modern Hôtel de Ville has at its west end the belfry originally erected in 1609 by Claude Monet, the mayor. The whole building was reconstructed in 1740, and the cupola again repaired in 1771. In 1821 the clock and carillon were renewed. Just above the clock-face are two gilt jacks in form of jousting knights, who retire and advance striking each other's shield at each stroke of the clock. Their date is not known, and Coney's drawing, circa 1840, does not show them, but they are said to be of the seventeenth century, and to commemorate the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The clock strikes at, and five minutes after, each hour, and at each hour a bell in the Tour du Gnet is also struck by hand. This, which used to be the signal for the curfew, cleansing of the streets, etc., is now only used at the hours.

^c The present place occupies the exact site of the old market place, where the watches used to assemble in the English days. There was at one time a fountain or conduit there, and in 1515 Sir Richard Wingfield refers to the necessity for such in his correspondence with Wolsey. When in 1818 the pavement in front of the Hotel de Ville was laid down it was found necessary to stop up and close a well which from time immemorial had existed about a yard from the walls of the town hall. This was one of the few wells in the town; the chief sources of supply for water were the cisterns erected in 1691 by M. de Laubanie, close to the church of Notre Dame, and others, and the river of Guines. A cross which was erected on the place d'armes in 1643, was destroyed in 1765,

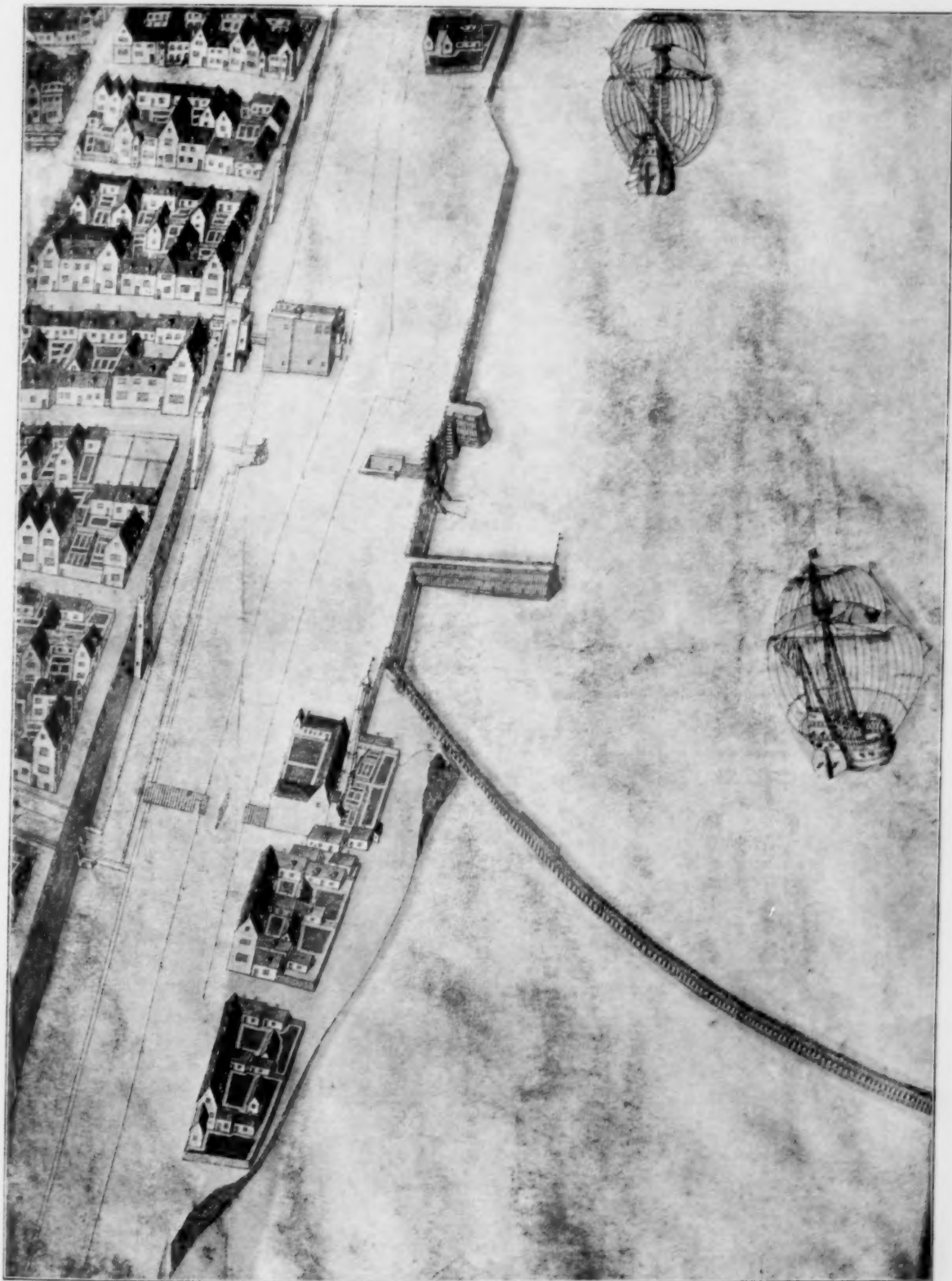


FIG. 5. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PART OF THE WHARF OF CALAIS *temp.* HENRY VIII.

(From Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 57*b*.) Taken from about the site of the Beauchamp Tower, where the modern lighthouse stands.



The Tour du Guet above the town hall is not mentioned in the survey.^a

The "Fauxboroughs" of Calais, on the north side, began on the east of the pier in front of the Watergate. There was here in 1487 "outside the Watergate, beside Paradise, a free chapel of St. Clement," which in that year was granted "for life in the way of charity" to Frere William Mason. There is also mentioned in the survey a crane in the Paradise near the town wall held by J. Banester. At the end of the pier was the Searchers' Tower (89), seen in the Cottonian view and plan. This marked the eastern end of the West Haven, and on it were the following holdings. At the outer end William Tirrey held the Olde Searcher's House. South of this John Malyn held the Ferry and Ferry house. Next to this was the official residence of the Water Bailiff, and next to the wharf stood the King's Ward house. East of the pier was the dock or inlet seen in the *Cottonian MS.* which had to its east the wharf of Paradise; a small lane from the wharf to the Herring market, which lay south of the wharf, separated both from Adrian Pryseley's holding.

East of this "the mayor and fellowship of the merchants of the staple of Calais held by patent of the king as feoffees to the twelve sisters of the order of St. Elizabeth," a similar strip of ground with dwelling-houses thereon. This piece of land did not reach to the wharf, for Pryseley held another piece along the wharf adjoining to his own, and having the mayor's, or, as it is called, the king's ground, as well as a piece held by Anthony Bardsley, on which stood the Three Kings, between it and the highway.

East of Bardsley's holding was a plot of land, on which were the Roose,

and in 1751 a well was attempted to be sunk opposite the Hôtel de Ville but without success. Again, in 1842 an artesian well was begun in the south-east part of the place called now the *Marché aux herbes*, this also failed. Executions took place on the market place, part of which from the name of the site of the Staple Hall, the Pillory Haven granted to that body by Richard II. in 1389, was evidently the scene of minor punishments also. Turpyn mentions the pillory in the market places under the year 1538. In 1540, "Ser William Peterson, prist late commissary of Calais and the marches, and Ser William Richardson, late maior's preste," who had been tried at the Guildhall, London, on charges as to the Pope's supremacy, were hanged. As late as 1820 a coiner was guillotined in this place.

^a It was repaired in 1606, having been much damaged by an earthquake in 1580, which caused the fall of one half of it. It was again repaired and ornamented in 1811, and in 1818 the light was established on its summit till 1849, when the present lighthouse was finished. The hall, where the public scales were, was burnt by accident in 1658.

the George,^a and many other tenements, and a piece of ground called the Old Carpentry. These, which were all held by the same Pryseley, stretched along the wharf, having the highway on the south.

Eastward was more land called the King's Ground, and between part of this and the highway the mayor and fellowship of the Staple held a plot of land 120 feet square, on which Robert Clare had a houseplace. East, again, the mayor, constables and fellowship of the merchants of the Staple of Calais held of the king by patent as feoffees to the sisters a houseplace sometime called the Hermitage, and now the Suster House, served by twelve sisters of the order of St. Elizabeth.^b This ground was 300 feet from east to west, and 160 from north to south. The sisters had the King's Ground on the north, and the highway and a small holding of Thomas Tutchet on the south.

The Suster House it is stated in the survey was founded for Hospitalitie of poor souldiers, and appears to have been continued in use as a hospital long after the French returned.

Though described in the survey as just by the Lantern Gate, the bird's eye view of the wharf (Plate XXVII.) and the view from the sea both show it further east, in fact, the lofty tower was opposite the block of buildings between Larden and Pickering Streets. The next buildings east of the Suster House were opposite the end of Larden Street. The turnpike (90) stood at the east end of the Suster House and is well shown in the bird's-eye view. It was also the eastern bound of Tutchet's small holding.

^a The George Inn without the walls is mentioned in 1527 as a place where travellers, arriving after the gates were closed, stayed till the morning.

^b Now the Whyte Harte.

^c According to Demotier some Dominican nuns received permission from Mary in 1553 to come from Therouenne and settle in Calais under the protection of the Archbishop of Canterbury. These were either the sisters of St. Dominic mentioned by Lord Lisle in his letter to Cromwell (see Ellis's letters, iii. s. vol. ii.) or else a fresh lot who took advantage of the change of religion on Mary's accession. Lord Lisle mentions that the sisters, most of whom were strangers, "desire to depart, because they will not be obedient to the King's Acte." An inventory of their goods was ordered to be made, and they were forbidden to depart till permission should be granted. The sisters of 1556 it appears were allowed to remain after the conquest by the French, and perhaps the fact of being strangers was the cause. In 1620 they were formally settled and established by the magistrates under their superior Jane Delanoy, who died the same year, aged 105. A namesake of hers, John Delanoy, held a tenement and cellar fronting on the Market Place in 1556. These sisters, under the name of Hospitallers, looked after the poor, receiving a subvention of eight sous a day for each patient, and in 1642 were established at the west end of the present Rue de la Cloche.

The block of buildings east of the Suster House was 300 feet by 200 feet, and was held by the mayor, etc. of the Staple. John Hopkins held a space 70 by 70 feet east of this. Next to this Walter Rowland and Mighell Fychell held house-places, and still further on Peter Mighell held land with a licence for a windmill, as also had John Tuck. After these mills came the warren of conies of the Downs and Scunnage.^a

Cott. MS. Aug. I. ii. 57 *b.* gives a very interesting bird's-eye view of part of the wharf of the town, a portion of which is shown in Plate XXVII. The arrangement of the houses with their gardens, void grounds, etc., in blocks or quadrants is very well shown. It will be seen that there is a palisading on the outside of the ditch of the town as far west as about the end of Pickering Street, where the fence turns at right angles across the wharf, enclosing various buildings, one of which has a steeple. Where the roadway passes the palisading ceases, and a turnpike is shown which is seen to be a section of the palisading pivoting on a post in the centre of the road, so that a double passage may be made when open. For convenience, there is a small gate or door at the side, so that when the turnpike was closed guards or others might pass in or out.

These turnpikes existed in many places in the Pale, and the names *Planche tournoire* along Guînes River, *Ferme Tournant* on the Sandgate road, and many similar names mark the sites of the old gates. In the account of the Duke of Guise's attack on Calais it is mentioned that holes were made through the turnpikes by the English in order to be able by musketry to dislodge the French who had sheltered themselves outside the turnpikes. This would imply that the palisading was not furnished with salients for flank defence, nor could it be seen through.

^a The modern Courgain, north of the turnpike on the wharf, is not mentioned in the survey, and the origin and meaning of its name are still doubtful. In the early days of the French conquest the site was surrounded by palisades, within which lived the fisher-folk. In 1623 a wall was built, and four years later regular streets arose, but it was not till 1853 that the church was built.

According to M. Demotier, documents at Lille prove the erection in 1444 of the first jetty. In 1533, when large works were carried on for the improvement and defence of Calais, a west pier was built, and in the survey of 1556 the two jetties east and west are often mentioned. Like the other works on the sea-front, these often suffered from storm, and the charges for repairs occur very frequently in the accounts. In 1687 new wooden piers were built and prolonged in 1700, and have since been often improved.

As the name implies, the chief lighthouse of Calais was at the Lantern Gate, and this was thought sufficient until 1818, when a light was established in the top of the *Tour du Guet*, but was done away with in 1845, when the present handsome lighthouse was erected on what was the site of the old Beauchamp Tower.

To give some idea of the state of the town in 1556 it may be stated that besides the buildings noted there were about thirty almshouses, and about seventy-eight houses called "mansions" in the survey. Six brewhouses, above eight store houses, some eighty-one wool houses, and twenty-two herring-hangs or sales. The wardens of the Trinity tables of St. Nicholas and of Our Lady churches held respectively twenty-three and fifty-four tenements.^a

This state of things looks prosperous, and it is difficult to realise the great change which in 1560 had come over the place when the Commissioners of the French King report that the whole town was in utter ruin.

In the Pale the gradual neglect of the English possessions may be seen in the fact that of the twenty-six clergy of the town and Pale in 1532 thirteen were absent, and of the rest, four livings were held by royal chaplains, one by the chamberlain's chaplain, and Mark, Guemp, Calkwell, and Nele had only one rector, John Bennolt, to look after them. Of the absentees were the rectors of St. Mary's and St. Peter's, whilst St. Nicholas was vacant.

Of the appearance of Calais in English times there are a few examples. The illumination in Froissart of the siege of the town is quite conventional, but in Rouse's *Life of Richard Earl of Warwick*, c. 1487 (*Cott. MS. Julius E. iv.*) printed in vol. ii. of Strutt's *Horda*, is a sketch at Plate LIV. showing the fighting in 1436, when the Duke of Burgundy attacked the town. The background shows Calais from the land side, and was evidently founded on some very rough sketch of the place supplied to the artist. This is the earliest view to which any value can be attached. In the *Cottonian MS. Aug. I, ii.* are several views and plans of Calais and the Pale executed *temp.* Henry VIII. Of these No. 57 is a plot of the town and part of the Pale. The sketch of the town is small but distinct. No. 57b is a beautiful pen and ink drawing of the wharf, Risbank, etc., a bird's-eye view (see Plate XXVII.). The ships are exquisitely drawn, and the blocks of houses, though conventional, give an excellent idea of the arrangement of a town about 1540. No. 70, a view of Calais from the sea, is very good, and has with No. 71, a plot of the town and Pale, been engraved in the Camden Society's *Chronicle of Calais*. No. 51 is a general plan of Guînes Castle. No. 52, a highly coloured plan and view of Guînes, is full of interesting detail. No. 23, a plan of the town and part of the castle of Guînes, has been published in the Camden Society's *Life of Lord Grey of Wilton*. It will be observed that in the views of Calais very many tiled roofs are shown (though in the survey many thatched cottages are mentioned), in

^a According to Ferres, at the surrender 4,200 persons passed out of the town.

accordance with the order in 1413 that all houses were to be roofed *tegulis vel sclatis*. Another valuable view to be consulted is the Field of Cloth of Gold at Hampton Court, where Guînes Castle is seen in a much distorted view in the foreground, whilst Hammes Castle appears in the midst of the inundated low lands, and Calais with its towers stands out on the horizon.^a

The view of the west end of Calais in the Cowdray pictures is intelligent, but the castle is treated very conventionally. The Italian engraving of the capture of Calais published in 1558 is more of a plan than a view.

The town of Calais enjoyed many privileges conferred on it by its English sovereigns, the first of whom, Edward III. confirmed the liberties and customs which he found then in force. Richard II. granted to the mayor the very special privileges of a sword and sword-bearer with maces and mace-bearers. The sword which the king gave in the first year of his reign was to be carried point upwards save in the presence of the king or the lord deputy. Succeeding sovereigns confirmed and added to the privileges of this town.

In 1535 Henry VIII. for various considerations obtained all the lands, etc., of the Staple except the Staple hall in the market place. This action was owing to the enormous debts incurred by that body, who appear in 1523 to have owed the king £2,300. It is not proposed, however, in this paper to give an account of the history or objects of the Staple of Calais.

It has been generally stated by French writers that Edward III. changed the ancient arms of Calais, St. Bertin in a boat, to a portcullis, as signifying that the town was a gate into France. Of course, this is absurd, the portcullis being merely the Beaufort badge, which later on, was here, as elsewhere, placed on royal buildings, etc. The seal of the mayor of Calais, however, gives us the arms and presents them in a curious way. This seal, about two inches in diameter, bears within the legend :

✱ SIGILLVM : MAIORA | TVS : VILLÆ : DCA : CALAIS

^a The artist, in his desire to show as much as possible, has put the Catt of the south face close to the gateway on the north-east corner.

There are also sketchy views of Calais, etc., in the tapestries at Madrid illustrating the exploits of the archduke Albert when the Spaniards overran the country in 1597.



Fig. 6. SEAL OF THE MAYOR OF CALAIS.

a boar passant, fastened to whose neck is a cloak flying up in the air. On this cloak are the arms: *Barry undée, a lion rampant*.^a The boar is here a pretty example of a supporter, and a parallel instance of such a cloak may be seen



Fig. 7. SEAL OF THE
STAPLE OF CALAIS.

in the half-florin of Edward III., which bears a crowned leopard sejant, with a cloak round his neck charged with the arms of France and England quarterly.^b Another example is seen in an illumination in Froissart, showing Charles le Bel receiving the English queen Isabel. The king's dog wears such a cloak, but *semée* of fleurs de lys. The charge on the Calais arms is of course an English lion, while the *Barry undée* is found on the shield of arms of most merchants adventurers as typical of the sea. The boar's presence is

accounted for thus: Laurence Minot in his cotemporary poem on the achievements of Edward III. quotes a prophecy of Merlyn as to a boar which should trouble various countries. Minot sees in the boar the king and refers to him often in such terms. Other poems of the time also associate Edward with this animal, as may be seen in Wright's political poems.

The staple of Calais adopted a variation of these arms, as shown in the seal of the Staple, which bears a shield, *Barry undée, on a chief, a lion of England*. The legend is *Sigillū : testimoniae : staple : calicie* :

The seal of the king as lord of Calais bears on the obverse, which is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, the king riding on horseback to the sinister on a field *semée* of roses. His surcoat, shield, and trappes bear the royal arms, France and England, quarterly. The legend when complete reads :

**Sigillum : Edwardi : dei : gracia : regis : anglie : et (long floral spray) :
francie : & : dni : hibernie.**

On the reverse, which is only $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, is a triple-towered gateway with a rose beneath a portcullis and two others slipped and leaved above the battlements. The legend is the same as on the obverse.

^a M. Demay, who engraves this seal in his *Inventaire des Sceaux de l'Artois et de la Picardie*, No. 1,036, describes the boar as *cravatté*, and the cloak as *vair au lion*.

^b I am indebted to our President, Dr. Evans, for this cotemporary instance.

This seal was in use from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VIII., and perhaps even later, and the legend has at various times been much altered. Impressions exist in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office.

In *Stowe MS.* 289, entitled *Aspilogia*, Thomas Astle gives at fig. 626:

"The seal of King Edward the 3^d which he used as King of France within the district of Calais appendant to a deed in the possession of Thos. Astle Esq. (now L.C.F. viii. 1).

It is observable that in the legend round the seal the king is stiled King of France and England . . . Upon the shield are the arms of England and France impaled, but upon the caparisons of the horse the arms of France are quartered before those of England . . . Upon the reverse is the gate of Calais.

N.B. This seal is not engraved by Sandford and is supposed to be unique."

This seal bears the inscription: EDWARDI DEI GRATIA REX FRANCIE ET ANGLIE. On the reverse is the counter-seal, about 1½ inch in diameter, in which is shown a triple-tower and gateway with portcullis. The tops of the towers are crenellated. The field is *semée* of quatre-foils. The legend is: * s. p^o visu' · p · T^o RIS · ET · IN · PTIB^o · CALESIE. The document to which this seal is attached is a grant of a messuage, etc., in Calais from the king to W. Baudell, dated 26 March, 24 Edward III.

The SCUNNAGE, Scabinage or Eschevinage of the English time, is now represented by the commune of St. Pierre* and part of Sangatte. The old limits of the Scunnage were on the west at the sea-coast some 1,160 rods from Risbank Tower. From this point a dyke ran south-south-east to a spot on the bank of the river where three stakes were planted. The river called the Flowe branched off from the river to Hammes, and at the seaside end of the dike was the Hoke, the ancient place of execution of the lordship of Sandgate. Thence ran another dyke parting the Scunnage and the county of Guînes as far as the Plash. From the Plash ran the Ware, also called the New Arts, separating the Scunnage from Colham parish as far as the crossway from Colham church, where the Delph or Elf way continued the line of partition to the house of Hugh Conceil, bailiff of Colham. At this point (just below Les Hautes Champs of the modern map) started Cranebrook Street, north-west to where the Green Bank from the north parted Mark from the Scunnage. The Green Bank ran from this point to the sea-coast about 1,216 rods east of the East Jetty. The land for about 330 rods west of this point was called Newland. According to the survey the Scun-

* The ancient names of this part, Petresse, Peturnesse, and Petrenesse (charters of St. Bertin), referred to the stony bank extending from Newhaven Bridge to Mark, some 870 rods.

nage consisted of 5,502 acres, not inclusive of the town and "faux boroughs," and was divided into the following plots: A plot of 305 acres stretched from Mark to the Park of Calais, and had for its southern limit the Hollet, which has since been canalized. In this plot against Mark lay the common of Calais, about 148 acres of which were held as livery lands by the ordinary soldiers of the garrison. South of the common and against Mark the Lieutenant of Calais Castle held 45 acres, his livery lands. On the soldiers' livery lands stood the Waterhouse shown in the Cottonian map. The plot south of this was a large one of 1385 acres, in which the chief officials of Calais held their livery lands. The plot reached south as far as the great old river, and west to the new river.

The Lord-lieutenant held in detached portions about 220 acres as livery lands. These lay generally south of the More Dyke or North Watergang. East of some of them, and between the Heath and the Little Common, the Lord Deputy held his livery of sixty acres. The High Marshal's livery lands of 120 acres lay between the More Dyke and the highway, having to the west the lands of the Under-Marshall, but no quantity is mentioned. The Comptroller's land, some twenty-five acres, was south of the highway. The sixty acres of the Treasurer abutted on Mark, and were south of the Hollet. The Heath, of which 360 acres were let to the parish of St. Peters, while an equal number were unlet, abutted on Mark. The Little Common of St. Peters, of nineteen acres, was south of the lord deputy's land. The Great Common extended also into this plot, and the soldiers of the garrison held ninety-eight acres lying south of the town ditches and the Lead. At the east end of their land was the Waterhouse (shown in the Cottonian map), which stood in their land in the plot of 305 acres. St. Peter's church (by the bridge) and the Parsonage were also in this plot; and at the other end of it, Widow Marshall held ten acres of pasture called the Rosebush, and other lands north of the heath and abutting on Mark. West of her, Sir Maurice Denys held, besides other lands, twenty-nine acres at a rent of 30*s.* 9*d.* and a gilt spur value 3*s.* 9*d.* Francis Wilford held some twenty-six acres, portions of Grampnall's pasture between the Hollet and the highway. A windmill south of the highway was held by Robert Whethill. South of this plot, and abutting on Mark on two sides, was one of 780 acres, in which Hugh Concill, the bailiff of Colham, held 100 acres, fifty-two of which between the Old River and Crane Street, also called Piers Watergang, were part of a pasture called Winklyne and Chantrey. Griffith Appenrith held twenty-one acres south of the river, and once part of the North and South Brook.

To the south of the town and sea beach was a large plot of 1,145 acres, which,

with the last and the next one of ninety-five acres, includes a large portion of the modern manufacturing town of St. Pierre. These 1,145 acres extended from the New River to Newenham bridge, having the Old River as its southern limit. In it J. Lymbroke held the Mare, of fifteen acres, near to St. Peter's church, and Richard Sacville had twenty-five acres, called the Hopfield. George Trappes^a had four acres abutting on the New River and the Old River, "paying yearly as parcel of 12s. 9d. and a speare hedles at 9d."

Many cases are mentioned in this plot of land given "in recompense for land taken for the fortifications of Newenham bridge."

West of Guînes River was a plot of ninety-five acres, in which were some of the lands held by the Maisondieu, or hospital of Calais; and J. Thomas held thirty-six acres, part of Winklyne and Chantrey, already mentioned as an old pasture that occupied part of the plot of 780 acres. Other portions of this pasture were held by Sir Maurice Denys.

West of this plot, and between the Old River on the north and the New Arts on the south, was a plot of 243 acres reaching to Calkwell, from which the parish of St. Peter's was separated by the Old River. No holdings of interest are noted in the survey. The next two plots lay beyond the Newenham Bridge, in what is now the parish of Sangatte. The first, of 205 acres, was divided from the other of 351 acres by the Flowe running from the Havon toward Sandgate. No holdings of note are mentioned in this plot. The second one, which was a salt marsh, "overflowed at every tide," called Dykeland, was held by Sir Maurice Denys. North of it were the West Downs and conigree held by the captain of Guînes as far as a point called French Gapp, 455 rods west of Risbane, where the downs and conigree were claimed by the captain of that fort as far as a point seventy rods east. The Scunnage contained 4,509 acres with a rent of 110*l.* 8*s.* 7½*d.*

The perambulation of the Pale in the survey speaks of the dyke parting the Scunnage from Dykeland; but there must be some confusion, as the latter was included in the Scunnage, and the dyke parted that district from the county of Guînes. After the French conquest the limits of the commune representing the Scunnage were determined by firing a cannon loaded with one-half French powder the other half English, and where the shot fell was made the boundary.

The church of St. Pierre is now built up in a large hospital. It was in this old church, a building of the thirteenth or fourteenth century according to various authorities, that in 1500 Henry VII. met the Archduke Philip (father of Charles V.).

^a A London goldsmith.

Great festivities were held in the building, which was richly decorated with tapestries, etc. In 1532 we are told that the rector Dominico de Corsis was reported to be dead, and had not been there for thirty years. The French Commissioners, in December 1558, speak of the ruins of the said church; and the building of later times only dated from 1608.

The town of St. Pierre was separated from Calais in 1790.

For the tolls of the Scunnage, see Appendix III.

ANDREN, OR OUTINGEN, occupied much the same ground as its modern representative Andres. It lay north of the Boar Way, parting it from Campe, east of Spillac, from which the Morrell Way and part of the common street divided it. Eastward it touched Ballangen, and northward it extended to the great stream from Ardres. In the survey its extent is given as 1,163 acres, with a total rent of 48*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*, and it is divided into the following plots: Stretching across the parish, and parted from Campe by the Boar Way, was a plot of 165 acres, reaching to the Ewlin Way, which divided it from another of 215 acres south of the way from Guines to Andren village. North of this, and touching Ballangen on the east, was a plot of 350 acres, having on its west the common street leading to Clayes Wood (the Clairsous of the modern map) and to the common. West of this way was another plot of 153 acres, south of Clayes Wood. In the north-east of the parish, and abutting north on the great stream from Ardres, was a plot of 200 acres called the marsh or common of Andren, mostly under water. West of the common, and between the great stream and the common street, was a plot of seventy acres, in which was Clayes Wood at its southern end. The common street compassed this plot on the north and west, and then made a bend, enclosing a small plot of ten acres between it and the great stream. East of Clayes Wood the Clayshot of the Cottonian map stood, anciently the abbey of Andren, the site of which is shown on M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map. It was probably near where Le Banc du Loup is marked on the modern map. Thomas Stone held half a house place in Clayes Wood and half another place "by the abbey." J. Pounce also held land abutting east on the way to Ballangen and north on Abbey Hill. Andren Bulwark, though shown in the Cottonian map and in M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map as on the great river, is not mentioned in the survey. It was probably north of Clayes Wood. The abbey was destroyed by the English in 1347, when the monks retired to Ardres pending the re-establishment of the place. It was again destroyed in 1544. A Hollow Lane is mentioned as running from the Ewlin Way to the common. John Sybrande held a part of the Bredest, of which Thomas Franks held the remainder, but the place has not been identified.

BALLANGEN, now Balinghem, the nearest part of the English Pale to the French fortress of Ardres, has not much changed its limits. It lay east of Andren and Camp, and south of Jones' Bulwark, having three-fifths of its borders on the Pale. In the survey it is sometimes called Bavelinghem, a name that occurs in charters as early as 1034, but the shorter form, Balinghem, appears as early as 1178. The parish of 850 acres was divided into the following plots: At the south end a small triangle of 28 acres touched Camp, and reached north as far as the Boar Way, above which another one of 80 acres lay south of the Ewlin Way. Between the Ewlin Way and the road from Guînes to Ardres passing by Andren were two plots the western one of 90 acres and the eastern one of 210 acres. These were separated by a way from Camp to Ballangen and a place called in the survey Martin Catchore; what this was it is difficult to say, no tenant of the name appears in the list in the survey, nor does any modern or ancient map give any information. North of these two plots were two others of 230 and 212 acres lying west and east of the same way, and bounded on the north by the commons of Ballangen and Brêmes. Of Ballangen waste or common, the survey gives no details as to size, but it states that it had on the west the Black Ditch, Whethill's Plash, by the Abbot's Meads, and lastly Jones' Bulwark, from which a stream to Ardres Plash formed the north limit; Ardres Plash and a stream from Brêmes Common bounding it on the east. The castle, of which there are no remains nor indication of the site, was taken by the English in 1354, re-taken in 1377, and again seized by the English in 1412. In 1436 the village was burnt by the duke of Burgundy's troops on their way home after the unsuccessful attack on Calais.

The Chester herald of the period of the survey held some 88 acres in the parish and Nicholas Worsley had on the Black Ditch a house place and land called the Havon House. Near to Andren Common William Masters held a mansion called Peerles Place with 26 acres. The total rent of the parish was 67*l.* 0*s.* 6½*d.*

It is said that the congress for the establishment of peace between Henry VIII. and Francis I. met here.

BONNINGES, which has preserved its name unchanged from at least 1153, when "altare de Bonninges" occurs in a charter of St. Bertin, was situated, as now, south-east of Pepling, south-west of Froyton, north-west of Pitham and a small portion of St. Fricat, and north-east of Hervelingen and Sandingfield. In the survey its extent is given as 2,143 acres with a rental of 60*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.* If the general limits of this parish have not changed much since the English occupation,

the chief roads have in many cases been since then laid out somewhat differently to what we find in the survey. According to that description it was divided into the following plots: Commencing at the western corner a plot of 585 acres extending eastward to a way to Calkwell, had on its south another of 380 acres reaching east to the same road. South of this was a small plot of 50 acres extending eastward to the road from Pitham to Bonninges, and touching on the south-east another small plot of 77 acres which abutted south on Pitham parish. North-east of this and just south of the village of Bonninges was another plot of 66 acres. The eastern portion of the parish was divided into three plots abutting east on Froyton parish and containing respectively from south to north 263, 382, and 340 acres. The first two of these were parted by the way from Sandingfield through Bonninges village to Froyton village. The two last by a way from Bonninges village to Calkwell. In the last plot Richard Whethill held 108 acres and the heirs of Nicholas Whethill held some 150 acres and a mansion called Crewater. In the same plot John Hounde held 16 acres called Hardincamp in the northern corner of the parish. In the survey the eastern or north-eastern boundary of the parish is said to be the Ewlin Way and a way with a cross. This cross stood at the junction of the parishes of Bonninges, Froyton and St. Tricaise. On the north-west boundary at the north end the four parishes of Bonninges, Pepling, Calkwell, and Froyton met, while at the south end Scales, Hervelinghem, and Bonninges met at the point. In this parish the farm of l'Anglaise recalls the English occupation but the farm of 1566 has not been identified in the survey. The farm of le Buisson however takes its name from "a bush or shrub with a cross and hand thereon," which was on the way from Wadingthum in Pitham, now Wadenthum, forming the south-west bound of the parish.

BUCCARD, or Bokernes, exists no longer as a separate parish but its name survives in the parish of Hames Boueres, which now includes the two English parishes. Buccard consisted of two pieces of land, the smaller and more westerly portion being a strip which ran from the village of Stone on the borders of Pitham in a north-westerly direction between St. Tricat and Hammeswell to about where the Ewlin Way crossed those parishes. The eastern portion lay between Pitham and Hammeswell on the west and Mellac, from which the way to Fynes parted it on the east, the Pale forming its northern and southern limits. The extent of this portion was 1,051 acres and the rent of both amounted to 42*l.* 0*s.* 2½*d.*. The parish was in both parts traversed by the Ewlin Way, and the eastern or larger part was also crossed by Guines Way, the Boar Way, and Fines Way, the last forming its eastern limit near the Pale.

Adrian Spryte, who held 179 acres in the north of the parish, also held a pasture called Bush. Sir William Perton held Buccard Windmill, but neither of these sites are shown on the map.^a Hopyards are mentioned as occurring in the parish, which contained 1,051 acres.

In the survey Buccard is divided into various plots as follows: Commencing at the Pale and running along the borders of St. Tricat and Hammes was a strip of 41 acres quite detached from the rest of the parish.^b Again beginning at the Pale and extending northward as far as the way to Fines was a plot of 168 acres. North of this a plot of 580 acres reached as far as the Ewlin Way. Between this and the Guïnes Way was a smaller one of 130 acres and yet northward between this last and the parish of Hammeswell was a plot of 80 acres. The Boar Way traversed the plot of 580 acres in an easterly direction, while the Hollow Lane ran north and south approximately joining and crossing the Ewlin Way and Fynes Way.

In the north of the parish was a place called the Grene Common or Little Grene, where there was a bridge over the stream which branched off from the Goyle.

CALKWELL, now Coquelles, has changed in extent more than most of the parishes of the Pale. This is owing much to the disappearance on the map of the large plashes or sheets of water that, with numerous creeks and a small main stream, made up the river which, starting from the Guïnes river above that town, passed through the marsh land near Hammes Castle, the eastern portions of St. Tricaise, Nele, and Frethun, the large plash of Calkwell, and eventually running through the sluices of the fort at Newenham Bridge, entered the prolongation of the Haven of Calais a little south of another stream, the Flowe, which extended towards Sandgate. From this main stream flowed other streams or creeks such as Cheritree Creek, Arbenweavers Creek, Bowker's Creek, Ruskede Creek, Locker's Creek, all in Calkwell. Cleneclakers Creek or Quellmouth parted Froyton from the parishes of Calkwell and Boderick. In this creek or plash was the Lodge. In Froyton parish were Le Tubbe Creek and Little Bridge Creek, and in Nele was St. Margaret's Creek, while in St. Tricaise were the Kyve Hoke and others not specially named. The Goyle parted the Scunnage from the county of Guïnes and reached from the borders of Calkwell plash to the river which went toward Sandgate. Modern draining has obliterated most of the above creeks, etc. and the

^a The mill no longer exists.

^b At the south of this strip was the village of Stone, now called *la Pierre*.

only traces of them are in the survey where their position is recorded in not very distinct terms.

The parish of Calkwell then was bounded on the west by Sandgate and Pepling, on the south it touched Bonninges for a short distance, and on the south-east it abutted on Froyton up to the bank of the Plash. On the north-east it was limited by the Plash and at Newenham Bridge it met the Scunnage. Included in Calkwell parish was an older parish called Boderick which was the portion of the whole parish lying next to Froyton. There were also in earlier times two other parishes called Newenham Bridge and Milman Brook, but these are only casually referred to in the survey. They were situated really in the marsh land between Colham and Calkwell, Milman Brook^a being separated from the West Main Brook by the Scales Dike, and Newenham Bridge of 500 acres lay between the Scunnage and Milman Brook. The old village of Calkwell, though in the English days an important place, fell after the changes of 1558 into decay and the ruins of the church alone mark its site, the French inhabitants having made the village of La Chaussée, in Sangatte, their home. Near the old church are the remains of a fort built by Guilbert of Frethun, who unsuccessfully opposed Henry V.

In the survey the parish was divided into the following plots: 339 acres north of the New River, and between the Plash on the east and the road from Calkwell to Newenham Bridge on the west. South of this plot was one of 815 acres having on its east the river from Hammes to Newenham Bridge, *i.e.*, beyond the Plash, and on its west the road from Guînes to the bridge. West of this, and like it bounded on the south by Froyton, were 318 acres reaching west to the Boulogne Way. The Plash of Calkwell, called also Whethill's Fishery, lay south of the Old Goyle or river from Hammes Castle to the bridge, and was 40 acres in extent. Another plot of 940 acres, sometimes called Newenham Bridge parish, lay south and west of the Scunnage and east of the Plash, and another plot called Milman Brook or the West Marsh had the Scunnage on its north and east but the Old River on its west.

Peter Evered held a place called Cales Hooke between the fishery and a way called the Drewer. In the west of the parish a way to the chalkpits on the borders of Sandgate and Pepling is mentioned under the name of Branskate. The spot called Brand's Gapp may be another reading of this name. The name Calkwell occurs in a charter of Bishop Milo, of 1145 or 1147, where "altare de Qual-

^a 440 acres.

quella" is mentioned, but, as has been noted elsewhere, it is not in the Treaty of Bretigny, as suggested by some French writers. In the *Chronicle of Andres* of the twelfth century Boderick is called Budreke. In the survey the whole extent of the parish is given as 2,452 acres, including the sub-divisions of Boderick, Newenham Bridge Parish, and Milman Brook. The rent of Calkwell, including the first of these, was 52*l.* 18*s.* 3¼*d.*, and that of Milman Brook, 48*l.* 3*s.* 1¼*d.* Martyn's Hoke of about 120 acres was held by J. Johnson and the Trinity table of St. Nicholas church in Calais, but its position has not been identified. In the southern part of the parish William de Master held 5 acres, called Bedlem, abutting on the Ewlin Way, and in Boderick Joice Dulle held the Oxe pasture of 103 acres abutting on the fishery. A farm called the Causey and Calkwell Waste were held by Robert Whethill, who also held the Red Chamber, one of three house-places called Mustertons, with a conigree, in all 13 acres abutting on his land in Froyton. When the fortifications of Newenham Bridge were enlarged, *temp.* Henry VIII., many of the tenants of land in the vicinity had other lands given them. Amongst these were the heirs of R. Paradise, one of the family an early member of which probably was responsible for the place of that name on the north of the town. The New Bullen Way was no doubt the result of the addition to the defences and was more to the north-west than the Old Bullen Way.

CAMP, now Campagne, though occupying part of the same position as in the English days, was then larger in extent, for it extended south-west to the English Pale over part of what is now Guînes Parish. In the survey the following plots are given: Commencing on the Pale, and reaching south-east to the street running through Camp village was the plot of 745 acres of woodland. In this and between Vinks Valley (separating the parish from Spellac) and the Nydeseaw, or, as it was also called, Bird's Nest Valley, were 221 acres called the Queen's Woods. These extended northward as far as the Rigalls in Spellac. Between Bird's Nest Valley and the Picardy Woods outside the Pale were 274 acres more of the Queen's Woods extending northward to the Cattery drises. This name occurs in M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map, but is not shown in modern maps. Sir R. Windebank held "a bush" called the Padolls, of 11¼ acres, and another of 16 acres, called Trane, both in this plot. The next plot was one of 610 acres of arable land extending northward to the way from Guînes to Camp village. In this plot was the church on the west side of the village street, which was called the Rue de France, and parted the two nationalities, the portion of the modern parish shown as Berck at no time forming part of the English Pale. In this plot, also, Richard

Gryme held one-third of the place called Cowfootes or Cowvotes, J. Reymes holding 23 acres of the same place, to the east of which was a lane to the woods. Between this plot and the parish of Andren, from which it was parted by the Bore or Bear Way, was a plot of 460 acres, in which a way called the Butter Way was situated, but which cannot be identified. It apparently ran eastward from the Morrel Way, which separated the parish from Spellac. J. Prowde and Leon Case held a house place called th'Abbey Hill, not identified. The survey gives the extent of the parish as 2,275 acres, with a rent of 47*l.* 10*s.* 4¼*d.* It was in this parish, and perhaps extending into Andren, that the site of the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold is said to have been. It is curious that in the survey, taken only thirty-six years after the event, there is absolutely no reference to the meeting. The site so shown on modern maps is certainly about midway between Guines and Ardres, but the breadth of Ballangen parish intervenes between the supposed site and Ardres, and we are told that the camp was just within the Pale; and, again, the high road from Guines to Ardres then and now was to the north of the Boar Way, on which the site is marked. Going along the road from Guines to Ardres, at about 3½ kilometres from Guines and 5½ from the latter place, a valley is crossed which runs from the south-south-west up to the windmill in Andren. If this is the Vallis Aurea, Henry was well within his own territory, and the two kings must have moved slowly to have required an hour and a half to do the distance. It would appear, also, that the name was given not alone for the splendid encampment, but was the actual name of the valley, perhaps due to its fertility.

Soardino, the Mantuan ambassador to France, mentions that the two mounds on which the English and French halted, about a bow-shot from each other, were raised expressly for this occasion.

This parish appears sometimes to have shared with Ballangen the services of one parson, for in 1537 it is noted that the individual so acting was just dead.

COLHAM, now Coulogne, was divided into two parts, of which the high land was called the Isle of Colham or Colne. This so-called island was in the northern part of the parish, and is still clearly noticeable. The boundary of Colham, according to the survey, was, on the north, the New Arts which parted it from the Scunnage as far as the street from Colham Castle to Colham Bridge. Thence the boundary ran along the Delph or Elf Way, which parted it from Mark and ended at Hugh Concill's house at the beginning of Cranebrooke Street. Its southern limit thence was the Sing Dike, as far as Calkwell, which formed its western boundary.

The parish was divided into two plots of 550 and 522 acres on the west and

east sides of the street, running north and south from Colham Bridge to the Sing Dike. Through the parish from west to east and commencing at the turnpike of Colham ran Colham Street, which, passing the church, separated Mark parish from Colham and then ran to Guemp Bridge.

The Green Hill of $26\frac{1}{2}$ acres, held by George Rosham, as well as 125 acres of the North Mede, lay a little to the east of Guines River. Nicholas Whethill's heirs held 106 acres at the west end of the parish west of Guines River and south of the New Arts, which seems to have been another name for the Ware, or at least that part of it west of the spoye, by which it entered Guines River. G. Blosham, also held 110 acres on the east of Guines River and north of the Sing Dike. In the survey Skallis Dike is said to divide Colham from the Main-broke, which would make it to be a sort of continuation of the Sing Dike. Sir Maurice Denys held 3 acres called the Mille Walle, north of Colham church-yard, and a place called Thermete, and a part of the North Mede. The survey gives the rent of the parish as 26*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*

Collam occurs as Coloigne in the Treaty of Bretigny, and Edward IV. appointed William Worsley bailiff of the eschevinage of the parish. The fortress of Edward III's time on the north was razed in 1558, and the land was given to Maréchal de Thermes. It is on this site that the present church is built, but the old one was not far off. The North Street, or North Procession Street, appears to have run at right angles with the Cross Street.

FROYTON, now Frethun parish, was situated in the south-east of Calkwell, north-east of Bonninges, north-west of Nele, and with Froyton Marsh extended to the river from Newenham Bridge. In extent it consisted of 1,626 acres, and nearly corresponded with the modern parish. It was crossed from north-west to south-east by the Ewlin Way (which formed part of its south-west boundary) the road from Calais to Guines, and by a street called in its northern part Little Boderick Street and further on Mill Street. From north-east to south-west it was crossed by Bonninges Street or Common Street, so called from the two places between which it ran. Pape Street is also mentioned in the survey in the plots between the Ewlin Way and Guines' Way. The parish was divided from Nele by Cokilian Street, which toward its northern end was called St. Margaret Street. Froyton Bulwark was at the intersection of the Common Street and the river, and it will be remembered that it was between this and Nele Bulwark that the Duke of Guise's forces broke into the inner part of the Pale on Jan. 2, 1558. The boundary of the parish north-west is mentioned as the way from Calkwell to

Harding Camp. No large holdings are mentioned in this parish, the total rents of which amounted to 54*l*. 14*s*. 6½*d*.

The Marsh at the north-east extended as far as the Guînes river.

The Little Common lay in the north-east corner of the parish, and was 54 acres.

In the survey Froyton is divided into the following plots: Commencing at the south-west corner, and parted from Calkwell by the way from that place to Harding Camp, was a plot of 380 acres reaching north to the Ewlin Way and bounded on the south-east by the street to Bonninges from the Little Common near the Marsh. Next to this plot, and bordering on Calkwell and Boderick, were two plots of 42 and 405 acres, separated by Boderick Street. Beyond the last was the Little Common of 54 acres, which also abutted north-east on a plot of 330 acres lying between the Bonninges Street and Nele. A way from Froyton to Nele separated this from a small plot of 38 acres, bounded south-west by Guînes Way, which parted it from one of 220 acres extending south-west to Ewlin Way, between which and the parish of Bonning was a plot of 145 acres. A small triangular plot of 30 acres lay north of this plot, extending to where Ewlin Way ceased to divide the parish from Bonninges.

In the north of the parish west of the Plash and north of the New River was the Red Chamber, one of the three places called Mustertons, and held by Robert Whethill. The name of Red Chamber has now been changed back to what was probably the original one, Cambre, being, it is said, an old local name for a brewhouse.

GUEMPS, or Chempe, which retains its name, appears as Ganape in charters of St. Bertin of 826 and 1216. The limits of the parish do not seem to have changed. It had on its north the Havon, west the Hollet, now the Houlet, south the Polyvard, and east the parish of Holfkerk.

The extent of the parish was 2,790 acres, and the total rent 111*l*. 6*s*. 7½*d*. It was traversed by Middle Street, now Meer Street, Knight or Riddar Street, now Rue Serpentine, Guemps Street (from Guemps Bridge or Perkyn's Bridge), now Pont du Guemps), which passed through the village of that name; and other streets not identified, such as Brewring Street,* Cordam, Corderne, or Cristan Street. These are all mentioned in the survey. Skarre Street, which may be a mistake for Skane Street, separated the south of the parish from Holfkerk. At

* Brewring Street was in the north of the parish, running southward from the Haven.

the north-west corner of the parish, near Mark Town, were the two bridges, one of stone the other of wood. At the south-west corner where the Houlet crossed the Polyvard was Boots' Bulwark, where now on the map is marked the site of Fort Rouge. Not far from the Pont du Guemps was Boothackes, whence ran the great river of that name to the Mount, and so on to Ballangen or Jones' Bulwark. In M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map Bose Street is shown traversing the centre of the parish from the north down to near the village of Guemps.

Of the chief holdings in the parish Jane Prowde held 310 acres, called Portilberg, Portel Bridge, or Fowling Pool, but this has not been identified, nor has the Dopper Broke of 300 acres mentioned in the Edward IV. terrier.

The captain of Boots' Bulwark in 1556 was John Malen.

In the survey the parish was divided into three plots as follows: The first, of 1,078 acres, included the whole of Guemps north of Guemps Street except 80 acres in the south-eastern part of that portion of Guemps, and separated from the rest by Skarre Street, also called South Street, which ran south from the Chauntryne, and formed the eastern boundary of the parish in its southern portion. The third plot included the whole of the parish south of Guemps Street, and was 1632 acres in extent.

The chapel at Guemps was annexed to Mark, and its bell was the alarm-bell for the low country.

GUINES parish in the English days was but a portion of that which is now so called. It had on its west Mellac or St. Blaise, and on its east Spellac or St. Quentin, both of which parishes, or the greater part of them, are included in the modern parish of Guines. The English pale formed the southern limit, and on the north was the Marsh. In the survey it is divided into plots, which may be described as follows: Commencing at the south-west corner, and separated from Mellac by the Buckway from Fines to Guines, was a plot of woods and drises of 160 acres, having on its east the Green or Middle Way. Next to this, and between the Green Way and Robert Capp Street, was a plot of 225 acres of wood and waste land, extending southward as far as a way from Fines to Ardres, between which and the Pale was a piece of wood and waste of 30 acres. East of this small plot was another of 25 acres called Hawtingham, a name not shown in modern maps; and again east was a small plot of waste of 15 acres. East of the last plot of 225 acres was another of 205, having to its south Hawtingham or Chalk Pit Way, leading from the wood of that name, and separated from the next plot on the east by the Downs Way, which ran from Fines Wood and the Downs northward. The next plot, 76 acres in extent, reached eastward to Stony Street

or Rue des Pierres, which separated Guînes from Spellac. South of this plot, and parted from it by Hawtingham Way, was a plot of 110 acres, which reached southward to the Pale by Fines Woods.^a The above plots were all of wood and waste land; and with 300 acres of "drises in the forest," formed a belt of wood along the south of Guînes parish, and continued through Spellac and Camp along the Pale, forming what is now shown on the map as the Forest of Guînes. Northward of this woodland lay the arable and pasture. Commencing again at the border of Mellac was a plot of 270 acres, extending northward to the Ewlin Way and eastward to the Green Way. East of this a plot of 225 acres, south of Ewlin Way, reached eastward to Robert Capp Street, and yet eastward a plot of 555 acres bordered on Spellac.

Meeting the last plot at the Ewlin Way, and bordering on Spellac, was a plot of 150 acres, having for its northern limit the Whitfield or Brickery, and to its west the Park Hedge and town of Guînes. Of the Whitfield or Brickery the survey gives us no details as to size or extent.

The Park Hedge, of 21 acres, was held by the captain of the castle, and lay between the Townside and Castle Ditch to the west, and the road to Andren and Camp to the east. He also held 37 acres north of the Ewlin Way and abutting on Spellac.

The extent of the parish, including 300 acres of drises in the forest, is given in the survey as 2,367 acres, but this does not include the Whitfield. The total rent was 68*l.* 18*s.* 5*½d.* In the south of the parish Sir Richard Windebank held Vernon's Bush of 18½ acres. Above the town, and "environed with the Plash," were 8½ acres called Cote's Pasture, held by John Poundes. Hugh Giles held 16 acres called the Oke, but their position had not been ascertained. North of the town, by the side of the Plash, also were 4½ acres "sometime St. George's Guild," held by John Bradfield and the heirs of Vincent Moyne. Of the town of Guînes, with the castle and fortifications to the north, there are plans in the Cottonian MS. Aug. I. ii. 23, 51, 52, & 71, which fairly agree with each other. From these and from the details mentioned in the survey, we can to a certain extent reconstruct the town. The market was south of the Castle Ditch, in which is seen the great tower called the Catt or Vatt, and by the French styled La Cuve. From the north-east of the market ran a street to the East Gate, from the south-east a street to the church and churchyard, from the south-west a main street to the

^a In this plot of 110 acres were Bradfield's Bush of 20 acres and three plots of Queen's Wood, called Guilder's Bush, 11 acres; Watch Hill, 42½ acres; and Hawtingham, 32 acres, the last two abutting on Spellac.

West Gate, which was that for the road to Paris, and another smaller street to the rampire or rampart of the town. A little way from the West Gate a street branched off the main street and ran with curves toward the street from the market to the East Gate. This was Cow Lane, and out of it branched a small way to the traverse. Between Cow Lane on the north and east and the rampire was a place described as "sometime the Hospital" or Sister House; this was held, with 2 acres of land, by Sir Henry Palmer. A little to the east of this was the Scottrye, which was held by Robert Leader with a house called the Rooke. "The Carpentrie" was also in this part of the town, and was held by the same. A mansion called the White Lyon, held by Robert Waterton, cannot be located, but Christopher Clynche held land described as abutting east on the prison ground, and north on the street from the West Gate to the Market Place. Half an acre, "sometime called the Old Market Place," was held by Henry Rogers. John Churchyard, one of the chroniclers of the defence of Guines, held 2 acres called St. Blaize, north of the town.

Hammes occupied the northern and western portions of the modern parish of Hammes Boucres, and, according to the survey consisted of 1345 acres. Owing to the great changes effected by drainage and for other reasons, it is very difficult to identify some of the places mentioned in the survey. The Plash of 100 acres, for instance, has been reduced to cultivation; the rampire, which according to the old maps reached from St. Tricaise Bulwark in a southerly direction, is not shown on the modern map. The parish was bounded on the south by Buccard and Pitham; on the north, the detached piece of Buccard and St. Tricaise were separated from it by a stream called the Hurdell; and on the north-east the river of Guines enclosed Hammes Castle and the marsh belonging to it. The Plash was to the south-east. Abutting on Pitham, and extending northward to the Ewlin Way, was a plot of 238 acres, in the northern part of which Henry Northedon held half an acre, called the Lincke. Next to this plot and between it and Guines was one of 144 acres. North of this a plot of 512 acres extended to the "Rampire and turnpike outside St. Gertrudes." A small part of this plot touched Mellac. Within the Rampire and turnpike was a plot of 189 acres, north of which was the common of Hammes, 50 acres, between the Goyle from Newenham Bridge and a small river or stream from Hammes Castle to the Guines River. To the north-east and east of the Plash was the Conigree, and to its north-west was a plot of 112 acres extending to the "causey from Hammes turnpike to the castle." This castle has been described among the defensive works of the Pale, and near it was also a

watermill, which with the Plash was held by the captain of the castle; a meadow of 21 acres, called the Lists, and a hopyard are also mentioned in the survey. The rent of the fishery occupied by the captain was paid partly in kind, in rent wheat, and rent capons and hens helping to make up the amount, namely 60 shillings. The other rents, as of the farms: the Lists, the Hopyard, Conigree, Watermill, Fishery, Fowling, tolls of Guînes, of the Causey, of Ballangen, the Quints, the Frayes and Bloodwytes, etc., amounting in all to 110*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* appear to have been paid to the captain of Guînes Castle, the Conigree of 10 acres, with some 20 acres of meadow and marsh about St. Gertrude's, and 15 acres of rough meadow, were the livery lands of the captain of Hammes.

A place called the Helmbones, containing 62 acres, is mentioned as lying between the Hurdel and the way from the Castle to the Canevessary (in Pitham), but its site has not been identified.

The site of Hammes Castle is on the small quadrangle shown close to the farm called Fort Château, at the end of the road running north-east from the village of Hammes and west of the *écluse à quatre faces*, or *écluse carrée*. *La planche tournoire*, a little above this on the Guînes River, and seen in some modern maps, marks the site of one of the "turnpikes" of the defences of 1556. The church of Hammes was destroyed during the Revolution.

The common of Hammeswell, 2 acres in extent, lay between the roads from Guînes to Stone and Fynes to Calais.

The rents of Hammes were paid partly in kind and partly in money. Thus the total rents were in money, 21*l.* 10*s.* 4½*d.* In wheat, 50*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; that is to say, 302 rasers, 2 bushels, at 3*s.* 4*d.* a raser, "according to the old extent made by Sir John a Dauncey," and in capons and hens, 13*s.* for 12 capons and 2 hens, "according to the aforesaid old extent." The grand total was 72*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

In this total the mill and the waste ground were not included.

HERVELINGHAM, or Helveningham, is still seen on the map as a commune, but its present limits are not quite the same as in 1556, when, according to the survey, it reached as far as the sea. Its boundary towards Sandingfield has also changed somewhat. Its north-eastern boundary was, as now, parts of Scales and Bonninges parishes, and its southern limit was the Pale, Mount de Coples now Mont Couple, 160 metres in height, being nearly the western point. It is probable that this Mount de Coples was the hill referred to in the treaty of Bretigny, where "*in circuitû Montis Calbally*," which Rymer gives in the French version as Kalcully,

occurs. This hill is the western extremity of a range of high land extending from the Forest of Guînes.

The parish of Hervelingen was traversed by the highway from Whitsand (the modern Wissant) to Guînes. The road from Scales to Bonninges is noted in the survey as the boundary of part of the parish, but it must have been an old road and not very direct. Another road in the survey is that from the village of Hervelinghem to Hundenberg. Unless this last is meant for the modern Audembert south-east of Mount Couple, it no longer appears on the map.

The extent of the parish was 1,492 acres, with a total rent of 40*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* The chief holding was Barkinstead, of 200 acres, occupied by John Knight and situated in the south-east of the parish, next to Sandingfield. Abutting this place on the south, or outside of the Pale, was M. de Wavering's ground, some 100 acres, occupied (so says M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map) "by a gentleman of Picardy, who claims rent for it from the Hospital of Sandingfield." John Knight, also held 16 acres, part of Mount de Coples, and 20 acres called Mont à Ramons in the vicinity. Further north in this parish he also held 8 acres on Mount Pretez, which, though not in the modern map, appears to have been the high ground in the north-west of the parish. Edward Bodele held 52 acres of Mount Raymond, and Jo Lucking had 250, called the Rede Wagins. This has not been identified. The Queen's Drises or waste land of 80 acres were on the edge of the Pale. At Rannies Holt, now Raméceau, and according to a charter of Guînes known as Ramarssaut in 1280, the heirs of M. Whethill held 16 acres. This is a curious instance of a name apparently English being only a corruption of an early French one. This parish was the only one in the Canton of Marquison which was occupied by the English.

In the survey this parish is divided into the following plots. One of 805 acres lay between the road from Whitsand to Guînes on the south-west, and Scales and Bonninges on the north-east, and must have reached to the sea on the west. On the south-west of this was a plot of 440 acres, with the encroachment by the French to its north-west, and Sandingfield south. South-west of this was Barkinstead of 200 acres, and just where the road to Guînes left the parish to enter Sandingfield was a small plot of 24 acres, having Sandingfield Quarry on its east and Barkinstead on its north.

The actual point where the Pale reached the sea was no doubt the mouth of the small stream still called l'Anglais. This stream was then called Summers' Brook, from its source at Sombres, and though not named on the modern maps

is shown a little south of Estronannes, the Strones of the survey. This stream is the actual boundary of the Boulonnais.^a

On the roadside, at Hervelinghem, a little east of the church, stands the shaft of the old village cross of English days. It consists of two pieces of about 9 feet, and about 3 feet high, in the form of a tapering shaft of octofoil section. The shaft taken as a whole tapers from a diameter of about 18 inches at base to about 9 inches at top, and is surmounted by a plain capital about 10 inches in diameter at top, tapering down to 9 inches at its lower part, where it rests on the shaft. Its height is about 6 inches.

The shaft rests on a moulded base, consisting of a plain circular ring about 2 inches high, above a moulding about 3 inches high, which rests on the deeper circular moulding of 4 inches in height.

This last has four splays reaching to the corners of the square base of about 36 inches square and 1 foot high.

The whole is on a built-up base, about 3 feet 6 inches square and 2 feet high.

On the top of the capital, where was once probably a small cross, has been fixed a small modern iron crucifix, about 15 inches in height. The shaft is of hard coarse-grained dark stone, the base of Caen stone.

When the French Commissioners, in 1560, visited this place, they found five Englishmen and women occupying the church. This gives a good idea of the desolation and ruin which ensued on the loss of the Pale.

In 1511 the church of Overingham (perhaps a mispronunciation of this parish name) in the marches of Calais, was granted to William Bragges.^b

MARK, according to the survey of 1556, was bounded on the east by a street from Wale Dam parting it from Oye down to Offkerk, which formed with the Great Old River, now the Watergand du Sud, and Crane Street, the southern limit of the parish. On the west the Green Bank divided it from St. Peter's and the Scunnage. Included in the parish were also the ancient parish of Cowswade and Capple, which extended south to the Pale and west to the watercourse from Guines to Ardres, and the large marsh called the Mainbroke. Taking first the parish of Mark, it was divided in the survey of 1556 into the following plots. Next the sea, and stretching between the Scunnage and Oye, was one of 535 acres called the Hemmes. This and another plot of 151½ acres, which bordered on Oye

^a On the banks of the l'Anglais one of the English manufacturers of tulle in St. Pierre has built a house.

^b Rymer.

parish and was called the Cling and Polders, lay north of the way from Calais to the Sluice near Gravelines.

South of this way were two plots separated by a way from Wale Mill to the spoye or sluice gate which let the waters of the north watergang of Oye into the Hollet. The western plot, which reached to the Hollet, was 624 acres, the eastern one of 361 acres had the north watergang to its south. The next plot south of the last was 540 acres called the Haille Land of Mark, parted on the west from Mark Heath of 867 acres by the Hollet, which enclosed the Heath on the north. To the south of the Haille Land were Mark Pasture of 220 acres and another plot of 140 acres on its east, both reaching south to the Havon or East River. In the corner north-east of the junction of the Havon and the Hollet was a small plot of twenty-six acres. To the west of the Hollet and south of Mark Heath was a plot of 586 acres extending south to the Great Old River, between which and the upper part of Cranebrook Street were 172 acres. The above constituted the actual parish of Mark.^a

Stretching across the parish were 65 acres called the Downs. These abutted east on the Downs of Oye. The partition of the two parishes passed through the Pasture of Waledam, of which 48 acres were in Mark and 115 in Oye.^b In the plot of 624 acres were two holdings of R. Arneway. The northern one of 37 acres was called St. George's Land, and south of it were 18 acres, part of the Brick Oven, and Nicholas Sutton held Wale Mill just south of the way from Calais to the Sluice by Gravelines. In the plot of 540 acres Ellin Dodd held 20 acres, part of the Pollard, on the east of the Hollet, Nicholas Sutton held 70 acres, called the Barkery, and next to him Robert Mountar held 56 acres called the Burthen on the borders of Oye. Robert Torrayne, the trumpeter to the Queen, also held land near this. This plot, also called the Haille Land, at one time belonged to the chapel of Mark. South of it was the plot of 220 acres called the North Meade or common or pasture of

^a John Princeday, or Pinside, whose name occurs often in the perambulation of Mark and Oye, held land in both these parishes where the way from Calais to the Sluice crossed their borders.

^b The Hemmes land, called Wale Hemmes, which stretched across Mark Parish, included in it cart of the pasture of Wale Dam, which also extended into Oye. "The tenants and inhabitants of Wale and others of the lordship of Mark and Oye held the pasture of the said Hemmes pastured by the cattell of the said tenants and inhabitants to adioystment, paying yerely for every horse or mare xx^d qr. and for everie ox or cowe xij^d qr. and for every shepe . . . w^{ch} hath byn answered communibus annis xⁱⁱ qr.

Mark. This was held without rent by the chamber of Mark, who in the 22nd of Edward IV. received it in exchange for the Mainbroke, from that king. In the plot of 867 acres, west of Mark town, Sir John Butler held 251 acres, called Mark Heath, extending westward to the Scunnage. East of the heath Ellin Dodd held Mark Mill.

The Old Castle of Mark, now the Castle Green, was held by Sir John Butler, this was just south of the way from the Havon to Oye Bridge. Thomas Wells held an "over-draught or overlope thwarting the Havon from north to south," just east of the Hollet. This was "a dam to wind over such boats as come from Gravelines to Calais, or from Calais thither." The Poll yard north of the town was held by T. Towchett, who had 60 acres, and Ellin Dodd, who had 20 acres. The place called Bulbane in Mark town lay north of Vine or Pintle Street, and the way from Calais to Guemps bridge. Of this place Margaret Dirickson held two acres, "and the rest of the Bulbane" (2 acres) was held by Giles Chauncey "by demise of the receiver, the same being first called in church by order of the countrey no other pson offering any fine or rent for the same." The church of Mark is a modern one.

The survey states that the bounds of the parish of Cowswade and Capell were: north, the Old River parting it from Mark; east, the Hollet; south, the Pale; and west the watercourse from Ardres. This was divided into the following plots: Next to the Hollet and reaching south to the Gotefflete was one of 427 acres, having on its west Middle Street, which parted it from a small plot of 170 acres. To the west of this was a plot of 760 acres, extending westward to Colham Street, which separated it from that parish, having on the south and east the North Lead watergang, and on the north the Scunnage. South and east of this last was a large plot of 925 acres, also touching Colham Street, and having the Mary Lead to its east, and the Gotefflete to its south-east. South of this plot and bordering on the Hollet was another plot of 850 acres, extending to the Sing Bank, which parted it from the Mainbroke, and touching the Cowswade to the south-east. Another small plot of 125 acres also rested on the Sing Bank with Colham Street on its north, and between the Main broke on two sides and the French territory lay yet another plot of 500 acres.

In the Edward IV. terrier this parish was called by its old name, viz., St. George's Church. The plot of 850 acres was the Capel, so called from the abbey of La Capelle, built by St. Ide about 1090 on the site now occupied by the farm called La Grande Cappe. The abbey was destroyed in 1347 by the English, and no traces of it, save fragments of worked stone from time to time exhumed,

now exist. Besides the Capell, the Cowswade, 2,000 acres; the Deppe Broke of 300 acres; Lambert's Gaps, 132 acres; St. George's lands, 65 acres; the Gold Flete or Gote Flete, 300 acres; Remels, 462 acres; Sempt, Red Broke, Piers Water, Afterstrell, and other lands and marshes are mentioned. The Main Broke of 4,900 acres was then included in the parish and was also known as the Common of Mark, which the freemen of that parish exchanged with the King (22 Edward IV.) for the North Mede. The Cowswade, now the Ile de Caushoise, extended southward to the line of division between the two nationalities, and included the land now shown on the map as les terres Brugnobois. The limit was about the road shown as going from Buscot (where was Boots Bulwark), crossing the high road to Ardres, and then turning south-west to the river to Ballangen, where stood Jones' Bulwark. In a charter of Artois of the fourteenth century it is called la Paroisse de Couchwade.^a

^a The following extract from a letter from Henry VIII. to Howard, dated 27^o Aprilis, 1541, and printed in the State Papers of Henry VIII. will explain the position of the Cowswade:

"And that the Couswade ys no parcel of Arde it appereth by ther oune allegation, by the which it is alledged that the Couswade was a parishe separte from Arde before the said treaty of King John. . . . And as to the right of the travers, it is most manifest and redy to be proved, if thinges maye be tryed and determyned frendly and by reason, that whenne there was no bridge, as that bridge called Cowbridge hath only of late dayes been permitted to be made on an hardle and a fewe flakes, the bote of passage over the ryver was on our side at Botchakes, and not on theirs as it ys surmitted. And where the situation of two houses ys brought in, which be alledged to stande between tholde ryver and the newe ryver, as they dyvyded them, and to be of the parishe of Arde; as the grounde and treatye conferred together woll playnly shewe, that there was never but oon ryver, and the same of necessitie the ryver beyonde Poile, that is the ryver that nowe hath his cours; soo it wolbe wel proved that, til of late yeres, those houses that have been ever reputed and taken of the parishe of Balingham and not of Arde. And, if thinhabitauntes there have, for there commoditie of late tyme, reasorted to Arde, bycause it is nerer to them, and not to ther very parishe churche, this ther use maketh no title, but the right remayneth as it dyd, and the grounde, the treatye, and the prouf of thould use must nedes prevaile and take place. And where greate alligations be made of the rolles of thacomptes, though they be not to be compared to the treatye, yet, if they shulde be admitted as thinges autentique, they make nother for the clayme of any parte of the Couswade, ne for any travers in the same, but for the tole which they have taken at the turnepike set on their side. And where they saye that the ryver which goeth beyond the Poile is joyned to the ryver of Hiliar, and from thens to an olde Dike which is called Olde Ryver, going to the lake of Guisnez, the which Olde Ryver maketh the seperation of the grounde of Marke and of the said Couswade, whereby they wolde make an other ryver for our limite, excluding Us from the Couswade; for aunswere herunto you maye saye, as the trouth is, that there is no suche ryver as they alledge, and that the place where they alledge to be suche a ryver ys drye evry sommer, and hath no discent according to such limites as is comprised in the treatye of King John; but the same

In the plot of 170 acres, John Prowde held 140 acres of the land called Pierbone, which consisted of 145 acres. These lands lay between the Rope Dike and the Main Lead. In the 925 acre plot Griffith Appenrith held 404 acres, part of the North Lead, between the street of that name and Goldflete Street, and east of this the heirs of Robert Arneway held 250 acres called Ecclebergge or Ikelburgh. Appenrith also held the Sampney, south of Ikelburgh Street, but this may have been another name for the former holding.^a

In the plot of 850 acres and between the Goteffete and the Cowswade Robert Whethill held the farm of 641 acres, called the Cowswade with the Common or warren of Conies.

The Main Broke of about 5,000 acres lay south of the Sing Bank, which parted it from Colham and Mark, and north of the stream between Guines and Ardres. A portion called the West Main Broke, separated from the eastern part by the Guines river, lay south of Scales Dyke and north of the marshes of Froyton, Nele, St. Tricaise, etc. The eastern part was divided into various plots by banks and ways which intersected the northern portion of it. Of these there were the Marsh Bank Way running north-east to south-west, and then turning north-east. Coskie's Way, a continuation south-east of the first part of the Marsh Bank. The New Main Bank, running south-east from Guines river toward the mount of Boothackes. Also the New South Way, running south-east. From north-east to south-west ran Colham Way, High Thorn Way and Michaelmas Bank Way. It is very difficult in the survey to identify these with modern roads, as the banks are not always mentioned by the same names.

The plots mentioned in the survey amount only to about 3,470 acres, and the rents to about 172*l.*, but it is probable that those numbers represent only the land that was let.

ryver, wheruppon the Cowbridge was lately set, hath and ever had the same course and discent agreeable to the said treaty."

The question of the boundary had been rendered urgent by reports to Henry VIII. from Lord Sandys, then captain of Guines (1540), and others, describing the recent additions to the fortifications of Ardres, and the adoption by the French of the passage by Cowbridge instead of the usual one *via* Newenham Bridge. Lord Maltravers had indeed attempted to stop the French works at Cowbridge, but had received a protest from the captain of Ardres.

In the *Chronicle of Calais*, Camden Society, vol. xxxv. will be found further information on this matter.

^a The Capell Broke held by Appenrith lay south of Wild Horse Street and west of the Main Lead. Appleblome Street is also mentioned as the eastern boundary of some of his land.

The manor of Heresmote, with a brick two-storied house, is also mentioned; and a farm of twenty-four acres (at Colham Hill) lately added to the Heresmote, which was let for twenty years, with power to renew for further periods of twenty years at a fee of "a breakfast of a capon and a gallon of wine," *toties quoties*. The tenant was bound to deliver as part of his rent "cone M^l of garbage at 20th the c^t, paying yearly at Michalmas or within 13 days 3 shillings and fourpence the acre." Henry VIII. let the Mainbroke to Sir R. Wingfield for 40*l.*, but it was afterwards surrendered in exchange for Pepling and Osterwick.

The old castle of Mark stood east-south-east of the church, which dates from the twelfth century. A congress was held near the town and a camp erected in 1555 to bring about a reconciliation between Philip II. and the French king. The modern parish of Les Attaques was separated from Mark parish in 1835, having previously been known as Bas Marck. The modern name is derived from the word *Estagues*, *i. e.*, piles or stakes marking boundaries, etc., in the Marsh.

The acreage of Mark, excluding the Cowswade and Main Broke, is given in the survey as 8,044, and the rent 267*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.*

MELLAC, or ST. BLAIZE. This parish no longer exists as such, and only the latter name is now to be found on the map as part of Guînes, into which the whole parish has been absorbed. Its ancient limits were to the north-west, the parish of Buccard was parted from it by the Fynes Way. To the north-east Mellac reached to the Marsh, which formed its north-east limit. On the Guînes, or south-east side, the boundary was a line from the Marsh to a little west of Guînes town and along the edge of the then existing Guînes Plash. Passing round the west of Guînes town the bound struck the Buck Way from Guînes to Fines till the Pale was reached. The Buck Way is now the straight road seen on the map running south-south-west from Guînes town. The extent of the parish was 1,075 acres, and the rent 33*l.* 9*s.* 9½*d.* The chief roads traversing it were Guînes Way and the Ewlin Way, both from north-west to south-east. South of the latter was another coming from Buccard, called the Bore Way, also running north-west to south-east. A small lane running north-east to the Little Common and the river from Newenham Bridge is also mentioned in the survey. In the south-east of the parish were the Flaketts, 104 acres, which name has survived; and to the south of them and close to the Pale was the bush called the Sallage, thirty acres in size. Between the Flaketts and the Buck Way were the King's Forest of 107 acres on the edge of the Pale, the King's Drises or waste ground of twenty-seven acres, and the Queen's Forest, the whole amounting to some 283 acres.

The Flaketts were held by John Grante, who also had a bush of eighteen acres called Reynes Gelders, and ten acres called Newfoundland.

On the Buck Way, and near to Guînes, Adrian Spryte held six acres called Pyerbonne. In St. Blaize Robert Whethill held the conigree of seven acres. The Walle, a name still to be seen on the map, and a meadow called Bell Yard with marsh, the whole amounting to ninety-eight acres, were held by — Beynton. In the north of the parish the survey mentions Stace Merlyn and the river as forming the southern bound of the marsh of ten acres, which had Guînes Plash to the east and the street to the common to the west. Stace Merlyn was probably a tenant's name; the French writers all omit to mention this parish, which, no doubt, was only of the English occupation period.

In the survey the parish is divided into the following plots: Commencing at the Pale was one of 283 acres reaching across the parish, except towards the west, where were the Flaketts of 104 acres, and just above them some waste ground, etc., called the Sallage, thirty acres in extent. North of these woodland plots was one of 295 acres, reaching to the Ewlin Way, between which and the Guînes Way was another of ninety-five acres. North of this, and extending to the Little Common and the Fishery, was a plot of 240 acres.

NELE, now Nielles les Calais, appears to have had the same limits as the modern parish, and lay between Froyton and St. Tricaise; its north-east limit being the river from Newenham Bridge, and the south-western part ending at a stone where the three parishes met Bonninges. The extent of the parish was 400 acres, and the total rent 17*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* Ewlin Way crossed the parish near the Stone,* and above that the Mill Dyke, apparently not far from the way from Calais to Guînes. Still more to the north-east, the road passing through the villages of Froyton, Nele, and St. Tricaise, traversed the parish in a south-east direction from the beginning of St. Margaret Street. Guilte Street cannot now be identified, but it ran south-east from St. Margaret Street. Between St. Tricaise and the Common Street running from what is now Basse Nielles to the Bulwark at the bridge over the river, were the chief house, orchards, etc., of Richard Cokeson, the water bailiff. This holding, which was called Bablins, consisted of sixty-two and a-half acres. The same Cokeson had also about fifteen acres called Ded Manne, situate at the crossing of Cokilian Street and Fynes Way. This parish has at times been called Acle according to the survey, and Demotier considers that it only dates from the period of the English occupation. It is certain that the church or chapel of Nele

* From this stone ran a way to the Marsh known as the way by the Bush called the hand.

was dependent on that of Calkwell, for on 13th July, 1411, Henry IV. desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to admit John Thorpe to the church of St. Mary of Calkwell in Picardy with the chapel of Nele annexed thereto (Rymer). Query if Acle were the Ales or Axles which M. Haignère says was at one time part of Calkwell, and which he supposes to have been where is now la Chaussée.

The parish is divided in the survey into the following plots: Commencing at the stone where Froyton and St. Tricaise joined was a small one of eighteen acres reaching to the Ewlin Way, between which and the Mill Dyke was another of sixty-five acres. Between this and the road from Froyton through Nele village to St. Tricaise, was one of ninety-five acres. North of this, a plot of 195 acres extended to the river.

NEWKERK, now Nouvelle Eglise, appears by a charter of St. Bertin of 1132 to have been known in early times as Herwega, from which was derived the name Harraway, applied not only to the parish itself but also to the way and watergang now called the Watergang de Nouvelle Eglise, which forms the eastern boundary of the parish, separating it from Oldkerk. The name Niwa kerka, however, appears in another charter as early as 1185.

The northern boundary of the parish was the Havon, and the southern the Polyvard. On the west was Quade Street or Watergang of Offkerk from the Havon, as far as the meeting with the Stakemart, now the Watergang du Tracmare, which continued to the Polyvard.

The extent of the parish was 2,162 acres, with a total rent of 47*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.* The chief roads and watergangs traversing it were the V. Street, on which was the village of Newkerk; Knight Street or Riddar Street, now Rivière de Vinfil; Middle Street, now Meer Straet, all these from west to east; and from the Havon southward the Nunnery, which gave a name to a large holding of 346 acres, on its eastern bank. The Bowes Brook, of 300 acres, was in the south by the Harraway Bulwark. In this parish also were 200 acres of the whole 300 which constituted the Pole Brook, a marsh which lay in this and the next parish of Offekirk. Another marsh, called the Great Hove,* also lay in these two parishes; the eighty-two acres in Newkerk being held by Richard Blunt. The Edward IV. terrier also mentions the names of the Brode Mede of 246 acres next to the Nunnery, and the Red Broke of 200 acres south of the Stakemart or Stakemark.

In the survey the parish was divided into two plots, the northern of which reached from the Havon to Robert Reymer's Street, and contained 1,025 acres; the southern, of 1,137, reached to the Polyvard.

* In the Edward IV. terrier the extent of the Great Hoff is put at 496 acres.

Robert Reymer's Street is not shown on the modern map, but evidently ran east and west somewhat north of the village of Newkerk.

OFFKERK or HOLFKERK, now Offerkerque, is mentioned in charters of 1100 and 1206 as Houve and Hovo, and appears to have been identical in extent with the modern parish. It lay east of Guemps, from which it was divided by the Chauntryne or Sandryne, now the Sauve en Temps and Skane Street, and had the Polyvard or English Street as its southern limit. From Newkerk it was separated by the watergang of Offkerk, then called Quade Street, evidently another of the same name as that in Oldkerk and the Stakemark. On the north it extended beyond the Havon, having for its limit part of the Procession Way which separated Oye from Mark, and part of Our Lady Street, meeting it at a place called the Chauntry. The extent of the parish was 2,853 acres, and the total rent 133*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* It was crossed from west to east by Middle Street now Meer Straet, Knight or Riddar Street now Rivière de Vinfil, Slang Street now Watergand de la Rue Serpentine, and Guemps Street, which in its continuation was called V Street. From the Havon southward ran Pounds Watergang, Peter Jestes or Jesse's Watergang, and Sandy Street; this last is shown in M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map, but is not mentioned in the survey. Besides these, the Boway, and others not identified, are mentioned in the parish. The chief holdings were parts of the Polebroke and Great Hove, which extended also into Newkerk, and were owned by Sir John Butler and Richard Blunt respectively, the Bowbroke and Depebroke, and others. The ninety-one acres north of the Havon was held by Adrian Lamons; and, besides the Procession Way and Our Lady Street from Offkerk Bridge or Statford Bridge, had a bank called the Chauntrelle as its limit.

The rent of the parish seems to point to the land being better than in those to the east of it.

In the survey the parish is divided into three plots. Of these, one of 119 acres included all that part north of the Havon. The next, of 1,601 acres, contained all the land down to where Guemps Street crossed the parish; and the third, of 1,133, consisted of the remainder down to the Polyvard.

OLDKERK, now Vieille Eglise, was the south-east limit of the English Pale and occupied the same ground as the modern parish. The name is a curious instance of the changes which have occurred in this part of the country. In charters of St. Bertin's Abbey of the years 1132 and 1225 it was called St. Audomarikerka; gradually this became Oudekerke, which the English occupiers reasonably rendered Oldkerk in contradistinction to the neighbouring parish of Newkerk. On the return of the French the original name was neglected and a strict translation

of the English title produced the modern name. The limits of the parish were on the north the Havon, on the east the Flemish Gracht or March Dike now called the Drach, from the Havon by Capel Bridge, where now the map shows *Barrière de France* down to the Hook on the Polyvard or English Street. At this point stood Knowles' Bulwark and in later times the Fort Rebus of the modern map. In the Hook is seen the French term for the country outside the Pale in this part, namely, *Pays de l'Angle*. The southern boundary identical with that of the Pale was the Polyvard westward to the Harraway Bulwark, which stood on a piece of ground belonging to Richard Blunt and now seen as Fort Bâtard. Between this and the Hook, where now is Port Neuf, was another port called Crabler's Bulwark. The Harraway from the bulwark of that name to the Harraway Bridge or Oye Bridge, now Pont d'Oye, on the Havon, formed the western boundary of the parish parting it from Newkerk.

The extent of the parish was 4,951 acres with a rent of 256*l.* 15*s.* 6½*d.* The chief ways and watergangs in the parish were the Venne or Fenne, now the Watergang de Vieille Eglise, traversing the parish from north to south, passing by the village, and reaching the Polyvard at Crabler's Bulwark. The Baines, now Banse Vernalde, going from the Havon near where is now Pont Loquet as far south as V Street, now Watergang de la Petite Serpentine. For some distance it ran close to the Gracht. From the Baines branched off two other ways and watergangs. The Flete which ran to the Elk Dike, North Street, now Watergang du Vinfil, and Quade Street, now Banse Dubracq, which ran to the Pale near Crablers.

The V Street, a continuation of Colham Street, after passing through the parishes and villages of Guemps, Newkerk, and Oldkerk, terminated, so far as the Pale was concerned, at Capel Bridge, also called Van Sothering's Bridge.

According to the P.R.O. terrier *temp.* Edward IV., there were four large marshes on the southern edge of the parish, viz., the Great Flete 180 acres, the Flete 103, Gallet's Wall 74, and Brown Way 140. North of Crablers was Pynnings Broke 40 acres, and in the south-eastern corner by the Hook were the Polles or Polder of 106 and Mark Lands of 91 acres. The Clithoff 821 acres occupied the north of the parish. In 1556 it is noted that Ric. Blunt held 173 acres called the Vosse Bank, 90 acres called the Havon Broke, and 105 acres part of the Flete Broke, all in the west of the parish. Adrian Priseley also held 152 acres of the Drough Broke in the same part. Thomas Sprot held besides other lands 255 acres part of the North Wood in the northern part of the parish.

In the surveys the parish was divided into three plots. The northern and largest included all the land north of Five Street or V Street, the prolongation east of Guemps Street. The next plot of 991 acres was the portion of the southern part of the parish lying west of the Venne or Fenne watergang, and the balance of the parish formed the third plot of 1310 acres.

In OYE the chief roads and communication ways were the Procession Way forming its boundary on the west from Mark, and then at the south-eastern corner turning eastward and parting it from Offkerk parish on the south as far as Oldkerk Bridge and the commencement at that point of Our Lady Street. This last ran northward to the place called Red Chamber. About half-way down Procession Way, Bandike Street branched off and also ran to Red Chamber. Another way, called the Street through Waledam Pasture, branched off from Bandike Street and ran down to a little above Oye town. About midway from Bandike Street and the south-west corner of Oye another street, called the way from Mark to the sea-bank at Tartar's Land, branched off from the Procession Way and crossing Our Lady Street ran to Oye Town and then turned northward to Tartar's Land. From this street somewhat east of Oye Town ran Market Street south-eastward to the Havon, the south boundary of the parish. Through Oye Town and from the sea-bank to Oye Bridge ran the Harraway, continuing its course southward between Newkirk and Oldkerk. Besides the Bandike Street and the others running eastward there was the way called Calais Way, which ran from John Pinside's House towards Gravelines and down to Calais, the dam by the sluice. North of this was the bank or way which formed an outer protection to the parish of Oye and ran between the Hemmes and the Cling and Polders, turning south-eastwardly down to the sluice gate. Besides these banks, which in most cases had drains or watergangs along side of them, were the North and South Watergangs. Of these the first began at the Havon or Sluice Havon, as it was called in that part, a little north-east of the end of Oldkerk. From thence it flowed westerly above Oye Town, and with many turns and bends to the partition of the parish from Mark.

The South Watergang started from the Havon about the middle of the north boundary of Oldkerk and flowed westerly between the Havon and the road to Oye Town, eventually rejoining the Havon at the junction of Guemps and Offkerk parishes by the head of the Chauntryne.

In the survey, this parish of 8,083 acres is divided into several plots, and as these divisions in some cases follow roads, in other cases watergangs, it may be worth while enumerating them and their extent. At the same time, as the tenants

in many cases held lands of the same name in different plots, their holdings will be mentioned elsewhere.

Beginning at the east were the East Hemmes extending to the Sluice Havon and Gravelines Road on the east, and to a seadike called the Lodge Bank on the west, and containing 1,391 acres. West of these were the North Hemmes or Flowe Marsh of Oye, extending to the parish of Mark, and containing 1,202 acres. South of these, and also abutting on Mark, were the Polders and Cling, 675 acres in extent, but only reaching so far east as the East Hemmes, which do not appear to have had any land of this class to their south. These polders and cling lay between a seadike on the north and the way from Calais to the sluice on the south. This last-named way parted the arable and pasture lands of the parish from the more exposed portion. Beginning now at the borders of Mark parish was a plot of 750 acres reaching east to Our Lady Street, next to which was one of 450 extending to Harraway Street by Oye Town, whence a plot of 1,130 acres extended to the bend southward of the way from Calais to the sluice. These three plots lay north of the North Watergang. Between the North and South Watergangs, and again commencing at Mark, were successively plots of 637,* 420, and 608 acres parted from each other as the last series, but ending at the Sluice Havon, which here bent south-westerly to the Havon. The next series began at Our Lady Street, and consisted of plots of 514 and 302 acres only, being, as plot 637, bounded on the south by the Havon.

Identification of ancient sites is not always possible, but taking the plots in the order given above, most of the important holdings will be mentioned. It will be noticed that many names occur over and over again, the tenants possessing land in the various classes, such as arable, cling, and Hemmes, like the "striped land" in Ireland, where each tenant has a piece of good land, reclaimed land, and bog, one beyond the other.

In the East Hemmes or Flowe Marsh, of 1,391 acres, were lands of the Great Coppe and the Little Coppe, held respectively by William Grene and Dolphin Andrew. Next westward the North Hemmes, of 1,202 acres, though, according to an old survey, there had been 1,580, "the variance whereof is grown by the sea," had within it 540 acres, part of the Lodge held by Andrew Harbert; and west of these the Tartars of 240 acres, held by William Meuse. Next west were 600 acres called The Paskyns, held by R. Whethill, who also held part of the Red Chamber Hemmes abutting on the Wale Hemmes in Mark. In the plot of 675

* This plot of 637 acres reached south beyond the South Watergang to Offkerk parish.

acres Dolphin Andrew held $92\frac{1}{2}$ acres of the Little Coppe and William Grene 89 acres of the Great Coppe, John Afield $43\frac{1}{2}$ of the Beake, James Haynes 30 of the Whitehouse, Andrew Harbert 161 of the Lodge, Richard Blunt $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres *a conigree*, and William Meuse 167 acres of Tartar Place.^a In the 750 acre plot on the east was Red Chamber of 44 acres, held by Robert Whethill, then 49 acres called Kopter's Place, held by John Grene, and abutting on Baudike Street, was Monk's Place, of 67 acres, held by the same. In the next plot, of 450 acres, were no specially-named holdings, but in the 1,130 acre plot were more portions of farms already mentioned, such as on the east William Grene held 10 acres part of the Great Coppe, Francis Maskull 122, called the Little Beake, John Afield 68 acres of the Great Beake, James Haynes 130 acres of the Whitehouse, Andrew Harbert 100 acres of the Lodge, William Meuse 200 acres of the Tartars, and Andrew Harbert 59 acres of the Dyke. A little west of the Dyke was the way from Oye Castle to Oye Bridge, and on the west side of this road, about 600 yards west-south-west of Oye Church, stood the Castle of Oye, in a plot of 420 acres. This fortress ^b was captured in 1436 by the Duke of Burgundy. On its recapture by the English it was much strengthened by two large bastions and a double ditch round the whole, a narrow path alone giving access to the castle. It was again taken by the French under Marshal de Biez in 1545, but soon recaptured by the English. Monluc speaks highly of the strength of this work. After 1558 it was razed by order of the Duke of Guise. At this period the more illustrious of those who fell in the attack on Calais were interred in the church.^c In the plot of 637 acres were no holdings with special names. In the 420 acre plot stood Oye Castle and a windmill, which, with 156 acres of land, was held by Thomas Fisher. To the west of the Castle the same Fisher and Parnell Bowring held portions of the Brent Pile, probably some large building destroyed by fire previous to 1556.

In the plot of 608 acres were more lands of the farms already mentioned. F. Maskull held 76 acres of the Little Beake, J. Afield 87 acres of the Great Beake, and James Haynes and others parcels of the ground called the Fowler, amounting to some 191 acres.

In the plot of 514 acres, Philip Case held 94 acres, part of Vincent's Way, on the west of the road to Oye Bridge, and Richard Broke 350 more acres of the same. The next plot of 302 acres, on the east of this, amongst other

^a The Lodge Hemmes and Tartar's Land were divided by an ordinary way, called "Ram de Gravens," now a creek.

^b The remains are visible just on the west edge of the village north of the modern road.

^c The present church is a modern one.

holdings, had a parcel of free land called the Flynderbusshe, 13 acres in extent, held by William Porter.

In the description of the boundary of the Pale, it has been mentioned that the old limit was beyond the present canal of Gravelines, and included the St. Pol Hemmes. In the survey these Hemmes are not described, nor are tenants mentioned. So also the Sprury, though its limits are given as surveyed, yet no tenants are mentioned, nor is the extent of the locality given. From the boundary, however, we learn that it occupied a triangular space, which may be thus described: Two of its sides are formed by the Sluice Havon, from the Ecluse Vauban, shown on the modern maps, down to about the k in the word Drack, and from the Sluice along the River Aa as far as Les Bajettes. These Bajettes are mentioned in the survey as three sluices. From them to the Drack or Gracht the third side of the triangle runs in a bent line, passing Les Mottes, the Moote in the survey. We also find that the Sprury was divided into two parts by a way from near the Sluice to Les Mottes. The modern watercourse from the Sluice to the Aa passing along the fortifications of Gravelines is where what the survey calls the Old Channel of Gravelines ran. This divided the Sprury from the Hemmes of St. Pol. The bearings of "The Great House in the Sprury" would suggest that the modern Ferme de Noel is on that site. Unfortunately nothing appears to be known about this Sprury, and even the meaning of the word has not been discovered. In one place it is called the Spriory, but it is very seldom mentioned. In the map of M. P. l'Espinoy it is not shown. The face of the country has been so changed by drainage that it is very difficult to assign positions to old localities. It is presumed that the "Sluice of Oye" was about where is now the Écluse Vauban, but the survey also speaks of the English Sluice, and if the bearings given are correct this second sluice was about north-west of the first. Oye Sluice was "made new" in 1531. "The 4 acres without the Sluice" were held by the searcher there.

PEPLING, a parish the name of which has hardly changed, has varied very slightly in extent since 1556. It lay south of Sandgate, east of Scales, north of Bonninges, and west of Calkwell. In the survey its extent is given as 2,006 acres, with a total rent of 35*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.*, which includes a reserved rent of the Manor of Osterwick,^a a district not defined, but lying within the parishes of

^a The rent of *vj^{li} xiiij^s v^d* ob. gr. reserved to the king on the grant of the manor of Osterwick, with the lime kiln, etc. surrendered to the king by the Staplers and of the Lordship of Pyshing. with divers rents in the county of Guines amounting to £50 more, making £81 5*s.* gr. granted in

Sandgate, Pepling, Calkwell, Scales, Bonninges, and an ancient place called Besting or Bessings, probably the Bensingue of the modern maps. This reserved rent in Pepling was 6*l.* 13*s.* 5½*d.* The parish was divided into the following plots: In the north-west corner was one of 207 acres, extending east as far as the Beggars' Way. This way appears to have started with the Ewlin Way from St. Martin's church, and then branched off somewhat to the south. If this supposition is correct it is strange that the name does not occur in the next parish. East of this plot, and lying between the Beggars' Way and the Ewlin Way, was another of 420 acres. East of the Ewlin Way, and extending to the Boulogne Way, which parted the parish from Calkwell, was a plot of 505 acres, reaching south as far as the Besting Way, below which another of 475 acres extended west to the Beggars' Way and south to the borders of Bonninges. West of this plot, and reaching as far as Scales, was a plot of 120 acres. The other plots of 89, 90, 375 acres it is hard to allocate, as many of the roads mentioned in the survey have been altered, and the surveyor himself has at times made errors in his bearings. In the south-west of this parish, near what is now shown as Le Grand Wandin (Wending of the English times^a), Xtrian Lemes held a place called Quarles' Place, of 25 acres. In the north-west of the parish are the hills called Les Noires Mottes, on which excavations have furnished evidence of pre-historic interments. Churchyard, in his account of the loss of Calais, calls them the Black Neasts.

It was to Pepling church that John Leyland, clerk, was presented in 1530, but, like many others of the clergy of the Pale, he was an absentee.

Sir R. Wingfield, writing in July, 1537, to Lord Lisle, dates his letter "at my manor of Mountfesaunt in Pleeplynge." This place is not mentioned in the survey.

PITHAM, now Pihen, lies on the edge of the Pale between Bonninges and Buccard on the north-west and north-east, and south-west of St. Fricaise the detached portion of Buccard, and Hammeswell. It was separated from Bonninges by Cokilian Street, which in its prolongation to the north-east parted Froyton from Nele, and from its northern point the boundary between it and St. Tricaise ran south-east to the village of Stone, now shown on the map as La Pierre. The

exchange by H. VIII. by letters patent of 5 Oct. 28 H. VIII. to Sir Robert Wingfield and his heirs by fealty only, and a yearly rent of 6*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* "payable only in the time of peace and abstinence of warres," the same being granted to L^d W. in recompense for having surrendered the 500^a of the Marisbroke which he then held on lease of the King by letters patent at a yerely rent of 20*l.*

^a It is shown in M. P. l'Espinoy's map.

detached part of Buccard meared with it for a short distance only, and then the south-west limit of Hammeswell brought the boundary to the parish of Buccard, descending south-west to the Pale. In extent it was 2,350 acres with a total rent of 79*l.* 15*s.* 3½*d.* The chief roads traversing it were that from Helveningham and Sandingfield, which passed through the village and then ran east to Guines. Another which came from Landerton without the Pale, and ran north through Pitham village to Bonninges village. A little to the north of Pitham village Thomas Massingberd held 40 acres called the Rockery, a place name still seen on the map, and not far off but at present unidentified was the house place called the Redde Crosse, one of several holdings of Robert Leader in this parish, in all about 74 acres.

On the south-west limit of Pitham and abutting on the Pale were several holdings of John Hencrite who had about 116 acres. Near to these was the hamlet or village of Waddington, now Wadenthum. Further east and near the road from Landerton (Landrethun) to Bonninges, and abutting on the Pale was Ellington or Darlington, now Alenthun, and still along the Pale were the lands of J. Canvas mentioned on some maps and in the survey as the Canvessarie, now transformed into Quennevacherie. Near to this last was Colway Wood, shown in the Cottonian map as Calayood, and probably incorrectly explained in the Camden Society's *Chronicle of Calais* as Calais Wood. It was 95 acres in extent and was the only woodland in Pitham. In the survey the parish was divided as follows: commencing at the south-west on the Pale was a plot of 420 acres between Bonninges parish and a way from Sandingfield to Guines. East of this lay one of 460 acres extending to Colway Wood. North of this were 770 acres between the road from Pitham to Guines and Buccard parish, and the northern part of 700 acres formed the fourth plot.

SAINT TRICAISE, the SENTER CAES of the Cottonian map and now St. Tricat, was in the English days also called Marken. It lay south-east of Nele, from which it was separated by a way to the Marsh from the bush called the Hand. This hand was probably a sign-post with a hand showing the way, it stood at the junction of the three parishes of Bonninges, Pitham, and St. Tricaise. The north-east boundary of the parish was the river from Newenham Bridge, here, as in many other places, called the Fishery. From thence the boundary ran along a small river called Hurdell Creek parting this parish from Hammeswell, as far as the detached piece of Buccard parish which then formed the limit south-west to the borders of Pitham parish the south-west boundary of St. Tricaise.

The extent of the parish was 1,539 acres with a total rent of 60*l.* 2*s.* 8½*d.*

The parish was crossed from north-west to south-east by the Ewlin way and Guines Way, on the east side of which last and between the mill dike from Nele parish stood a mill and one acre of land held by Robert Whethill. This mill lay between Nele parish and some chalk pits. In the northern part of the parish abutting on the river from Newenham Bridge was the Moate of 32 acres, but without a tenant in 1556. J. Cokeson held $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres called the Kyfs Hoke, abutting on the river also and forming the north-west corner of the parish. The Court Hill, south of which the same Cokeson held 7 acres, cannot be identified. There was a large piece of ground called the Manor of Polinbroke parcelled out among several tenants, but of its position nothing is known.^a Demotier says that a place called Arkingond or Hartincourt was supposed to be about identical with the village of St. Tricaise, but he does not mention any authority and the modern map gives no assistance nor does the name occur in the survey. After the capture by the French the parish was occupied by the fugitive inhabitants of St. Quentin expelled by Charles V.

The bulwark of Senter Caes was by the bridge where the street to the common crossed the river from Newenham Bridge.

In the survey this parish was divided into the following plots: Commencing at the south-west corner on the borders of Pitham and Nele was a plot of 155 acres extending north to the Ewlin Way and south-east to the way to the common. South-east of this a large plot of 455 acres reached to the detached portion of Buccard. The next two plots of 224 and 120 acres were north of the Ewlin Way and separated by the street to the Common. North again of these and parted from them by Guines Way were two plots of 450 and 230 acres, also parted by the Common Street and extending to the Marsh, the second plot being parted from Hammes by the stream called the Hurdel.

SANDGATE, now Sangatte, occupied nearly the same limits as the modern parish except that the north-eastern part of Sangatte was then a part of the Scunnage. The boundary there was a dyke running south-south-east from the Hoke, the old place of execution for the lordship of Sandgate, to the bank of the Flowe river which branched out of the creek forming the continuation of Calais Haven. The Hoke was about 1,165 rods west of Risbank Castle. Sandgate was also known as Sclynes, and from the town of Sandgate ran the Ewlin Way, a very ancient road

^a Walter Shawe held a place of 11 acres ditched about, called the Fowling Place: it belonged to St. Tricaise church. Canon Parenty says that the central tower, apparently of the seventeenth century, is all that remains of the old cruciform church.

which, passing by Guines, went as far as Terrouanne. Its course through this parish was about south-south-east to the old church of St. Martin, described in the survey as "ruinous." From this point where it entered Pepling its course was south-east to Guines. The French have given it many names (*Chemin Vert*, *Chemin de Leulingue*, *Chemin des Saints*) but it is always mentioned as the *Ewlin Way* by the English. The town of Sandgate was burnt as well as the castle by the mutinous troops of the duke of Burgundy in 1436 after his unsuccessful attack on Calais.* The southern boundary of the parish was the parishes of Scales and Pepling, and eastward it extended to Causie (*la Chaussée*). From the town eastward to the boundary of the county of Guines and the Scunnage were the West Downs and Warren of Conies held by the Captain of Guines Castle, and extending south to a saltmarsh of 201 acres. Besides the West Downs and Saltmarsh, the parish was divided in the survey into the following plots. From the town westward to Scales was one of 140 acres, east of which one of 800 acres extended to the *Ewlin Way*. East of this and lying one north of the other from Pepling were plots of 760, 176, 136, and 201 acres, the last touching the Scunnage, and with that of 136 acres, parted from the two first by a way from Sandgate to Causie. Between the 136 and the 201 acres ran the New River with plots of 119 and 175 acres on its north and 62½ and 105 on its south. The last of these abutted east on the Plash.

The Holteway or Hollway passed through the village of Calkwell or Causeye, according to the survey, and was probably the name of the road which is now the main street of *la Chaussée*. The way separating the parish of Sandgate from Dykeland and the Scunnage was of old time called *Moleyne Legalyne*.

In this parish to the north of the large chalk quarries was situated the land called GalleyMOTE, often mentioned in the accounts of the siege of Calais. It, with other lands, was given by the French king to Senarpont, one of the commanders on that occasion, and now appears in the map in what was probably its original name *Callinottes* or *Caillemotte* expressive of the stony nature of the ground. In 1556 it was held by Sir Maurice Denys. Another place of 8 acres held by Sir Robert Wingfield, and called the Galloway, had reference to the gallows, which also gave a name to Gallows Hill. Gallows Hill appears to have been west or north-west of the chalk pits and the Gallowsway ran west from the *Ewlin Way* and to the north of the road to Scales. One landholder, Anthony Pickering, is mentioned in the survey as having 16½ acres "of which the sea has

* See the satirical account of this attempt in *Archaeologia*, xxxv.

worn away 5 acres." The site of the Old Castle of Sandgate with 84 acres of land and a conigree of 3 acres was held by Robert Lambert. These were both in the plot of 175 acres north of the New River and west of the New Letten Ground as the plot of 119 acres was called. "The walls of a ruinous chapel," probably the old church of Sandgate situated east of the road to Causie and south of Sandgate Street, were held by Anthony Pickering. The total rent of Sandgate according to the survey was 71*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*, and the extent 2,820 acres.

SANDINGFIELD, now and before 1556 called by the French St. Inglevert, is a curious instance of the English name more closely resembling the original one than that given by the French. Santingheveldt was, according to M. Haignère, the original name, though having nothing to do with the nature of the soil, there being as he remarks no sand there. In 1116 Oilard is said to have founded the hospital there, the Lazar House of the older maps. It was close to this place that in 1389 and 1390 were held the famous tournaments of St. Inglevert described by Froissart and so exquisitely represented, though with fifteenth century costume, in the Arsenal copy of those chronicles. Edward III. does not seem to have interfered with the hospital, but in 1445 Henry VI. appointed the duke of Buckingham, then governor of Calais, to examine the accounts of the hospital, though the district then and afterwards was claimed to be neutral territory. In 1556 before the survey was made, it is noted in State correspondence of January 21 that the house lay within the English Pale, the real frontier being "a large English mile beyond it." Whether the place was neutral territory or not, Henry VIII. considered it as belonging to the English, and complaints having been made in 1535 by John Cokeson, water-bailiff of Calais, that "they used to feed harlottes and enemies, exiling from them all Englishmen, for they abhorred all Englishmen and said they held of the Pope," in 1541 the Commissioners who were to survey the Mainbroke also received instructions to inquire into the circumstances connected with Sandingfield and to report to the king. (See letter in note.)^a

^a HENRY VIII. TO MALTRAVERS, &c.

8th Sept. 1541.

"And where as the house of Sandingfield, standing holly within the Kinges Majestes pales, hathe also moche lande in the same, and that the Master therof hathe nevertheles hitherto litle knowleaged his dienty towards His Majeste, but rather claymed himself to be newter, and an appendant of the Bisshop of Rome; His Highnes, not being mynded yet to ministre any cause of pike by his sodain apprehension and punishment, hath thoughte good to sende for him hither, as it were to knowe his advese in suche thinges, as His Grace entendeth to doo there for the benefite of his marches, as by the copie of the letters which the said Commissioners shal receive herwith, together with the same letters to be delyvered, they shall perceyve. Wherfor His Majestie woll,

Even in 1560 when the French Commissioners visited the place to parcel out the newly acquired territory, the head of the house claimed to hold direct from the pope.

The present church is said to be part of the old hospital.

In the survey of 1556 Sandingfield is not described nor are any tenants mentioned.

SCALES, now Escalles, is mentioned in 844 in a charter of St. Bertin as Scala. Its present extent appears to be about the same as in the survey. It was bounded by the parish of Sandgate on the north, and at a short distance from the sea this bound ran by Howberg, a hill shown on the modern map near Blanc Nez as a survey station with an altitude of 134 metres. In the survey the bearing of Dover Castle from this point is given as north-west by west one-quarter west. The eastern boundary was the parish of Pepling down to the borders of Bonninges which continued the limit as far as Rannies Holt on the edge of Hervelingen parish, which formed the western limit of Scales as it appears in the English days to have stretched to the sea. In this parish there were several roads, such as from Scales to Calais, Scales to Guines, and Scales to Sandgate, which started from Whitsand. Another road was that from Fol Emprise to Calais. This Fol Emprise is still in the map. Rannies Holt now appears as Rameseau, which in a charter of Guines of 1,280 acres was then called Ramarssant. The Mount Pretez, often mentioned in the survey, does not appear in the modern map but was probably the high ground on the south of the parish marked with altitude of 156 metres. This was on the Picardy Encroachment Pale. In the south of the parish were Scales Common and the Queen's Drises and waste grounds. Scales was in early times a rival to Calais, but Edward III.'s occupation of the latter town and the establishment of the Staple reduced it to an unimportant position, though it gave a title to the lord Scales of England.

According to the survey the extent of the parish was 1,324 acres besides waste lands and the rent was 36*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* When the French Commissioners visited the parish in 1560 they reported that they found it uninhabited. The church, dedicated to St. Maxime, was not built till 1607.

that his said Commissioners shal cause his said letters to be delyvered unto him in good wordes; and if he shall therupon refuse to come over, they shal then advirtise His Majeste of the same, and also of the wordes and langage used at his refusall, to ensue the tenour of them. And if he shal come over according to the Kinges commandement thereof, then, in his absence, they shal secretly view his londes, as they shall doo the rest, and secretly allot and divide the same, as they shall doo the rest; to thintent they may make their boke the more perfitte accordyngly."

In the survey the following plots are mentioned, with others. One of 500 acres abutting on the Pale and between the sea and the way from Scales to Sandgate. East of this was one of 400 acres abutting on Sandgate and Pepling. To the south of this were two of 100 and 101 acres respectively on the south and north sides of the road from Scales to Guînes and having the way from Fol Emprise to Calais as a southern limit. South of this way were plots of 150 and 60 acres, the former abutting on Hervelingen, the latter on Pepling. The Queen's Drises, or waste grounds, abutted on the Pale and Hervelingen.

SPELLAC, or St. Quentin, no longer exists as a parish nor do either of the names appear on the modern map. Its position is not very clearly defined but it occupied certainly part of the modern parish of Guînes, and perhaps also part of the Andren of to-day. Its boundary was, on the north-west, Guînes, from which it was divided at the Pale by Rue des Pierres or Stony Street. The boundary then ran north-north-east to the river from Newenham Bridge which formed the northern limit. From the river the eastern boundary ran south-south-west to the Pale, separating the parish from Andren by the Morrel Way as far as the Boar or Bear Way. Thence the Morrel Way continued to Fink's or Vink's Valley which at the Pale divided Spellac from Camp. The extent of the parish was 1,070 acres and the total rent 24*l.* 15*s.* 2*½d.* About five-twelfths of the parish consisted of wood and waste land. Spellac was crossed by the road from Guînes to Andren, the Ewlin Way, the Boar or Bear Way, and a way from Hawtingham to Camp. Hawtingham, though mentioned in the survey as one end of this way, does not appear in the modern map nor in any old one yet seen, but was apparently not far from the Fours à Chaux, or limekilns of the French map of to-day. The Butter Way and Wood Way are also mentioned in the survey, but have not been identified. Hugh Giles held 19½ acres called the Morells, probably like the way of the same name so styled from the wild cherry trees. The same also held 13 acres called the Baranerye on the borders of Guînes, with the Butter Way to the north and the Wood Way to the south. In the southern part of the parish were the Rigalls, a wood of 50 acres held by M. Franks and abutting on Camp. South still of these the way from Hawtingham to Camp separated the Queen's woods of 147 acres and the Queen's drises or wasteland of 57 acres from the rest of the parish; the drises, which were also called the Nonnes Drises, were parted from the woods, also called Hawtingham Woods, by Swinetrough or Park Valley. This name occurs in the survey and in M. Pigault l'Espinoy's map. In this last Vink's Valley has been transcribed wrongly as Valle dite Vike. None of these names appear in modern maps.

In the survey the plots are thus described. Commencing at the Pale a plot of 200 acres stretching across the parish extended northward to Hawtingham Way to Camp, northward of which another of 240 acres extended to the arable land from which it was divided by the Boar Way. The next plot of 300 acres reached to the Ewlin Way above which one of 90 acres extended to Guines Way to Andren. Between this and fishery was a plot of 240 acres.

In 1515 Hugh Hanley was presented to the church of Spilake, vice Hugh Park, deceased. (Rymer.)

APPENDIX I.

CASUALTIES OF MARK AND OYE.

The pr^offitt of fowling wⁱthⁱn the sayd Lordshippes of Marke and Oye.

By the p^{re}sentment of the sworne men of the sayd Lordshippes before S^r John Dauncey and other Commissioners there the Monthe of September Anno xvijth R.Rs Henrie VIIIth It appeareth that Straungers whyche come into ffowle paye v^s gr. for the Season every one.

The ffyshing of all the Ryvers Watergainges Sewers Dykes and Plasshes wythein the sayd Lordshippes.

The same hath been wonte to be letten and so charged by p^{re}cedent Rentalls at xijth gr. p^{er} Annum and sythens the xxixth yeare of the Reigne of the late Kinge Henrie theyght Reigne the ffree men of Marke and Oye by p^{re}sentment of a graunte from the sayd kinge upon condicon of the diginge of the haven & holled have enjoyed the same. W^out Rent payed.

The towle dewe of all sorte of Marchandyze Ware or Cattall ffutes of the Countrey, as well at the Slewce of Oye by land over the brydge there as also at the Haven bridge throughe Olderkyrke, wythe Wagon Carte or Horslode, or Catall dryveinge and thys accustomed to be gathered by the Toller at Oye Slewce, ffyrst ought to be taken of everye Sarplar, Woole or poke or poket being Staple ware bothe at Marke and also at Oye in everye of the sayd Tolle places for every balle or Coyte of the sayd Sarplar or poke ob that ys the Sarplar iiij^d gr. It^{em} of everye Cth of Woolle fleeces so it be shorne wⁱthⁱn thys Lordshypp of Marke & Oye iiij^d gr. It^{em} yf it be caryed owte of thes Lordshypp to be solde the Marchannte and owner owethe nothyngge tyll he come agayne. It^{em} yf he brynge hys Woolle agayne unsolde, then shall he paye nothyngge, but alwaye at goinge forthe he ought to set pledge for the Tolle. It^{em} of a hundrethe

Shepe goinge into thes lordshyppes to be sett to pasture after—a quarter a peece that ys the hundrethe ij^s j^d gr. Itm yf the Marchante or owner take them owte agayne after the greasinge tyme not solde w^oute frawde couller or Guile, but they beinge styll hys owne good, and none other mans, then he to paye nothinge, but the Toller maye putt hym to a booke othe. Itm of a hundrethe shepe Skynnes cōinge through thes Lordshypps beinge no Staple Ware to paye iiij^d gr. Itm in lyke wyse at Marke yf they passe that waye iiij^d gr. Itm of evry Horse Mare or gelding solde owte of thes Lordshypps muste paye for everye foote j^d that is iiij^d gr. Itm if he be a rode horse he must paye for everye foot ij^d that is viij^d gr. Itm ther is dewe for evrye Englyssh Bullock passinge owte of England and so through thes Lordshyppes ij^d gr. Itm of everye other Horne Beast Oxe or Cowe on thys side the See bred, and brought up, of a peece of them j^d gr. Itm lykewyse at Marke yf they passe that waye. Itm of everye packe of Ware or Marchandyze goinge owtewarde must be taken iiij^d gr. Itm of everye longe carte or Wagon loden wythe goodes, or merchaundise owte of Oye Slewce, or on the Slewce banke iiij^d gr. Itm there is dewe of everye Shyppe laden wythe goodes or Merchaundyze goinge through the Slewce outwards & inwards to the kinge iiij^d gr. Itm of Seewe laden ij^d gr. Itm of a Bakeboge ij^d gr. Itm of a Bote j^d gr. There is dewe of everye Crosse Sacke laden on a longe Carte ij^d ob. gr. Itm. of everye hundrethe of Englysshe Shepe going owte of England & so passinge through the Lordshyppe of Oye into Flaunders, or Pycardye, for Shepe or mutton . ob . gr . that is for everye hundrethe of Englysshe Shepe iiij^s ij^d gr. Itm yf he bringe the sayd Shepe through Marke he must in lyke case paye yf they passe that waye. Itm there is dewe to the Kinge of everye Catchemare laden and goinge owte of ye lande j^d gr. Itm of everye Catchemare laden & cōinge into the land the kinges Tolle is but ob. gr. Itm there is dewe of everye Razer of Wheate Rye Beanes or Rape seede laden wⁱⁿ the Lordshyppe of Oye and goinge forthe into Flaunders or Picardye ob. gr. Itm of everye Razer of Barleye or Otes laden wythein the sayd Lordshippes of Marke and Oye and so passing owte into Flaunders or Picardye ob. gr. Itm there is dewe to the Kinge for hys Tolle of everye longe Carte laden w^t ffyshe owtwardes into Flaunders or Pycardye iiij^d gr. Itm for everye Shorte Carte so laden owtwards ij^d gr. Itm for everye horse burden so laden wythe ffyshe owtwardes j^d gr. Itm there is dewe to the Kinge of everye Jeweller carriing or beringe of any foote packe inwards whearein are Jewelles as Golde or Sylver Broches Stones or anye Ringes Oytches or suche lyke wrought vj^d gr. Itm yf the sayd Jeweller paye cōing inwards he shall paye owtwardes n^t. Itm ther is dewe for everye pedler beringe a foote packe for inwards and outwards j^d gr. Itm for evrye Marchauntes packe or in pypes or in Barrells, in Canvas mayles w^t ropes: or in Maundes cōing inwards on Cartes ij^d gr. Itm of everye pype of Wyne inwards and outwards ij^d. Itm of everye Barrelle of Rape Oyle j^d. Itm of a Barrell of pytche ob. Itm of a Barrell of Tarre qr. Itm of a pype of bere or ale j^d. Itm of a Razer of Salte q^a. Itm of a Chalder of Coles ij^d. Itm of a Barrell of honnye ij^d. Itm of a Cake of Waxe ij^d. Itm of a Cake of Tallow ij^d. Itm of a Tyne of Butter j^d. Itm of a Butterpott of x Stone ob. Itm of everye sacke of Hoppes ij^d. Itm of everye pooke of Hoppes j^d. Itm of a Hundrethe of yron j^d. Itm of a pype of Woode ij^d. Itm of a Barrell of Osmondes j^d. Itm of a Bale of Madder j^d. Itm of a Bale of peper ginger or Synamon vj^d. Itm of a Bale of Almons iiij^d. Itm of a Barrell of oyle olyve j^d. Itm of everye Catchmare laden wythe linnen clothe for everye

packe ij^d. Itm of a Bale of Ryse ij^d. Itm of a Bale of Graynes vj^d. Itm of a Barrell of Sope j^d. Itm of a fiodder of leade xij^d. Itm of a hundreth of blacke tynne j^d. Itm of a Saddell j^d. Itm of a horse coller or gherell ob. Itm of a bagge of Saffron vj^d. Itm of a ffrayle of ffigges or Raysons ob. Itm of a Rawe hyde of Englande j^d. Itm of a Rawe hyde of thys countrey ob. Itm of a dycker of hydes tanned ten hydes a dyker ij^d. Itm of a hundrethe of Calve Skynnes j^d. Itm of a dosynne of Cordwayne Skynnes j^d. Itm of a dosyne of Sprutce Skynnes ij^d. Itm of a Stone of ffethers wythe owte Tyke j^d. Itm of a wat Bote w^t ffysche j^d. Itm of a Barrell of Elys j^d. Itm of everye small pott of Butter under tenne Stone q^a. Itm of a barrell of Samon j^d. Itm of a barrell of Herringes owtwardes and the same inwardes ob. Itm of a dosynne Maundes baskettes ffannes or Syves ob. Itm of a baskett full of bowles ladells or such other j^d. Itm of a hundrethe of Salt ffyshe j^d ob. Itm of a pype of redd Herring iij. Itm of a thousand ffresshe Herrings ij^d. Itm of everye Catchmare laden w^t ffresshe Herrings j^d. Itm of everye packe of Brekeling ij. Itm of everye sacke of Brekeling j^d. Itm of everye Hundrethe of ffelles Staple ware vj^d. Itm of a gybbe of Wollen clothe outwardes ij^d. Itm of a great maunde of marcerye ware ij^d. Itm of everye coste marye w^t frute inwardes ob. Itm of everye greate frute maunde ob. Itm of Onyons ob. Itm of everye carte or Bote laden w^t Pottes or Tyles iiij^d. Itm of everye bote laden w^t faggotts Wood or Byllett j^d.

And genrallye all manner of goodes or marchaundyse passenge Oye Sluce or under Oye Sluce ought to paye ther duytye & tolle here at Oye Sluce and in no place ells. And as well those that passe at the Haven bridge throughe Olderkirke and Harrway wythe the Wagon Carte or horse lode or Cattall dryving they must paye to the sayd Tolner of Oye Shire because it is letten in one fferme, provided that no ffreman name ne ffather any other mans goodes, under couler of his own goodes in deffrawdinge and desceyving the King of his Droytes and Tolles. In payne to have the same goodes ceased as confuscate, and he to be deprieved from his ffreedome for ever. Whyche agreeth word by word w^t the olde ingrossment of the sayde Rates remayning w^t the ffire men of the sayd Lordshypps whiche hath ben ffixede upon a table to remayne of Recorde.

The same hathe ben Wonte to be lette and so charged by p^resident Rentals at C^s gr. p annū : and sythen the xxixth yere of the Reigne of the late kinge Henrie theight the ffree men of Marke and Oye by p^rtenco of a graunte from the sayde kinge upon condicon of the diginge of the haven and the holled have enioyed the same w^thoute anye rent payed : Neverthelesse the same graunt was never of fforce beinge but onlye signified by Cromwells L^res then Secretarie and no L^res patentis passed accordingle nor no bondes taken, accordinge to the purporte of the l^res nor the other condicon onlye ob^sved. And the informacon whereon the Graunt gounded being untrew for that the diginge of the sayd Revers was ther own dewetie before ; and therfor the sayd Tolles & ffishinge are clere the quenes Ma^{tes} being worth as they have lett owte the same, viz. the Tolle vj^{li} xvj^s x^d gr. the ffishinge xix^{li} iij^s j^d gr.

APPENDIX II.

CUSTOMS OF THE PALE.

Also if ther be anie psonne or psonnes passinge throw the Lordship of Marke and Oye into fflanders or Brabande or elles into anie other ptis havenge anie sterlinge monie golde or silver Bolion Juells or Stonis about him or upon him beinge owte of syghte or on his hands Rings or chaines aboute his necke that be not in sighte, to be forfett to the king excepte he have the kings licens. And if so be that he hath Chaines aboute his necke and Ringes on his ffingers and though he have them openlie in sight and the Sercher pceave it passeth his abilitie and power sutch juells to wear or beare, the Sercher shall take them from him and p̄sent it to the baillie or Reeceav^{or} and as they finde the cause so to order it. Provided allway if ther be anie personne Englishe man or other inhabitant wⁱⁿ the kings dominion that will carrie anie Bollion or plate for to make it new in anie straunge countrie he shall bringe the same unto the Reeceav^r to thintente he may knowe what Bolion or plate it is. And the saide psonne shall bind himself ether by suretie or obligation to bringe the saide plate as shalbe apointed what day and time and take a bille of the Reeceivo^rs hand to the Sercher of the some of the plate or bollion and that bill shalbe alwaies a dischargd for the Sercher.

Decreed by Commission remaininge of record in Thexcheker of Callis anno ij^{do} R.Rs H viijth. Everie confirmaton alienaton and transmutaton of possessons of enie lands holden of the kinge in cheefe shall paye to the kinge after the rate of ij^d everie acre. Also if ther be anie psonne that sellethe or alienethe his betterings to anie other psonne so it be on the kings land ought to pay to the kinge the vth pennie. That of v^s xij^d of v^{li} xx^s et sic de similibus. But if it be free lande wherein such betterings stode is made then the amūte must be paid vnto the freeman owner of the sayde free land for so much as the betterings is solde after the saide rate. Also Betterings of land is firste housinge to be praysed by the swo^{ne} prayzers, also plants and treese praised by the saide praisers. Also dikes, quickesett hedges, Settinge of turfe and all suche like to be praised by the kings praisers. And if the dikes bene dolven by the Rodd at vj^d or vij^d the Rodd whether it be more some or lesse some for everie yere that he occupieth after the dikes so dolven and east, to minishe everie yere j^d unto the time that his betterings of such dikenge be owte or Run-uppe. And if the ffermer lett anie fallowe lienge, for that yere that it so lieth fallow he that entrethe shall paye that yeres rent for asmoche fallow as so lieth. And if the ffermer plowe the fallowe three times as is accustomed then shall the new tenānt that entrethe paye for the firste plowinge xvj^d, the seconde plowinge xx^d, the third plowinge ij^s. And if he dunge it w^t parkinge of shepe or of Bests, he to have ij^s viij^d for evry acre. If he dunge it w^t the Carte, he to have iiij^s of an acre. And if it fortune the said sermo^r to have cropp then shall he be minished of his betterings the laste plowinge which is ij^s. And the third pte of the dunginge if it be Carte it is

xvj^d if it be w^t the ffolde it is x^d ob. If he have no cropps so muste he minishe the seconde forrowe w^{ch} is xx^d. And the seconde pte of the dunginge w^{ch} is w^t the carte ij^s. And if it be with the ffolde x^d ob. And if he have the thirde Croppe then must he minishe the firste plowing xvj^d and the thirde pte of dunginge w^t the cart xvj^d and w^t the folde x^d ob and then is his Betteringes all owte of that land so bettred.

Also if anie manner of Straunger dep^{te} the countrie he must paye to the kinge for all manner of suche goods as he carrethe w^{out} the lande the vth pennie of his goods for the quinte.

Also if ther be anie manner of psonne finding anie manner of Straye as Horse Mare Cowe or Calfe or anie other beste he muste p^{se}nt it to the baillie or S^rgeant that dwellethe wⁱⁿ the same pishe ther as the saide Straie was founde. Ther is to be p^{cl}aimed in all pishe churches wⁱⁿ the saide Lordships and so the straie he be kepte a twelve moneth and a daye. And if anie psonne come and challenge the saide straie wⁱⁿ the foresaide time bringinge due proof it to be his he to have it againe he payenge Costs and chargs. If it be not challenged wⁱⁿ the saide time that then the saide Straie to be solde before the churche by an officer and so the money to be p^{se}nted to the King's Receavo^r and the seide officer shall have xij^d of the pounce so by him p^{se}nted.

Also if anie psonne or psonnes fortune to make anie fraie and drawe the anie bloode they to forfet unto the Kinge x^s g^r. If it be in the moneth or time of harveste or elles in the time of the free faire w^{ch} continueth by the space of ix dayes forfetteth unto the kinge xxv^s gr.

Also if it fortune anie psonne or psonnes to be maimed he that is caste by the lawe in the fawte forfeitethe c^s gr.

Also if it fortune anie psonne or psonnes to commit either treason murder fellonne or crime if he be condemned by the Lawe, the seide transgressor to forfet his lief & goodes under this manner. If he have a wief and children the kinge to have the third pte of the goodis. If he have a wief and no children the kinge to have the one halfe and the wief thother. If he have neither wief nor childe the kinge to have the hole goods. Also he shall forfet to the kinge all his terres and tene^{me}nts except the Betterings therof. That is to saie new buildings of houses repracons of houses and plantinge of treese made by the same man condemned wherby thinheritaunce is amendid w^{ch} Betterings shalbe valued and the vallew^e therof shall be divided betweene the kinge and the wief and Children or otherwaies as is aforsaide of goods.

And if ther be anie psonne that killeth himselfe willfullie he shalbe sit upon w^t the Kinges Crowner and freemen of the Curt benche w^{ch} be in number xij beside the Croner & vij Escheuins w^{ch} settethe upon the other benche upon terres and tenemts and other accions. And when anie sentence shalbe geven upon a mans lief so shalbe bothe the benches be full w^{ch} is in number xx psons besides the baillie. And the kinge shall have his goods after like manner or p^{er}son as is beforesaide.

Alsoe if ther be anie psonne killed wth a horse or a beste it is forfeited to the kinge so that it be not in the mans defalte and so iudged by the lawe.

Also if anie manner of Banlinge come owte of anie Staunge princis land either for murder fellonie or Crime and so entre into the Lordships of Marke and Oye he muste p^{se}nte himselfe to the Baillie or to sum other S^rgeant of the saide Lo^rdships so wⁱⁿ thre daies after his firste entrie and declare to the Baillui the cause of the comming and his-offences what he hathe done and the

Baillie to geve him a Ghallaie and savegarde for a reasonable fine after as he is able to paye or bere. And also to sett sufficiente suretie that he shalbe that he shalbe of a good abearinge. And if he can finde no suretie so shall he be commaunded upon paine of deathe for to be of a good abearinge. And if he psume to come wⁱⁿ the Lordship of and remaine theare three dayes w^{oute} gevinge knolledge to the bailliu or anie manne for him, then he to be tached on suspicions and examined from whens he is and from what cause he is fled owte of his owne cuntrie and so the cause known whether it be felonie murder or Crime. If the ptie will sue him by the Lawe he to suffer peinie accordinge to his desyrvinge. And if the pties will not sue him, if the Lorde will not sende for him wheras he did the offence he shalbe delivered to the Lorde by a letter of renvoye to thentente that right and justice maie be ministred.

Also it is by Kinge Henrie the vijth decreed the xvijth yere of his reigne that no alien straunger borne beare anie office or Rule in anie wise consarning the Lawes and Revenues of the saide towne and niches of Callis afore theie have continued Englishe by thre disceints accordinge to the decrees by the said kinge made at Callis in the xvth yere of his reigne upon paine that such as ellecte or amit him to the contrare thereof shall forfeit to the kinge e^{li} st. as often as theie offende in that behalfe and the Alien ellecte or admitted to have all his lands tenem^{ts} reversions rents srvices goods and Cattell seased into o^r handes and his psonne to be bannished out of the saide towne and niches for ever.

And if anie housinge be builded by anie Alien upon anie grounde holden by the saide kinge in chiefe or elles anie Englishemanne builde anie housinge and lettithe the same to a Straunger for anie more than a yere w^{out} licens bothe the buildinge and grounde shalbe seased into o^r handes and holden at o^r wille and all suche lands and goods and Cattell as shalbe founde in the hands of ffeoffs or other psonnes or of anie other psonne havinge no right to thentente to put the seide Kinge from his right and put in truste to the behove of anie alien straunger therof, all suche as have occupied or hereafter shalbe occupied and holden of the seide kinge in chief by anie psonne w^{out} rent or Service and all suche as have bene or now be or hereafter shalbe founden in handes or possession of anie psonne by anie ffeoffm^t gifte Coler Cawtile or Cov^{nt} to the behove of anie Alien afore he was made denison, and all suche as have bene or hereafter shalbe approved into mortmaine unto anie Abbie Collage Hospitall Church Chappell Crafte or office corporate ffraternitie or other ppetuitie w^{oute} the saide kings speciall licens under the greate seale of Englande, the seide ffeoffment anie other Colo^r Cawtell or Covin in the same made notwithstandinge shalbe seased into the kinges hands and all suche pties as have occupied anie of the same theire heires or assignes shalbe distreined by theire possessions and goods to satesfie the kinge and his heirs of all the arrerage of the revenues and pfitts that have commin and growen of them by all the time that they have bene so aliened and consealed and wrongfullie occupied. And all pprests and pprestures and all such Landes tētes reversions rents services and Cattell as were or herafter shalbe founde belonginge to any trato^rs rebels fellows outlawed psonnes intestate aliens deputed w^{out} o^r licens and deodands aliens deputed and of such aliens as convey theire goods and Cattell w^{out} o^r licens owte of o^r saide towne and niches of Calais unto outhere Countries not belonginge under the king's obeisance and therwith the same do builde and pchase shalbe seased into the king's hands and holden at the king's will and that all manner forfeits and ffines that shall

fall wⁱⁿ the saide towne and marches by reason of breaking anie Acte statute or ordⁿnce decre restrainte or pelamation made or to be made in the king's name shall come holie to his pfit and advauntage. And that all the king's iudicate officers of the towne and marches of Callis shall kepe their courtes as there have been accustomed in everie iiij termes of the yere and suffer no accion to dep^te unsentenced before them above iij sises or above one yere at the moste for a great and a notable Consideracon w^oute the Kings consente and warrante upon paine of m^l markes to the kinge and amendes to the ptie grevid by triplage damage, and that they geve no wrongfull sentence that can be pved upon paine of another m^l marks to satesfie the partie wronged of his damage by triplage freholdurs dammage. And that all suche as holde of the kings ma^{tie} and his heires anie lands or tenements by homage ffewte or releif and entrethe the same after the disese of his aunsestre w^oute interest by geven by the Kings officers unto him of and in the same and that he have dated his homage and ffewte and contente his relief The seide lands shalbe seased into the kings handes unto that theie have ffined wth him for their trespas. Also it is decreed that if anie manner testament of anie psonne diseased there wⁱⁿ viij dayes nexte after it to be pved, all manner transmutacons estates liverie seasons and possessions of anie manner Lande possessions or reversions gevin actions sentenced in anie courte of the saide towne and marches or elles any graunts or leases made by the Kings Ma^{ties} Threr of Callis under the kings seale beinge in his kepinge be not put in remembrance in theschevinie at Callis by the king's Clarke of Comission and recorde whom the king hath admitted in that behalfe to be a remembrance wⁱⁿ viij dayes then nexte ensuinge, So that it maie be knowen whether the Kinge be entitwled unto anie thinge concerninge the same upon paine to have all the Lands tent^s goods and Cattell belonginge or in anie wise towchinge the same to be seased into the kings hands and all the said testaments transmutations estates Liverie seasons and possessions to be voide and of none effect or strengthe, So that the kings Clarke of Commissions and remembrance maye kepe a p^fet rental of all the kings lands tenements and s^vices unto the king belonginge wⁱⁿ the saide towne and marches of Callis and therefore yerelie unto the kinge to yelde accompte. And forasmoeche as the king is crediblie enformed that the Maio^r aldermen and burges of the towne of Callis and the baillie and fremen of the Seunage therof and isle of Colham have occupied aliened and concealed and yet doe occupie aliene Conceale and by their supportaton and mainteⁿue manie alien straungers occupie alien and conceale manie lands tent^s rents s^vices goods and Cattell from us wherunto the kinge is rightfullie entitled contrarie to the Lawes statutes decrees and laudable customes ther used by time owte of minde, and wolde not suffer the king's Leveteⁿut w^other the kings commissione's at Callis to here examine and determine the Kings right and title of and in the same accordinge to the te^ms of the Kings Comission unto them in that ptie directed, answeringe them that the Kinge and his pgenitors late Kinges of England have graunted them suche ffraunches^e privilege and Liberties by Charter that none of the kings commission's shall examine anie suche Consealemts and defaults betwixte the Kinge and his subiects there, but themselves, and by colo^r thereof their wolde be Judge of their owne Consealemts and defawits, and disherite and put the Kinge and his naturall subiects Englishe there dwellinge from their Right. The Kings ma^{tie} therefore by the advice of his Counsell hathe decreed and adiugd that it shalbe lawfull unto the seide Commissioners The Threr and Comptroller in their absence and their successors at all times to empanell a queste

w^oute ptialitie or maintenance or as manie Enquests of the Kings naturall subiects Englishe borne there inhabited indifferently chosen, as shalbe thought necessarie by theire discretions like as the commissioners of the Kinges pgenitors Kings of Englande hathe evermore done in time passed, to enquire examine determine and geve sentence by verдите unto them of all manner like consealments and defaults committed or in time to come to be comitted by anie Maio^r alderman burges bailif or ffremen or inhabitaunts of the saide towne and niches of Callis w^out anie interruption lettinge or agenste the saienge of them or of anie of them upon paine of forfeiture of theire saide ffraunchesis p^rivilegis and Liberties and theire bodies and goods to stande at the will and plesh^r of the Kings Ma^te and his heires.

Also that no pson or Straunger man nor woman to take upon them to marrie w^t anie Englishe parsonne unto the time that they have fined w^t the Baillie for the kinge soche a some as the Baillie thinkethe resonable for him And that no preste p^rsume to marie w^t none suche w^oute licens of the baillie upon paine that will faule thereof.

Also that no maner of man hunte in the King's warren by night w^t no haie nor ffuret upon paine of fforfettinge C^s gr. and if anie man kill anie Connie withe Crosse bowe or longe bowe or anie other meanis he to forfet to the kinge X^s gr.

Also that no manner of man w^oute the Lordship shall not foule wⁱn the Lordship w^out he agre w^t the Baillie.

Also if ther be anie Rialtie taken as ffawcons hertes hindes wilde Swannes breedinge theye muste be p^rsented to the Baillie for the king. And the seide Baillie shall geve them that brought them a resonable rewarde.

Also if ther be anie fishe Roiall founde upon the sondes the Kinge to have thone halfe and the ffinder thother halfe. And if ther be anie fishe Roiall taken in the Sea w^t net or ginne and broughte to be solde or Cutt the Baillie shall have the hed of the seide ffishe for his fee.

Also if ther be anie ship cominge into the Newe Haven or in anie place upon the shore wⁱn the Lordship of Marke and Oye and remaine theare two tides he must paye for Ancorage ij^s st.

Also if ther be anie manner of ship driven to lande w^t anie marchaundise outhur by storme or by men of warr or elles by anie other chaunce if the owner or maister come to the shore there for socor of them and theire goods Then to comē to the Officer Sergeante of the parrishe desiringe them of Socor and helpe, So shall the officers reise cuntrie w^t men and Cartes and save the goods as moche as maye be. And the Kinge to have for the savinge C^s st. And the officers bound to kepe the goods to the use and pfett of the mⁱchaunte that the seide mⁱchaundise be not purloined or stolen. And the mⁱchaunt shall paye all such labo^rers laboringe to save the seid goods.

Also if ther be anie manner of Wracke found by the sea coste it muste be p^rsented to the Lagander or to the Sergeante. And soe takine upp broughte to the foresaide Lagander's hous by the baillie and Receivo^r and Invitoried.

If it besoeche mⁱchaundise that maye be kepte kepe (*sic*) it if not the saide goods to be solde And if ther comē anie psonne or psonnes wⁱn xij monethe and a daye that will challenge the seide goods making due profe to be theirs, their goods or monnie to be restored to them againe payenge to the Kinge C^s st. for a reskewe And also to paye all soche costs and chargs as hathe bene laide owte for the same.

Also if anie psonne dothe finde and take anie wrak rivinge or drivinge in the sea w^tout the Lowe water marke and dothe save it and bringe it on Lande the king shall have the one halfe and the saver to have thother halfe.

Also if anie Lands fawle into the Kings hands by faute of paymente ffellonie or Crime that then the seide Lands shalbe pelamed in everie pishe church wⁱⁿ the Lordship. And he that offerethe most monie for it shall have yt to the Kings advntage. And to be entred into the Kings booke as his teñūt. And the Receivo^r shall have xii^d gr. for his entringe.

Also if ther be anie manner of straunger borne w^{ch} hathe anie Kings lands in ferme. And if anie Englyshe mañe wilbe disposed to have his ferme let him speake to the Receavo^r of the same gevinge the Stranger his betterings w^t halfe a yeres warninge. So shall the Straunger depte from it and the other to entre in howbeat the seid Straunger muste have his Betterings er he depte from the place or elles the englyshemanne shall agre w^t him for the Betterings. And in this case the Straunger sholde paye no quinte because he deptethe agenste agenste (*sic*) his will.

Also all manner of Straungers that biethe anie shepe wⁱⁿ the Lordship of m^ke and Oye so ther be an hundrethe or above in the folde, the Baillie muste have of everie ffolde one of the beste shepe soe that it be no bell weather. And if ther be L shepe then the Baillive to have a lambe. And then the Baillie is bounde to hunt the wolfe ones a yere if it be nedefull.

Also all manner fines of ffraies at v^s gr. and botes and fforfeitures at v^s gr. and under v^s gr. made wⁱⁿ the saide Lordships contrarie to the pelamations and ordinūc^e, of the same appertaine to the Lawe of m^ke for the maintenūce of the co^rte of the same.

APPENDIX III.

TOLLS &c. OF THE SCUNNAGE.

The ffyshery of the Plasshe and Slewyces at newnham bridg which the Threr pretendyth to have belongyng to his office nowe resting upon Tryall whether the same ev^r passed to any of his pdecessors by especiall grant annexing the same unto the sayd office or no, the same ys letten fourth by hym for the yerely rent of n^l.

The ffyshery of the newe Ryv^d commyng from Colham to Calles Dyteches the lettyng wherof the high M^y shall hath hadd syns the newe Ryv^d was made and hath letten the same to Coone Launce taking of him half the ffyshe taking w^h ffysshing ptenith to the king's matie.— Uncrtayn and to be accompted.

The ffyshery at the Stones.

The ffyshery at the molyns.

The ffyshery of the moredyke.

The ffyshery of the Masondewe.

The ffyshery of the Haven of Calles.

The Quyns of the betterings of the king's lands to be payde to the king's Matie by the Seller Alien^d at every alienacon. Uncertayne and to be accompted yerely.^a

The Wreycks of the Sea abowt all the Sea coste of the Scunnage to be gatheryd by the Threr wth the ayed of Thenhabytaunts and brought to the Baylyf to be answerable to the owners of the same Soo y^t be claymed w^{hin} the space of and the king's Ma^{tie} to have therof c^t stling and yf the same be not claymed w^{hin} the term then the hoole to the king's use. Uncertayne and to be accompted yerely.

The fferme of the Tolles for gable of the drying of netts w^{out} the walles of Calles taking for every loode of netts iiij^d ne sterling worth oibus Annis XL^s st charged in the former rentalles as the same was lett by the Threr of Calles at iiij^s iiij^d st which Thomas Brooke hath to fferme by leave of the generall Survey^{or} as he sayth xl^s st fac. XL^s gr.

^a There was also a toll called "le bille money," or fines of strangers, which it is noted was granted in 1515 to Robert Garneys, soldier of Calais.

In 1556, John Knight held the office and profits of tackling of wine within the town of Calais. This was the cellarage, drawing forth and carrying of wines within the town, and for some years was unappropriated having belonged to the "late Chantry called the Roode Service in the church of St. Nicholas." The tax was for "every tonne of wines not sweet, 4^d for cellarage, 4^d for drawing it thence, and 4^d for carting." For sweet wines the tolls were double. The last chantry priest let out the toll to one Conye for 11l. for a terme of years. In 1532 it was complained that the constable of Rysbank and other officers, on the arrival of a merchant ship, "claim to fill their bottles or flagons, some of them of an unreasonable size, with wine out of the cargo."

The ferme of the tolle for beasts and other Carriags passing or repassing over Newnham brydg and ov^r the plasshe called the Stones over the Lede called Travers money and also the Tolle called Sandye money letten to ferme to Armigell Wade Esquire by l^{tres} patents during his lyf payeng therfor c^a st. by yere and so in the tenure of Barthilmewe Warner by vertu of the sayd graunt payeng yerely the sayd Rent viz.:

| | |
|--|---|
| ffyrst in the water of St. Peter's and mydel- | Itm for evry Raser of Rapesyde ob. |
| way for every boote w ^t potts v ^d gr. | Itm for evry c felles vj ^d . |
| Itm for evry bussshell of cooles q ^a . | Itm for evry Rasure of Salt ob. |
| Itm for evry boote of Straunge fagotts j ^d . | Itm for evry c of waynskotts vj ^d . |
| Itm for every straunge boote laden or un- | Itm for evry barr. of herrings ij ^d . |
| laden j ^d . | Itm for evry c flesses of wolles viij ^d . |
| Itm for evry Englysshe hyde ob. q. | Itm for evry barr of Iron ob. |
| Itm for evry flemyssh hyde ob. | Itm for evry Rasure of Lyme qr. |
| Itm for evry horslood of fysshe outwards j ^d . | Itm for evry lode of ffreestone iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry horselood gowing outwards what- | Itm for evry loode w ^t rodde ij ^d . |
| soever y ^t be j ^d . | Itm for evry lode w ^t great tymbr iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry barell of bear that goeth out of | Itm for evry loode w ^t hoopess iiij ^d . |
| the Pale j ^d . | Itm for evry dryfatt w ^t mehandyse iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry barell of Oyle j ^d . | Itm for evry horseloode w ^t packs of cloth iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry barell of Soope j ^d . | Itm for evry sack w ^t hoppes ij ^d . |
| Itm for evry dyker of leder ij ^d . | Itm for evry cartloode w ^t Crabbes through |
| Itm for evry other sacke as they be in great- | Newnham brydge ij ^d . |
| nes | Itm for evry m ^t of herring j ^d . |
| Itm for evry c of whyle tymbr ij ^d . | Itm for evry c weight of tynne broken or |
| Itm for evry fardell of linnen cloth ij ^d . | hoole vj ^d . |
| Itm for evry horseloode of linnen cloth iiij ^d . | Itm for evry fut of ketelles j ^d . |
| Itm for evry bullocke sold out of the Pale ij ^d . | Itm for evry c of brasse or copper v ^d . |
| Itm for evry Englysshe bullock so sold vj ^d . | Itm for evry barell of molten Tallowe iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry cove sold out of the Pale ij ^d . | Itm for evry cake of Tallowe ob. |
| Itm for evry flemysse shepe qu. | Itm for evry way of chese ij ^d . |
| Itm for evry Englysshe shepe ob. | Itm for evry horseloode of whyt Cabage ob. |
| Itm for evry horse or colte solde out of the | Itm for evry c of Bourde ij ^d . |
| Pale iiij ^d . | Itm for evry Sarpler or pockett of wolles passing |
| Itm for evry mare or mare colte ij ^d . | through Newnham brydge iiij ^d . |
| Itm for evry hogge going out of the Pale ob. | |

Sandgelte.

Itm for evry cart w^t wolles or other mehandyse laden into fflaunders or out of fflaunders xj^d gr

Itm for evry Long Cart laden wyth mehandyse from M^{ke} gowing or comyng vij^d ob.

Itm for evry Short cart laden w^t marchandise gowing or comyng from M^{ke} or to M^{ke} from Mydelwey or to mydelwey iiij^d ob.

Itm̄ for evry Sacke wth hoppes ij^d.

Travers mony.

Itm̄ for evry Cart w^t wolle or other mēchandyse gowing into ffrancee or comyne out of France vj. ob. gr.

Itm̄ for evry horseloode of pocketts iiiij^d.

Itm̄ for evry horselode w^t packs iiiij^d.

Itm̄ for evry hondryth flasses of woll going out of the Pale into ffrance, vj ob.

Itm̄ for evry e woll felles vj^d ob.

All which are letten to farme to Armigell Wade Esquire by lre patent for terme of his lyfe paying therfore c^a st by yere and so in the tenure of Barthilmewe Warner of the said graunt paying yerely the said rent viz. vij^{li} x^s gr.

The serche at Newenham Bridge letten to farme to the within-named Bartholmewe Warner by the graunt aforesaid taking xij^d of the pound of all that he seasethe adjudged forfaitie and the rest to answer into thexchequer at Calles—uncerteyne and to be accompted.

All other casualties viz. frayes Blodwrightes Maymes Cornebootes fynes amercements for orders broken and trespasses wayffes strayes deodans ffelons goods and traytours goods and lands and all other droytes Royall in the said Skunage in lyke sort as is declared & set fourth for the Lordships of Marke and Oye ar yerely to be enquiryed of and presented in the courts of Frankveritie of the sayd Skunage from tyme to tyme as they fall and as well the same as the Qwynts aforemenconed relese of evry alyenacon and channg of the King's tennts to be certefyed into thexchequer of Callice by the Mayour exchetour there The Baylyve and fremen of the same by extract out of their courtroll and the records therof to be duly entred and enrolled in their courtrolles.—Accomptable as casualties.

S^m of the Rents and
ffarmes within the ex^{li} viij^s vij^d qr. gr.
Skunage of Callice

APPENDIX IV.

TOLLS &C OF GUINES.

Tolles dewe and accustomed to be taken within the Cownty of Guisnes of all mēchandyse passing in or owte.

The Rate and dewtye of the w^{ch} Tolles are here pticularly registred according to an awncient extracte therof geven owte to the offycers by Sr Rycharde Weston knight late Threr of the Kynges Ma^{ties} towne of Calleys the xvj of Julye 1528.

The Tolle of Guisnes to be taken at the Ewline Way. ffirst of every bussshell of Coles q^a Itm of every hide ob. Itm of every horslode of fysshe j^d. Itm of every horslode whatsoever it be j^d. Itm of every barrell of bere j^d. Itm of every barrell of sope j^d. Itm of every barrell of Oyle j^d. Itm of every dicker of lether ij^d. Itm of every sacke as they be in gretnes. Itm of every Cth of whele timber ij^d. Itm of every m^t of Hering ij^d. Itm of every fardell of linen clothe ij^d. Itm for every horselode of clothe iiij^d. Itm for every Bullocke sold owt ij^d. Itm of every englyshe bullocke vj^d. Itm of every Cowe j^d. Itm of every shepe j^d. Itm of every hogge ob. Itm of every Horse or Horse colt iiij^d. Itm of every Mare or Mare colt ij^d. Itm of every Rasier^a of rape sede ob. Itm of every Rasier of Salt ob. Itm of every Cth of ffelles vj^d. Itm of every Cth of wainscot vj^d. Itm of every barrell wth hering ij^d. Itm of every barre of Iron ob. Itm of every Rasier of lyme q^r. Itm of every lode of Tymber iiij^d. Itm of every lode w^t Roddes ij^d. Itm of every lode w^t cabages ob. Itm of every lode wth Crabbes ij^d. Itm of every Cth of fleeces of wolfe viij^d. Itm of every lode wth freestone iiij^d. Itm of every horselode of pocketts iiij^d. Itm of every horselode w^t packes iiij^d. Itm of every Sarpler or poeked w^t woll iiij^d. Itm of every drye ffatt of ware or marchandise iiij^d. Itm of every fulte of Kettles j^d. Itm of every Cthwaight of tinne broken or whole vj^d. Itm of every Cth of brasse or Copper v^d. Itm of every Barrell wth tallow ij^d. Itm of every Cake w^t talow ob. Itm of every Cth of borde ij^d. Itm of every lode w^t hoppes iiij^d. Itm of every cart w^t woll or other marchandyse vij^d ob.

The Lorde Graye Wiltonne Capp^{ns} of Guisnes now Receyveth the same paing yerely as the same hath bin accustomed to be letten to fferme nil hi^t q^a on^o-a^l cū ffirm. terr. dnico Castri de Guisnes.

The tolle at the market of Guisnes of every Cth of woll viij^d gr. Itm of every mare solde on the market j^d ob. Itm of every horse ij^d qr. Itm of every cow ij^d qr. Itm of every hogge j^d qr.

The Tolle of Hawntyngnam in the fforest of Guysnes To be taken of all marchandyse passing throw the fforest of Guisnes Viz. of every wagon laden Thre stivers, of every short cart laden having ij bestes therin ij styvers, and ther be but one beste therin j stiver. Of any horse laden a flemysh j^d, of every foteman laden a flemish ob.

The florrester of Guisnes and his raingers ought to levye the same and are to be charged therew^t upon there Accompt.

The Tolle to be taken at Guisnes faire to be taken of the byer, viz of every shepe or hogge di souse french, of every cowe or oxen j souse frenche, of every horse or mare ij souse french also Stallage that is to wete of every Stall Rowe.

The Baile of Guisnes receyveth the profett of the same and ought to be accomptable thereof.

The Tolle of Ballingham haven to be taken of all botes laden there going or coming to wete of every bote laden w^t wode or bere ij Souse frenche. And of every hundreth of Tallowe And of every Cth of Hyde.

The Lorde Graye Wilton Capp^{ns} of Guisnes now Receyveth the profett of the same paing yerely as the same hath bene accustomed to be letten to fferme x^s gr.

^a A rasier or raser was four bussells.

The Tolle of the Cawsye to be taken at the Turne pyke of Cawsie of all merchandysse or ware according to the rate above sett fourth for the tolle of Guysnes.

The same Lord Gray Wilton Capp^{ne} of Guisnes now receyveth the profett of the same paing yerely as the same hath been accustomed to be letten to fferme vj^{li} xij^s iiij^d gr.

The Tolle of Pounte de Calleys at the foorde beneth Scales hill in the valley betwixt y^t and Whitsand w^{ch} was the awncyent ann^{te} of thenglyshe pale & wont to be taken to the use of the Kings of England at the upper forde where the old forde was, where standeth yet the Ruine of the Tollers House fast by the sayde olde bridge.

The ffreche men at this psent have encroched upon the englishe ground over the sayde awncyant lymys so that no pfett at this day ys receyved of the sayde Tolle.

The fflowinge and ffyshinge wⁱⁿ the sayde Cowntie.

The fflowing and ffysing of the waters and plasshes of Guysnes and Mellack w^t also the fyssherye house at Guisnes.

The Lorde Graye Wylton cap^{ne} of Guysnes holdeth the same as peell of the demaynes of the Castell of Guisnes paing yerly as the same hath bin wonted to be letten to fferme.

The fflowing and ffysing of the waters and plasshes of the Lordshipp of Ballingham.

The Sayde Capp^{ne} of Guisnes holdeth the same as peell of the comodyties belonging to the Castell of Guisnes paing yerely as the same hath ben wonted to be letten to fferme.

Releifes dew to the King upon every alyenacion and chaunge of a tenūte ys the fourth pte of the Rent.

Other Casualtyes & droyts Royall belonging as well to the Seignorye of the cowntie of Guisnes as to the Lordships of Ballinghū & Sandgate. The Receyvo^r accompteth for the same —yerely in his accompt.

ffynes and amercemēts presentable every yere at the Court of ffrankverytie.

To wete every household ought to pay to the King for the ffrankverytie vj^d gr. whether they appere or not.

The increment ordynarye of every tipler of bere or ale ys to the King ij^s gr. in grosse or ob gr. of every Barrell.

The ffine for every blodshed is to the king xij^s gr. The ffine for every fray that is no blode shedde ys to the King ij^s vj^d gr.

The ffyne or boote for plowing nere to the Kings high waye ys to the King x^s gr. The ffyne or boote for breking another mānes hedge or fence ys to the King x^d gr.

The Baylie and lawe of Guisnes are answerable and accomptable for all theys casuaties except for the Lordship of Sandgate for the w^{ch} the Baylie and lawe of the sayde Lordship are answerable and it ys ordeyned that yerely the sayde Bayllies and lawe shall geve into the Eschequer of Calleys severall extracts of the sayde psentmēts and out of the same aske theyre allowannce of the Costs of their Corrt of ffrankveryte and of all execution of Justice and make paime^{nt} of the rest of the same. And that the costes of the same keping of the ffrankverytie shalbe unto every of the Baylies ffree men and Clerks & s^rgeāts onely viij^d for theyr dietts.

The ffine or bote that every beaste be yt horse or neate Shepe or Swine male or ffemale yonge or olde damage ffesant in the corne or high grasse of any parson eyther growing or

felled and standing in the field, ys to the king x^d gr. And the lyke of every cart. The ffine or boote of every pownd breche ys to the king x^s gr. The fine or boote for disobeing tharrest of every hedde officer or Sergeant ys to the Kinge x^s gr. The ffine or boote of whomsoever fenseth not his court or house place and closes wherby his neighbour be endamaged ys to the king x^s gr. Also all penalties and forfytures sett for orders and rules broken according to the assesment by the Court aforesett. The fforest bootes or fines dew to the king for trespasses there as whoso cut the grene woode there forfeytes to the king for every soche offence ij^s gr. ffor every beaste taken damage ffesant forfeytes to the king ij^s gr. Whoso cutteth any of the kinges timber trees in the forest forfeytes for every soche tree cut xⁱⁱ paryses. Who so cutteth downe any trees that stonde for bowndes eyther of the lymytts of the Pale or of the fforest forfeytes to the king—Whoso conveyeth oute of the Pale w^{out} suffysient lycence eyther Corne Cattell or victuell forfeyts to the kinge—Whoso conveyeth out of the Pale w^{out} suffysient lycens or passe port therfore anye golde or sylver coyned or bullyon or chaines Ringes owehe or Juell exceding his estate to were forfeytes the same to the kinge All waiffes Strayes Tresure trovyde deodaynes are the Kinges dewly fownd and tryed. Of all goodes and Cattells and the one yeres rent of the landes of ffellons yf the offendo^r have wyfe and chyl dren the king shall have the ijij^d part, yf thoffendo^r have wyfe and no children or children and no wyfe the king shall have the halfe, yf thoffendo^r have neyther wyfe nor children the king shall have the hole. And lykewyse of the goodes Cattells and here-dytaments for ever of all traturis aft^r that rate allowing to the baylie & lawe for thexecucion of every soche offendo^r yf he be then apprehended and iudged.

Memorand. the baylyfe & offyceers dewty besydes ys to have of every bloudwight iiij^s ij^d gr. and of every fraye iiij^s ij^d gr. and of every arest xij^d gr. yf yt be the sargeat Royall and viij^d gr. yf yt be thunder sargeat yf they go out of the towne and yf yt be within the towne yt is but the halfe. Also for dystresse of Corne botes or fforest botes or lyke offences iiij^d gr.

Memorand. also the Cap^{en} of Guisnes in droyt of the Captenry of the Castle agenst any warres suspected or toward may cōpell any inhabytant in the county to bring into the castell for store of the same Corne and Bacon & other victuell according to the substance of the parson. Provyded that he restore yt them wⁱⁿ xiiij dayes or money for the same according to the p^{ses} of the market yf the enemye come not and so may cōpell them to renew the store yf nede be.

Also he hath used and all time may take up in the cownty at such p^{ses} as the market bereth asmuch corne hoppes and victuels as he nedeth for the Castle, paing for the same wⁱⁿ xiiij dayes.

Also he hath yerely of every stocke of shepe so there be an Cth in the stocke one shepe of the best instede of a tolle called the wolfe shepe, for the w^{ch} also he ys bownde to hunt the wolfe once in the yere at the leaste. And he hath of every householde that hath hennas a henne by name of the foxe henne, for the w^{ch} he ys lykewyse bownde to hunt the foxe. Also every tei^{nt} in the county except he be a freman keping a whole plough must over and above the kinges rentes serve the Capp^{en} every yere w^t iij iurneys w^t his long cart or wagon w^{ch} bin called Carroys, one to fetch in his wodde and fuell from the forest, one other to fetch in his hay, and one for his necessaryes to Calleys. Also theyre hath bin rated yerely out of the forest to the Castle for every of his Cth ordinary Soldyours one Cth fagotts of the syse of fyve fote long and ix hand-

full the band, for to kepe theyre ward w^t. And for the Capp^{en} for his chamber iij^{ml} faggott, and for his Kytchen and brewhouse x^{ml} faggott of lyke syse, he and they paing for the felling and making and cariage yf it excede his ordinary Carroys. But now the same being consydered to be overskant, there ys allowance for his Cth soldyours as before and for the Capp^{en} household and Brewhouse The like fines bootes and amercements are dewe for the Lordship of Hampnes.

The profett therof the capp^{en} of the Castell of Hampnes taketh, answering yerely therfore the rent of the sayde Lordship.

Memorand also that the lyke dryttes the Capp^{en} of Hampnes taketh of that Lordship as the Cap^{en} of Guisnes bath, saving that out of the fforrest he hath for him and his retynnew of the Castle vj^{ml} faggotts of the assyse aforesayde.

The Castell of Guisnes w^t the de^{ne} landes and comodyties to the same belonging.

The Cap^{en} of the sayde Castell for the tyme being holdeth and taketh the profett of theys parcells folloing and for the same answereth the kings ma^{tie} the rents thereon assessed according to the Survey therof made in Anno xvij^o Regni nup R. Hen^r viijth.

To wete—The ffermes of both Graunges as well the lyttle Graunge as the great Graunge cxliij ra^{ns} of wheate at iij^s iiij^d gr. the Raser amounting to xxiiij^{li} xvj^s viij^d gr. and in money ix^{li} gr. in all the sayde ij grawnges and ground xxxij^{li} xvj^s viij^d.

Also a medow grounde called the lystes cont. xxj aer. at ij^s the aer. amounting to xliij^s gr.

Also the Hoppyard, the Conygree & the Bryckerye

l^s gr.

Also the fferme of the watermyll p ann.

xxv^{li} gr.

Also the fferme of the ffysherye and fowling p ann.

xxiiij^{li} gr.

Also the Tolle of Guisnes

vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d gr.

Also the Toll of the Casey

vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d gr.

Also the Tolle of Ballingham

x^s gr.

Also the ffysherye of Ballingham p ann.

x^{li} gr.

Total cx^{li} v^s iiij^d gr.

APPENDIX V.

INVENTORY OF THE CHURCHES IN THE HIGH AND LOW COUNTRY, 1553.

Inventory of all the churches in the high and low country taken the xxixth of May A^o 1553.^a

The Parish of Marke. The churche wardens thear Markes de Braye, John Malsott, Jois de Clarke, Adriañ Johnsonne. Itm a crosse of silver and guilte. Twoo Sencars of Silver Twoo Challees of Silver. A Sute of Vestments of Bawdkine, To saye thre coopes a vestment, twoo tunicles w^{out} albs. Bells in the Steple whearof one serving for a clocke.

Gemp. Itm in the Chapell of Gemp annexed unto the pishe of Marke one bell w^{ch} is the cheif Allarum bell for the lowe countrey.

^a Augmentation office, 407.

Oye. The church wardens John Partrig, James Hayenes, Andre Harbert de felde. A challice of Silver. A coope of Reed. Twoo bells. A Stock of Sheape.

Colham pishe. The Church wardens thear Adrian Skell, Peater Barris, John Croke. A challice of Silver. A bell in the Steple.

Olderkerke. The Church wardens James Fowler Marien Johnsonne. A challice of tine .A challice of lead. A table cloth of Lynnen. A bell.

Newkirke. The church wardens Valentine de Roy, Richard Watisonne. A challice of Tine. A table clothe of lynnen. A nolde vestment.

Ofkirke. The church wardens George Giles Adrian Lambe. A challice of Tine. A table clothe of Lynnen. A bell.

Saint Peatars. The church wardens John Bear, Xpofer Standard, John Dodd. Challeces of Silver v. A blew Damaske cope. A whight vestment of Sattē of bridgs. A tawny vestment of clothe of Bawdkin. A vestment of blew saye. Twoo olde Towells. Twoo bells and the thirde solde because hit was broken. A paule of blew velvet olde. A paul of clothe of Baudkin.

The High Cuntrie.

Buckard. The church wardens Adrian Sprit John Haneecruyt. A challice of lead. A nolde vestment. Twoo table clothes. A bell w^{ch} was takē awaye by S^r John Wallopp.

Saint Blaise. The church wardens Casen Langer, Robert Mark. A Challice of Silver soldo by Casen Langer and Thomas Russell. A Bell of v^c waight remanīg at Guisnes.

Saint Nycas. The church wardens Thomas Jonnesonne Adrian Mase. A challice of Silver. Twoo Coopes one of blake velvet and thother of silke and silver threde. One bell and twoo bells taken away by S^r John Wallopp and redelivered by the Lorde Cobhames meanes and sold aftward for the makinge of a bulwarke.

Skales. The Church wardens Robert Cole. Robert Campe. A challice of Tinne. A Coope price viii^s. not paid as yeat. A Small bell.

Hampnes. The Church wardens Adrian Arthur, Lancelot Russell. A Challice of Silver. A Coope of olde Chamblet. A bell.

Pitham. The Church wardens Christian Lewes, Giles face. A Challice of Tīne. A Coope of fustian. A bell w^{ch} now remanith at Calkwell.

Sandgat. The church wardens James Cone, John Skotman, Nicholas ffawdrell & E. Andrew .A challice of Silver. A challice of Tynne. Certaine broken Silver. Three vestments broken. And one bell delivered to Bowen Armerer, who saythe it was stolen. Three olde Lynnen Towells.

Ballingham. Challice of Tynne. A Cope.

Audren. Church wardens John Husoure John Loryner. A Challice of Silver w^t a patten. A nolde Cope. Twoo table Clothes. Twoo bells carried to S^r John Wallop^a in Guisnes castell.

^a Sir John Wallopp was lieutenant of Calais Castle from 6 Oct., 1530.

Camp. A chalice of Silver. Two table clothes. A bell brought and delivered to Sir John Wallopp at Guisnes.

Guisnes. Church wardens Richard Woodrof, George Rufferd, Saunder Robert, Anthonie Coward. A chalice of Silver. A nolde cope. A suet of vestments Certaine plate solde by Mr Wallopes commandement to the valew of L^{li} w^{ch} was emploid for the making of the Church. The bells wear delivered to Mr Wallopp.

Peplinge. The church wardens John Keals, John Johnstone. A Chalice of Silver. A coope of Redd saye. One Table clothe. A small bell. A payer of Candelstickes of Brasse.

Harvelingham. Church wardens W^m Edwards, Pacquen Rouge. A Chalice of Tinne. A coope of Olde Silke.

Chalkwell. Church wardens George Spirt Trusonne du Va, W^m Hayes, Raynold Coket. A Chalice of Silver. A Table clothe. A bell w^{ch} belonged to Pitham. And Mr Wallopp had one bell from Chalkwell.

Froytonne. Church wardens Steven Holland, Hugh Barrier. A chalice of Silver w^{ch} was solde unto Mr Hampnes. A nolde coope of Redd. One table cloth. A bell broken; Mr Wallop had thother bell.

CHURCH GOODS OF O^r LADYCHURCH, CALAIS.^a

An Inventorye Indented taken by us Willm Portor, Willm Grene, John Hillyarde, and Thomas Appelbee, John Delanowe, Thomas Burye, & Oliver Turnor, wardens of O^r Ladies church in Callais of all suche plate, Juells, money, vestments, and implements belonging to the same church w^{ch} We fynde There the vj day of Octobre a^o 1552 and p^{nted} by us the said wardens to the Right Honourable Lord Willughbye L^t Deputye generall of the towne and marches of Callice, Mr John Cavell Maio^r of the same towne, and S^r Maurice Dennys knight Threr of the saide towne & marches, the Kings Ma^{ties} Commyssioners appointed in that behalf.

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| furst twoo pare of Crewetts parcell gilte weyng | xxiiij ^{li} ounces. |
| Itm a Cresmytorye all gilte weyng | lj ounces. di. |
| Itm sixe Challiceis w ^t sixe patentes all gilte weyng | cxxx ⁱⁱ ounces. |
| Itm one Oyntemente boxe weyng | iiij ounces. |
| Itm one gospel booke gilte. | |

Itm one sute of vestimentes of blewe velvet viz. three coopes one vestment the deacon and subdeacon wythoute albes.

Itm one sute of vestimentes of blewe velvet imbrodered w^t flowres of golde viz. three coopes one vestment the deacon and subdeacon w^tout albes.

Itm a Cope one vestiment of white Damaske. The Deacon & subdeacon imbrodered wth golde w^tout albes.

Itm one sute of Vestimentes of redde velvet viz. three coopes one vestment, the Deacon and subdeacon w^tout albes.

^a Q. R. Miscellanea, 19

Itm an old sute of vestimentes of white Damaske embrodered wth flowres of golde viz. three coopes one Vestment, the Deacon and Subdeacon w^{thout} albes.

Itm an old sute of vestimentes of blacke Chamblet viz. one cope one vestment, the Deacon and Subdeacon w^{thout} albes.

Itm twoo Vestimentes of blewe Damaske w^{thout} albes.

Itm three Vestimentes wth flowers of golde w^{thout} albes, viz. one of rede velvet one of blewe velvet and one purple velvet.

Itm one Vestiment of grene Velvet wyth a crosse of Sylver.

Itm twoo olde Vestimentes of clothe of Bawdkyn w^{thout} albes.

Itm one olde Vestmente of blewe Bawdkyn w^{thout} albe.

Itm one Vestimente of reed Tensen satten w^{thout} albe.

Itm one Vestiment of reed satten w^t a crosse of grene velvet usen upon goode ffriday.

Itm one Vestiment of white Lynnen clothe w^{thout} albe.

Itm one pawle of blewe velvet w^t bells of Sylver and a crosse of golde and one other pawle maide of olde vestimentes died Blacke.

Itm sixe Corporus Casseis of golde and Velvet.

Itm twoo old Corporus casseis one of black velvet and the other embrodered wythe golde.

Itm sixe frutes viz. one of Clothe of sylver embrodered wth the assencion of oure Ladye and flowers of golde, One of Clothe of golde and blewe velvet pawnde wth flowers of golde, One of white and reed silke, One of blacke satten wth reed flowres, One of grene silk wyth birdes of golde, and one of white cloth for Lent.

Itm one clothe for a desk of blue worstedde.

Itm foure paire of Curteynes belonging to the hiegh Altare, viz. one pair of white dammaske dammasked wth golde. One paire of greene sarcenet, One paire of Tawnye sarcenet, and one paire of Lynnen cloth paynted.

Itm foure quesshinges, viz. two of greene cloth of tyssue, one of reede frynged silke, and one of reede silke wth a beare embrodered apon it.

Itm a vayle in twoo partes of white and blewe Clothe.

Itm a smale clothe for the hiegh Altar w^t the picture of Jesus upon it.

Itm one olde Careclothe of white and reed.

Itm one coveringe of the Cannopye that hangs over the sacrament for Lent.

Itm one cannapye of clothe of golde and reed velvet wythe the Vallence thereunto belonging.

Itm a case that covered the sacrament of clothe of golde and reede velvet lyned wythe grene tensen.

Itm twoo Cannopies for the sacraments, one of reed sarcenet frynged w^t golde and another of whyte silk nedleworke frynged wythe golde.

Itm twoo Candlestickes of brasse for the hiegh Altar.

Itm a smale hollywater pottle of brasse.

Itm a smale Lion of brasse.

Itm seven linnen altare clothes for the hiegh altare & eyght disp towells.

Itm̄ one olde carpet of Tapissarrye.

Itm̄ fyve Belles weyinge seventene thousande nyen hundrethe & thre score pounds.

Itm̄ the Clappⁿ of the same bells weyng fyve hundrethe thertie-seven pounds.

Money belonging unto the saide Church.

ffirste in thandes of John Bryskyn c^h.

Itm̄ thandes of Willm̄ Abeall c^h.

Itm̄ in thandes of John Knighte iiij^h.

Itm̄ in thandes of Willm̄ Portor Cⁱ whereof receyved to paye for certaine repa^cōns and the mynisters wage w^{ch} was due at Mydsomer last xxx^{li} and Restes in thandes of the saide Willm̄ portor lxx^{li}.

In Wytnes whereof unto thies p^{nt}e Inventories indented aswell the Commyssioners above named as the saide Wardens severally and enterchangeably have put theyre Seales.

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| + | John Hillierd | John Delanoy |
| W ^m Grene | Thom ^s Appelbe | Thomas Bury |

The Inventory taken by Us Thomas Coines Willm̄ ffynckell John Broker Edward Churchyarde Richard Ball and John Sylvester wardens of Saynet Nicholas church in Caleis of all suche plate vestments and Implements belonginge unto the sayd church which we fynde there the vijth of Octobre 1552 delyvered by us the wardens aforesayd to the right Honorable Lorde Willoughbye Deputie S^r Mauryce Dennys Knight Thesaurer and the Worshippfull Mr. Cavell Mayor of Calleys.

Comyssyoners appoynted.

fyrst fyve challyses w^t Patents all gylt wainge

cx ounces.

Itm̄ a Crismytorye all gylt wainge

xliz ounces.

Itm̄ a pax of copper w^t a picture of our Lady in sylver.

Itm̄ a pax of sylver wainge

iiij^{or} ounces di.

Itm̄ a vestment of white Damaske and a cope of the same.

Itm̄ ij Copes of blacke fustyan de naples.

Itm̄ Table clothes iiij & vj Towells.

Itm̄ ij Cusshynes of blewe velvet.

Itm̄ iij Cusshynes & a Carpett of Tappesterye.

Itm̄ a grene carpet upon the Table.

Itm̄ a pawle of Tawnye velvet.

Itm̄ iij pawles de fustyan de naples.

Itm̄ a pulpytt clothe of grene Damaske.

Itm̄ fyve bells hanginge in the Steple.

Itm̄ Receayd for certeyne Implements solde for necessitie to repayre the church because we coule not gett in the money then Owinge to the Church, the whiche things so solde amountyd to the S^m of xliij^l st.

These be the Debts owinge unto the sayd Church.

[Here follow the same debts as those given in Q. R. Miscell. ⁵⁰¹/₄.]

Our Ladie church
in Callice.

The names of suche psonnes that have taken money
of the Churches as may appear by ther sevall
Dedes.

Willm Abeall c^{li} starlinge who hathe assured certaine
howses in Callice as appeareth by his dede for the repaiment of the
same and x^{li} for interest made unto the Lorde Cobh^m then Deputie
the Maier and others dated xvij^o die junii A^o ij^{do} Rs. Edward vjth.

Itm John Knight owithe ^{xx}iiij^{li} and hathe assured certen landes of his and Willm Knight's
for repaiment, and for Interest, as aperith by his dede dated xvij^o Junii A^o Reg^o Edwardi sexti
secundo.

W^m Portar owith lxx^{li} over and above xxx^{li} paid before the last comyssion and hath assured
certain howses in Callice for the repaiment and for Interest, as appereth by his dede dated xvij^o
Junii A^o Rg. Edwardi Sexti secundo.

John Briskin owith c^{li} and hathe assured certaine landes in Callice for the repaiment and for
thinterest as appeareth by his dede dated xvij^o Junii A^o predict.

Sum. iij^c li.

Saint Nicholas Money owinge to the same by sundrie men upon specialtis.
church in Callice.

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Anthonie Pickering man at armes by recongnizance owith | xliij ^{li} strl. |
| John Barlinge prist owith by Obligation | iiij ^{li} |
| Edmnd Davie owith by recongnizance | x ^{li} |
| Richard Windebanneke | xv ^{li} |

Sum. lxxij^{li}

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Sm. Tot ^m of the Special debts | iiij ^c xxij ^{li} |
|---|--------------------------------------|

Saint Nicholas Debts owing w^tout specialtis and in verie powre mens hands.
church.

| | |
|---|--|
| Dedd by W ^m Asshetone | xxviij ^{li} xi ^s iiij ^d |
| Harry Lyons | x ^{li} |
| Robert Chambrelaine | x ^{li} |
| James Smithe | v ^s x ^d |
| Davie Selie | xii ^s ij ^d |
| Henry ffronke | xxiiij ^s iiij ^d ob. |
| Robert Burgaine | x ^s |
| John Suet owith for Iron | xxix ^s ij ^d |
| Thomas Boyse for iij ^c leade | xviiij ^s |

M^r Francis Hall hathe to answeare for a coppe of skarlet velvet pyrlie with
clothe of golde.

Andrian Prissley hathe to answeare for vestment complet challice and a patten
of silver and gult.

S^r George Somerset hath to answeare for a vestment complet a
Challice and a pattent of Silver and guilte.

Sm. of these deesperat debts liij^{li} xv^s x^d ob.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| | Itm one palle for a Desk of blew woosted | xij ^d |
| | Itm ij peare of olde curtens of grene sarsenet | vij ^s |
| | Itm one peare of curtens of white Damaske | xij ^s iij ^d |
| | Itm one peare of curtens of lynnyn clothe painted | ij ^s |
| Reserved to the Church. | Itm fower small quyssens, two of grene clothe of tyssou, one off redde fringed silke and one of redde silke, w th a Bear embrodered upon it | vij ^s |
| Stolen out of the church. | Itm a vale in two parties of white and blew clothe. | |
| | Itm a small clothe for the high Alter painted w ^t the picture of Jesus | j ^d |
| | Itm an olde Care clothe of white and Redde | ij ^s |
| | Itm one coveringe of the cannapie hangenge over the sacrament for Lent of blew sarsenet | xij ^d |
| | Itm one cannapie of clothe of golde and redde velvet w ^t vallance thereunto belenginge | iiij ^{li} vi ^s viij ^d |
| | Itm a case that coverede the sacrament lyned w th grene | xvij ^d |
| | Itm two canopies for the sacrament one of Redde sarsenet fringed w th golde and a nother white silke nedle worke fringed w th golde | ij ^s |
| | Itm two candelstickes of brass for the high Aulter | iiij ^s iij ^d |
| | Itm a small Hollywater potte of brasse | xij ^d |
| Reserved for the Church. | Itm a small lion of brasse | xx ^d . |
| | Itm seven olde lynnyn Alter * clothes for the high Altar and eighte olde Dyaper towels | xx ^d . |
| | Itm a nolde carpet of tapistrie | vj ^s viij. |
| | Itm five bells weyenge seven thousande nyne hunderethe and thre score poundes. | |
| | Itm in the clappers of the same bells weyennge five hunderethe xxxvij ^{li} Iron. | Som. Tot. lx ^{li} xj ^s iij ^d st |
| The wayeght of the plate : | | |
| Two peare of Cruetts pcell gilt weyeng | xxiiij ounces | } e. liij ounces di. at iij ^s viij ^d the ounce xxxv ^{li} xvi ^s iij ^d . |
| A Crismatory box of silver all gilt weyeng | l ounces di. | |
| iiij chalesses with patents wayenge | lxvj ounces | |
| Neiontemment Box gilt wayenge | iiij ounces | |
| plate of Silver gilted of the gospel booke wayenge | vij ounces | |
| | wayinge in all | |
| Two chalesses Reserved for the Church w th the patents wayenge | } lx ounces. | |

XVI.—*The Ancient Settlements, Cemeteries, and Earthworks of Furness.*

By H. SWAINSON COWPER, Esq., F.S.A.

Read December 12th, 1889.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages will be found the result of a somewhat careful examination of all the existing ancient sites in the district of Furness, in North Lancashire. The remains themselves are very varied in character, ranging from the rude enclosure of dry-built masonry to the burh of the Anglo-Saxon lord. The accompanying illustrations represent all the most important examples of these; and, as far as I am aware, every site (excepting some groups of cairns, which on parts of the fells are innumerable) will be found described with some detail in the text.

For the purpose of this enquiry, a personal examination has been made of every site in the district. Besides this, I have consulted every work that contains mention, however slight, of the subject.* For the most part, these notices are neither

* The following are the most important notices on the subject, with a brief statement of the character of each, and an abbreviation used in the text of this paper for reference:

1. *The Antiquities of Furness*: by Thomas West, Close's edition (Ulverston, 1805), contains plans of Aldingham Moat, and the Urswick stone walls (pp. 391 and 397). W.F.

2. *Archæologia*, xxxi. 448-453, contains a paper by C. M. Jopling, "on the subject of Remains ascribed to the era of the Druids in Furness, north of Lancashire." Plans are given of Urswick stone walls, enclosures at Appleby Slack, Birkrigg, a circle on Kirkby Moor, and also a map, all of which are more or less useless. Arch. 31.

3. *The Prehistoric Remains of Furness and Cartmel*; a paper read by Henry Barber, M.D., before VOL. LIII.

copious nor accurate; the plans of Close and Jopling being nearly useless; and the deductions are in general vague and unscientific. A large proportion of the remains have indeed never been noticed in print, and one of the most important of the series has, to all intents and purposes, been overlooked altogether.

The plans accompanying this paper are plotted in every instance from a personal inspection and survey; and are mostly the result of careful measurements with the tape. The smaller offsets were, however, in some cases taken by pacing. On the plan of the "Homesteads" on Heathwaite Fell, exceptional care has been bestowed, part of it being practically surveyed by Mr. C. W. Dymond, C.E., F.S.A., who accompanied me to that place on one occasion, and to whom I am much indebted for many useful suggestions and hints.

Although, therefore, these plans may not be able to claim extreme accuracy, they have, perhaps, as much as is sufficient for the objects they represent; and, even if they only induce others better qualified than myself to execute more accurate surveys, they will serve an useful end. I think, however, that no errors of importance will be detected.

There is but one stone circle in good preservation and of any size in Furness; and, as it has been pointed out by Messrs. Flinders Petrie, C. W. Dymond, and others, that remains of this class require the utmost accuracy and care in planning, I have left it alone.^a

Many of the remains I have visited several times in order to correct or verify first impressions; the settlement at Heathwaite Fell no less than four times.

The plans are, for the most part, laid down to the scale of 50 feet to the inch. The deviation of the compass is rectified as nearly as possible; it being in this district in 1888-9 between 20° 30' and 21° west of north.

It will be noticed that in the plans of most of the stone-walled enclosures, the walls are indicated by parallel lines, with the intermediate space dotted, while in a few they are shown by the slight shading usually applied to an earthen bank.

the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1868, and printed in pamphlet form at Ulverston. It contains some useful information, but is unillustrated. Barb.

4. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, iii. 241-265, contains a valuable paper on the Archaeological Remains of the Lake district, by J. Clifton Ward, F.G.S. C. and W. iii.

5. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, ix. 200-205 and 497-504, in "Some Prehistoric Remains in North Lonsdale, by H. S. Cowper." C. and W. ix.

^a Jopling gives a plan quite conventional and useless.

The former method is used where it is possible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, the original thickness of the wall; the latter where they are too ruinous for this. In some cases, also, the defence may have been nothing but a stone rampart, without any true walling.

The slope of the ground in the vicinity of an enclosure or group of remains is indicated approximately by arrows:

- > = gentle slope.
- >> = moderate slope.
- >>> = strong slope.
- >>>> = steep.
- >>>>> = very steep and precipitous.

These arrows always fly down hill.

Besides the plans and descriptions of the ancient settlements and dwellings, I have added some account of the primitive sepulchral and miscellaneous remains in the district. This I had at first no intention of doing, but I found the two classes of remains to be so intimately connected, that an account of some sort seemed indispensable.

This paper therefore may upon the whole be regarded as a prehistoric survey of Furness, and I have spared no trouble to render it as complete as possible. A series of well-conducted excavations upon some of the sites would probably prove of the greatest value.

Many of these remains are small and in themselves insignificant, especially if compared with the great hill-forts and extensive earthworks found in other districts. But remains such as these should be studied as a series, and it would be highly interesting to compare them with those in other districts of similar geological formation, as in parts of Wales.

THE REMAINS.

The district of Furness is the most northerly part of Lancashire, and with Cartmell forms a district known as Lonsdale north of the Sands. Furness itself is bounded upon the north by the river Brathay, upon the east by Windermere and the river Leven; whilst on the west the river Duddon divides it from Cumberland, and its southern side is a sea-board fringed by the broad, dangerous sands of the Duddon and Leven.

Its extreme measurements are twenty-five miles from Elterwater on the north to Concle on the south, and twelve from a bend in the river Duddon near Ulpha on the west to the foot of Windermere on the east.

It is divided in two natural divisions, High and Low Furness, the former being the southern extremity of the Lake district, and a land of heath-grown fells (of hard Silurian slate), containing two lakes, Coniston and Esthwaite. These fells extend also some way into Low or Plain Furness, but south of Ulverston it is chiefly an agricultural undulating country (mainly of mountain limestone and red sandstone), containing, however, some high ground called Birkrigg Common.

It is principally, as is generally the case, on the high ground that the remains we have to treat of are to be found.

In all, there have been observed about thirteen sites of ancient occupation ; but possibly some, such as single lines of embankment crossing a fell, do not of necessity carry evidence of ancient habitation with them, and others may be either residential or sepulchral. There are besides these, innumerable sepulchral mounds and two or three stone circles, which may owe their origin to more important rites than those of simple burial.

The entire series may be conveniently divided into

I. PREHISTORIC.

1. Residential or semi-military :
 - A. Ramparts or entrenchments unassociated with enclosures but associated with sepulchral remains.
 - B. Enclosures of a single rampart or wall.
2. Settlements :
 - A. Dry built, stone-walled enclosures, containing more than one court or apartment, and distantly or closely associated with sepulchral remains, extensive walled enclosures, or outlying stone walls.
 - B. Of anomalous form.

II. MISCELLANEOUS.

- A. Dwellings.
- B. Sepulchral.
- C. Religious ?

III. POST-ROMAN AND ANGLO-SAXON EARTHWORKS.

It must be understood that in this classification the term "prehistoric" has its widest sense, for, although it is possible that the sites thus classed are pre-Roman, it cannot be actually stated that they are all so until excavations have been undertaken on a somewhat extensive scale. With this in view it has been thought necessary to mark the majority on the new archæological map of Cumberland, Westmorland, and North Lancashire with the symbol **E**. Reference should be made to this map and its attendant index in perusing the following.

I. PREHISTORIC.

1. Residential or Semi-Military.

A. Ramparts or entrenchments unassociated with enclosures but associated with sepulchral remains.

Hawkshead Hall Park. (C. and W. ix).

This is situated on a range of heath-grown fells which goes by the above name, and the height of which is here about 800 feet above the sea level. It consists of two broad mounds or ramparts of earth, one running north-east and south-west, and the other leaving it at right angles and running south-east. The first is nearly a quarter of a mile long and about 11 feet wide, with a shallow trench or ditch about 4 feet in width on its east side. It is composed almost entirely, if not quite, of earth, and is not now more than 2 feet high. The other and longer one is of precisely similar construction, with a trench to the south. Immediately after leaving the first it crosses a rivulet in a little ravine. In one place it is carried along the edge of a brooklet, which supplies the place of the trench; at this point it rises and passes between two small hills, which seem to prove that it is not a defensive work. On the summit it becomes lost or nearly so: but on the opposite side of a stream, which runs at the base, a similar work is found running in a south-south-westerly direction. This is only 8 or 9 feet wide and without a trench; it may be traced for about 100 yards, and then turning at a right angle it passes down the side of a hill in its original direction, assuming its original construction (about 9 feet wide with a 3-feet trench to the south). Here it appears more stony, and is evidently not defensive, being commanded by higher ground immediately outside the trench. Down the side of the hill it has four or five large boulder stones set at intervals in it. At this point it seems to end, although

there are obscure traces of old walling in the fields beyond, which possibly have formed a continuation.

This rampart is rather over half a mile in length.

The trench has, I think, been formed by throwing up earth in the manufacture of the rampart, and is in no sense a defensive ditch.

About 300 yards from the north-west portion is a cairn, which, on being opened some years ago, proved to be of a primitive sepulchral character, and about a quarter of a mile south-west of this are others.

Bleaberry Haws Torrer. (C. and W. ix.)^a

In this case we have a very similar rampart extending from the summit of a hill 1,000 feet in height, across a valley 200 feet deep, on to the summit of another hill about 70 feet higher than the first, passing which it turns to the left at a right angle, thus in part enclosing the hill, and after a short straight run of less than 200 yards it comes to an end.

Its general direction is north-west and south-east; its construction similar to that on Hawkshead Hall Park, but in one part the earthen rampart is exchanged for a stone wall. The rampart is about 10 feet wide, and has in places a trench or depression about 2 feet wide to the north-east. The stone wall portion extends only about 200 yards up the steepest part of the second hill, and seems to have been composed of a low dry-built stone wall perhaps originally about 4 feet wide, although in its present ruined condition it is considerably more.

There is also a branch embankment joining the southern portion of the main one in the valley. In the immediate vicinity occur cairns, proved by excavations to be sepulchral, ring mounds, a small stone circle, and within a radius of just over two miles, stone-walled enclosures, which will presently be described.^b

^a Contains plan and description.

^b As the depression by the side of the rampart above mentioned has been the subject of controversy in a local paper, I must state that it does not appear to me to be in any sense a ditch, *i.e.* one of defence. In my opinion it is due, 1st, to the casting out of earth for the formation of the rampart (to some small extent); 2nd, to sheep sheltering from the prevailing south-west wind under the embankment, and grubbing and burrowing under its lee side; 3rd, to denudation by natural drainage, the embankment being in part built down a natural hollow. The trench is not to be found where the embankment is exchanged for a wall.

B. Simple enclosures contained within a single embankment or wall.

Birkrigg. (Barb).

Birkrigg Common is a limestone hill, 450 feet above the sea level, and about two-thirds of a mile in diameter, and lies just over two miles south of the town of Ulverston.

On the north-east slope, at a place called Appleby Slack, is a simple and small enclosure (fig. 1). It consists of a single rampart or vallum of earth and stones, enclosing a somewhat pear-shaped area, and at present in some places about 10 feet wide. The height of the vallum is insignificant.

Its construction may be similar to that of Urswick stone walls, which will presently be described. The interior is level and the ground rises from the enclosure on the south and west. There is also an entrance upon the east.

A little distance west there is a mound (unmarked in the Ordnance Survey) which has every appearance of a tumulus, and rather less than half a mile south-east a double concentric stone circle; just over a mile south-west is an



Fig. 1.—Appleby Slack, Birkrigg.

Enclosure at Holme Bank, Urswick.

This consists of a single rampart or embankment of earth and stones (fig. 2) which, with a natural limestone excrescence, encloses a five-sided figure.

On the west side, where this limestone outcrop completes the *enceinte*, the artificial work is omitted, or possibly has been removed. The rampart in its present condition is 10 to 14 feet in width, and on the east, where it is highest, it does not exceed 3 feet. The entrance, which is also on this side, seems original. The east and south sides are further defended by a slight ditch. Within the enclosure are traces of foundations or cross walls; their plan is somewhat obscure.

In the southern part of the *enceinte* is a low circular embankment, perhaps the remains of a dwelling. Outside, at the point marked *a*, are more obscure foundations, possibly of some sort of outwork.



Fig. 2.—Holme Bank, Urswick.

condition it is difficult to say anything as to the construction of this stone wall or rampart.

The gaps on the north-west and south-east seem ancient, but a track road runs through them to Torver.

Torver Beck, at the bottom of a deep ravine on the south-west side, forms both a strong defence and an excellent water supply; water could be drawn straight out of it into the enclosure.

The rampart is not improbably of similar construction to that of Urswick stone walls. The ground slopes away easily from the camp all round, except on the west, where it rises also easily. The ground within the enclosure rises slightly towards the centre.

Torver Beck, Bannishhead Moor, near Coniston.

This interesting little enclosure is situated about 350 yards south of the ancient pack-horse road from Coniston over the Walney Scar Pass to Seathwaite, and about half a mile south-west-by-west of Bannishhead Mire.

It consists of a rampart or wall of stones of all shapes and sizes, which, with Torver Beck, its south-west defence, forms a four-sided figure (fig. 3). In its present ruined

The ground within is very rough and rocky, and there is a segment of a circular foundation on the edge of the ravine; outside, on the north, the ground

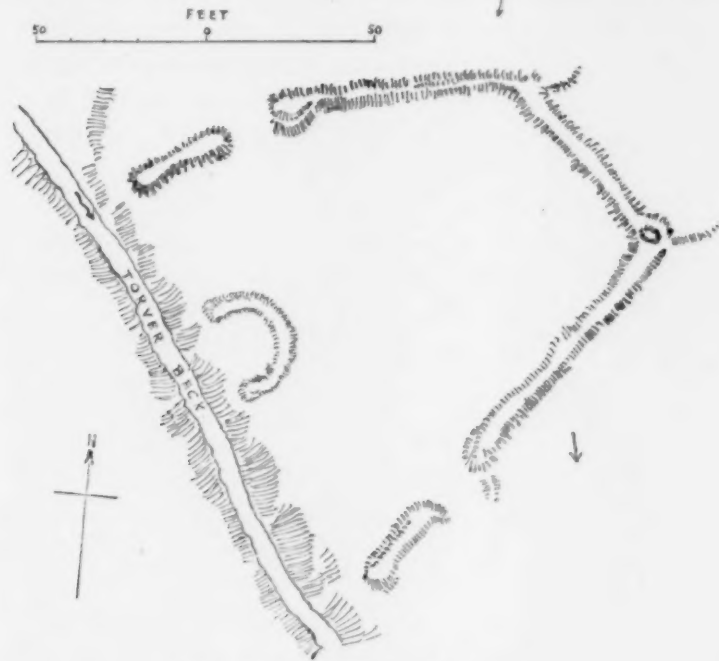


Fig. 3.—Bannishhead Moor, near Coniston.

rises towards Coniston Old Man, and there is upon this side a pond which has a somewhat artificial appearance.

About 100 yards south-west, upon the opposite side of the stream, is a ring mound, and in the immediate vicinity of the enclosure are innumerable cairns; within a radius of a mile there are other enclosures, the Bleaberry Haws embankment, ring mounds, and many cairns.

Stone Rings, Heathwaite Fell.

This enclosure (fig. 4) is in all probability a member of the Great Heathwaite Fell settlement, presently to be described, but as it is quite separate and comes under the heading now treated of, it is advisable to describe it here.

It is situated upon a somewhat elevated plateau (c. 500 feet), which is marked in the 6-inch Ordnance sheet as "Stone Rings," and is about half a mile south

of the southern end of the Heathwaite Fell settlement, between which and it, hollow marshy ground intervenes.

This site is very strong towards the north-west, in places precipitous, but the containing wall of the enclosure is not built upon the edge of the precipice, but from 50 to 100 feet from it. It is also fairly strong towards the north-east, but there is level or fairly level ground to the south-east and south; these last-named sides are however partly protected by bogs.

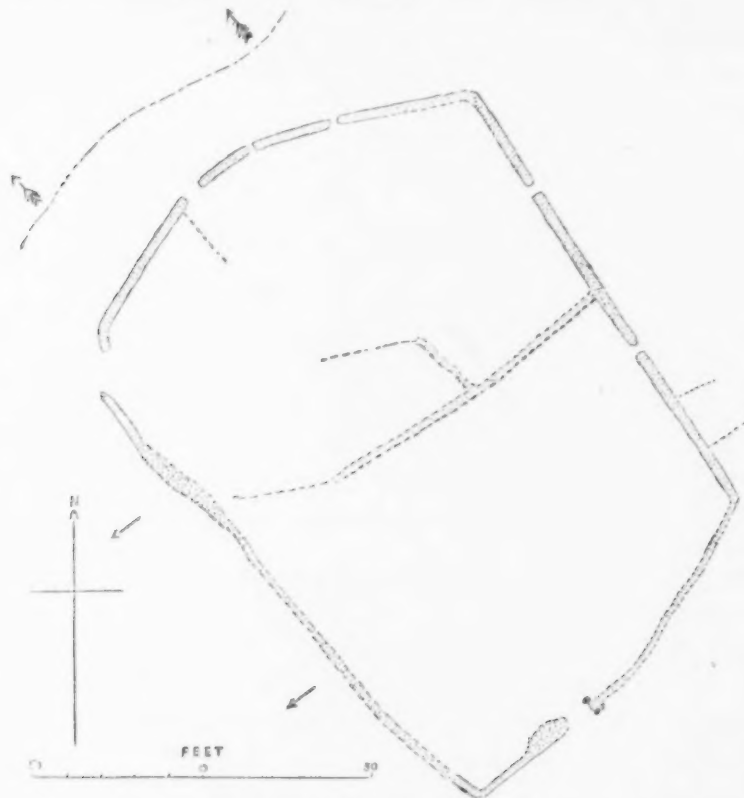


Fig. 4.—Stone Rings, Heathwaite Fell.

The enclosure is in shape a rough parallelogram of about 180 feet by 130 feet, contained within a dry stone wall, most of which is now very ruinous, but which seems generally to have been 3 feet thick, but on the south-east only 2 feet. There are many gaps in it that render it difficult to tell which may have been ancient entrances, but some of them have largish stones still erect in the position of jambs; there are three such at the south entrance.

The interior walls shown upon the plan are very ruinous, and in some places even hard to trace. Near the south-east corner, outside the wall, and on the north-west side within, are lines of single stones embedded in the earth.^a

About 350 yards north-east on the road to Burney Farm, and close by a little tarn, are cairns and ruined walls, and there are traces of another wall connecting the camp with these in an intervening hollow.^b

This enclosure may have been a camp of defence on the seaward side, and for the protection of the large settlement close by, and it has a much more defensible position than the homesteads or residential part of the latter. It commands the ground extensively in a southerly direction.

Scrow Moss, Coniston.

In this case we have a slight deviation from the type, the line of the enclosing wall being broken by a circular chamber (Fig. 5).

The enclosure, which is of small size, is situated near the base of Coniston Old Man, being on a slope below the road, which leaves the ancient pack-horse thoroughfare from Coniston to Seathwaite at about a mile from the former place, and runs towards Levers Water and the Coniston copper mines; it is a little south of an eminence called "the Bell," and between another called "Big Hill" and a peat moss (Scrow Moss). Its shape and dimensions can be better under-

^a These I have been assured are "guards" for woodcock sprits, and they are certainly very like in construction; but as they occur in a very similar position at the adjacent settlement, I think it better to notice them and to mark them on the plan; their position is peculiar, being thus placed in conjunction with the ancient walls, and they are not in the usual hollow in which woodcock sprits are generally found.

^b At a little distance to the north-west, on a road to Knott End farm, I observed a stone which seems to have been used for sharpening a narrow-pointed instrument or weapon. It has upon it a groove 8 inches by 2 inches containing many small parallel grooves apparently formed by a sharp point, and each of which may perhaps be from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch wide.

Another stone of similar character I have noticed on a fell to the east of Coniston Lake, near Park-a-moor. This stone is also small, about 2 feet long, and has upon it a similar irregular groove, in length 6 inches, and in greatest width $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is made up of smaller grooves in the same manner.

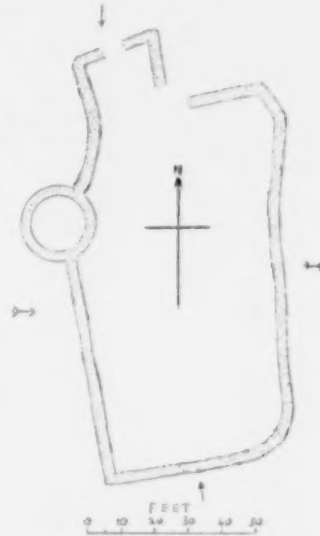


Fig. 5.—Scrow Moss, Coniston.

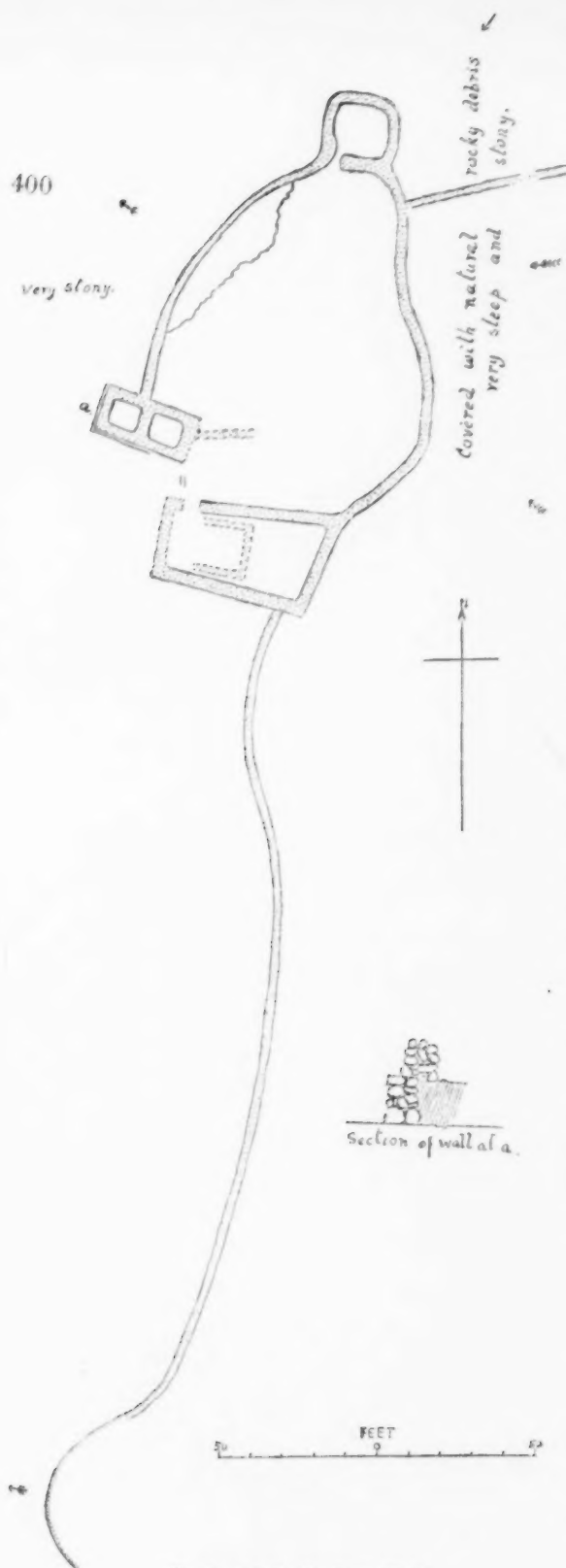


Fig. 6.—Seathwaite Stone Walls.

stood from the plan (Fig. 5) than from description. It is situated on a steepish slope to the east, and its wall has been originally about 3 feet thick, and composed, as usual, of stones of all shapes and sizes. A small detached piece of wall, of horseshoe shape, is situated 100 feet from the south-east corner; its diameter is 19 feet and its wall is about 4 feet thick.^a It is hard to tell if the gaps at the north end of the large enclosure are ancient or not. The interior is hummocky, and perhaps covers other foundations. The place is quite indefensible, the ground on the west, north, and south being all higher than the interior of the enclosure. There is much natural stony debris in the vicinity. Scrow Beck to the north would form a fair water supply.

This enclosure is just about a mile north-east of the remains at Torver Beck; and cairns occur less than half-a-mile north-east and a quarter south.

^a Not shown on the plan.

2. Settlements.

A. Dry built, stone-walled enclosures, containing more than one court or apartment, and distantly or closely associated with sepulchral remains, extensive walled enclosures, or outlying stone walls.

Seathwaite Stone Walls.

Like Scrow Moss, the irregular shape of this enclosure can be best understood from the plan (Fig. 6); it is situated in Long House Close, Seathwaite, rather less than half-a-mile north of the Walney Scar Road, where it comes close to Long House Beck in its descent to Seathwaite Valley. The construction of its walls seems to have been similar to those at Scrow Moss and Stone Rings, but they are better preserved, being in places still 6 feet high, and varying from 2 to 4 feet in thickness. Besides the court or yard, there are three or four chambers upon the wall. That on the north is somewhat square, with rounded angles. The double chamber upon the west is of peculiar construction, having upon the exterior of its west and south sides a sort of plinth or offset, being, in fact, a rude bench about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground (see section). The total height of this wall on the west is 6 feet, but is seemingly a revetment, as it has an elevation of only 3 feet in the interior. It contains two apartments, or small chambers, square, with rounded angles.

The larger quadrangular chamber on the south has apparently contained a smaller enclosed chamber within it, with very narrow passages left between the walls of the two. It is, however, badly preserved, and rather obscure in plan.

These two double chambers flank the main entrance, and from the sides of that first mentioned there are traces of a stone wall running towards the opposite angle of the yard. A streamlet running through the enclosure forms a fair natural water supply.

Its position bears very considerable analogy to that of the Scrow Moss enclosure, and therefore is not strong. In one way, however, it possesses a peculiar strength of its own. The surface of the ground, and slopes all round it, are entirely covered with natural rocky *débris*, so rough to walk upon that an attack, even from the high ground immediately east, would be a matter of great difficulty. This *débris* has been in a great measure cleared within the enclosure.

Up the rocky slope on the north-east, which is very steep, runs a wall leaving the enclosure near the chamber, and apparently built over a stream. Another wall leaves the south chamber, and runs for a considerable distance in a southerly

direction, at one point forming a revetment. These two walls may, perhaps, at one time have formed a large enclosure.

About two-thirds of a mile south-west-by-west, on the opposite side of the stream, there are marked on the 6-inch Ordnance sheet, more "ancient stone walls," which, however, appear to me to be of comparatively modern construction, as many of the stones are squarish, and have, I believe, been quarried for the purpose. I am inclined to think that this is ancient sheepfold, but close by there is another small hut-like enclosure of what seems to me ancient construction, being built of rough unquarried and unsquared stones of very similar construction to the enclosure just described. (See II. Miscellaneous.)

In other parts of Long House Close, and about the side of Walney Scar generally, may be observed foundations and traces of ancient enclosures of various shapes, square, ovate, and some of conjoined rectangular figures. These may in some cases be sheepfolds of ancient date.

No cairns have been observed in the immediate vicinity, but the Long House enclosure is about two miles north-west of the remains at Bleaberry Haws, and the same distance west-north-west of the Torver Beck group.

Heathwaite Fell. (Arch. 31; Barb.; C. and W. iii.)

This, by far the most extensive and interesting group of remains of this class, has been hitherto, to all intents and purposes, ignored. The references above will show the scanty attention which has been paid to the settlement. One curious thing is recorded by Jopling, namely, a local tradition among the old inhabitants that giants formerly lived at the place, and were buried there. The last of the race was said to have been shot with an arrow upon the adjacent hill of Blawith Knott. A similar tale to this was told me in 1888 on the spot by a man cutting brackens.

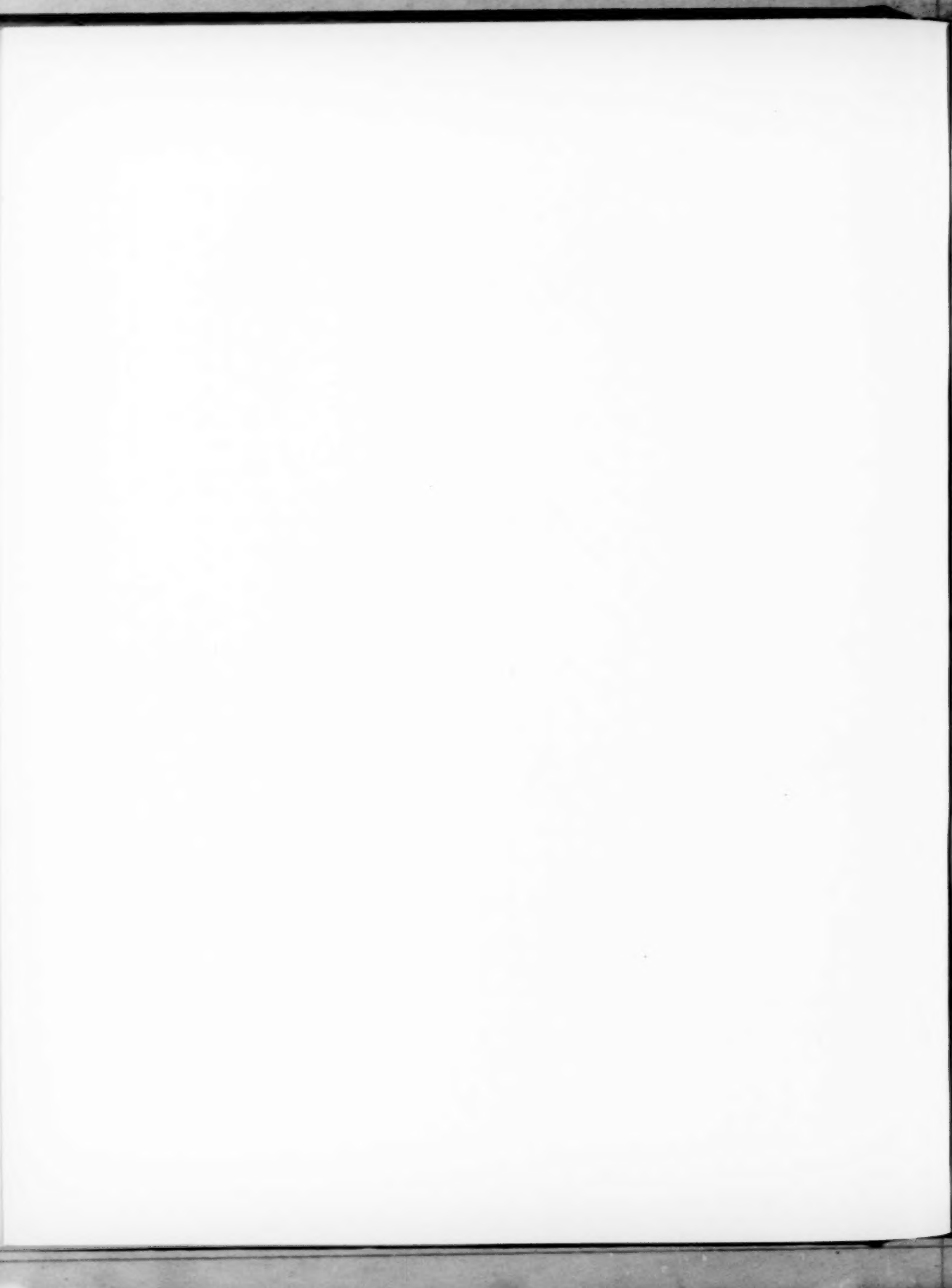
The site selected for the settlement is an oblong and somewhat triangular elevation of moorland, rather over half-a-mile long from Knott End Moss on the south to the apex of the walls upon the north, and some 700 yards wide from Birk Bank Moss upon the east to the western limit of the walls. The highest point of it is about 550 feet above sea level. (Ord. dat.)

It lies half-a-mile south-west of Blawith Knott (800), by which it is well sheltered from the north-east wind. The site is naturally strong upon the west, where it has a steepish slope to almost sea level; it is fairly so on the south-west, while on the north-east and south-east it is protected by large bogs, some of which have anciently been tarns. (Plate XXVIII.)



THE HEATHWAITE FELL SETTLEMENT.

Reduced and adapted from the Ordnance Survey.



This elevation has been encompassed by a dry-built stone wall originally 2 feet to 3 feet thick. Beginning at the north this wall runs along the west slope for about half a mile, when it turns east at a right angle, and crossing a small natural gorge, where there is a gap in the wall (probably the chief ancient entrance), it runs south-east for about a quarter of a mile across marshy ground, which divides the settlement from another hill called Knott. Close to here it abuts against the large morass called Knott End Moss, on the inner side of which the slope is very steep. This moss with Birk Bank Moss form the protection on this side, and between the two the wall is continued. On the north-east it is again found continued from Birk Bank Moss, and thus completes the outer defences. Besides the chief entrance on the south there are two gaps in the west wall, probably ancient.

The space thus enclosed has been subdivided into five or more smaller enclosures by cross walls, and each of these seems to have had a water supply of its own. The apex of the triangle has been cut off by a wall, and this encloses the north elevation of the hill. About midway along the west side another wall leaves the outer one, crosses the summit, and cuts off the west angle. On the centre of this wall is situated the "Homesteads," or headquarters of the settlement. Within this ward, and close to the Homesteads, is the largest pond in the settlement, called now Pewet Tarn.

Again, from the east side of the Homesteads another wall has been formed, which bends round and abuts against Knott End Moss, thus forming a southern ward. The remaining portion has also been subdivided by a wall running north and south, of which, however, portions only remain; and fragments of more walls are found in the western division.

The Homesteads are situated upon the south-east slope of the hill, and upon the cross-wall dividing off the western ward, which wall passes through it, forming one of the partitions. They consist of seven walled courts or yards, three smaller chambers, and two very small mural huts or chambers. The walls, which are composed of the usual dry-built masonry, are in most places 3 feet thick, but in some places rather more, and in the east wall of the western court from 6 feet to 7 feet.

The main entrance to these enclosures has been on the south, and there are many gaps, which seem to be ancient entrances, varying from 2 to 6 feet in width. Each outer court has at least one of these from the field, and also one or more internal gaps of communication with the other enclosures of the Homesteads. There are also traces of a ruined passage between the great east court and the west one. The mural huts are placed at the north-west angle of the west court,

and the south-west angle of the south court. The first is the most interesting; it is contained in a small rectangular block of masonry filling up the angle, and the

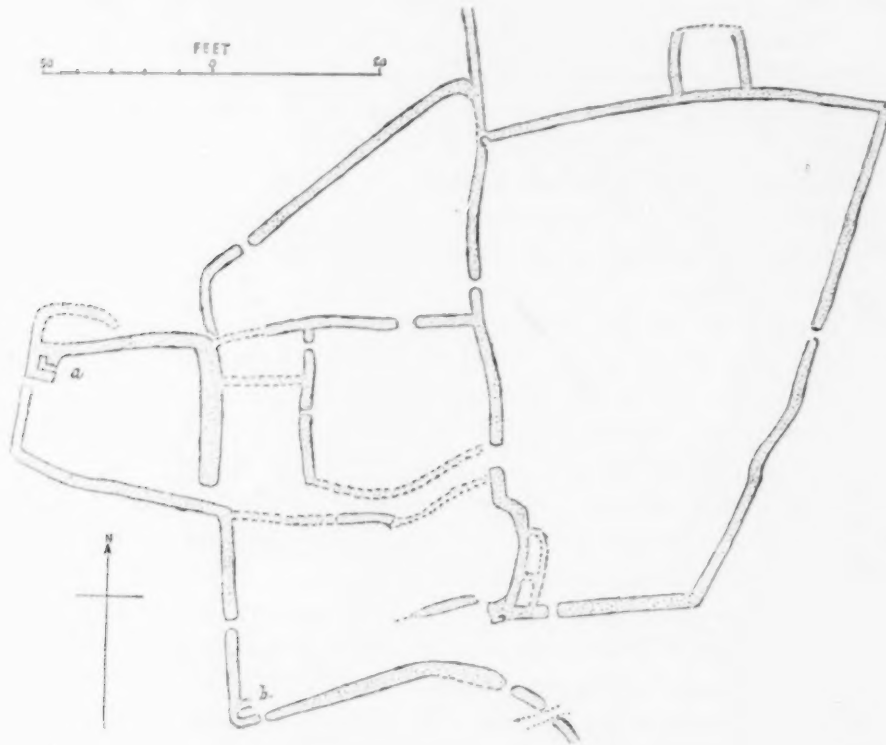


Fig. 7.—Homesteads, Heathwaite Fell.

plan of the chamber itself is that of a joiner's square (see *a* on fig. 7). The little entrance-passage, measured from the opposite wall to the entrance, is 5 feet 3 inches long, and the part at right angles to this is only 4 feet in length. The first named part is 2 feet wide at the entrance, and the latter 2 feet 3 inches wide. The walls at present stand about 4 feet high.

The other hut in the south court is more simple in plan (see *b* on fig. 7), consisting of a small straight chamber from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet wide, and is 5 feet in length. The west or inner end is rounded, and the wall batters a little inside like a couch. Its walls are at present 2 feet to 3 feet in height.

It is of interest to compare these curious little huts with some at Ardudwy in

Merionethshire, which form the subject of an article in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, by Mr. Hugh Pritchard.*

Summing up, Mr. Pritchard says, "Of the huts described here, it will be seen that four of them are of the smaller class, measuring interiorly from 6 feet to 7 feet in length by 2 feet to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, with a height from floor to ceiling of 2 feet to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. These stand perfectly clear, and are quite unconnected with other buildings." He also describes some of similar dimensions as connected with courts and enclosures.

These Merionethshire huts are very similar in plan to, though seemingly all somewhat longer than, the first example I have just described. Mr. Pritchard considers them roofed dormitories or night retreats, and compares them with seamen's berths. Some of them are at the present day roofed over, which is not the case with either of the examples at Heathwaite Fell, but it is not improbable that these once were so, if not with flags, possibly with tree branches and heather. There is not room in the first for a man to repose, unless he did so with his legs in the entrance passage, and head and body at right angles in the other part; but the straight hut, being 5 feet long, may have been used thus, especially if the internal battering of the wall was intended to support the head and shoulders, in a rather upright position, something like an invalid's chair. Neither would hold more than one person with any degree of comfort, and altogether I am inclined to regard them as guardians' or watchmen's huts.

The other small chambers, three in number, are ruinous and badly preserved: one is outside the north wall of the west court, close to hut No. 1; another, which seems to have been square in plan, is outside the north wall of the east court; and a third, seemingly a double chamber, within the south-west corner of the same court. This last is close to the main entrance, and may have been a sort of guard room.

Within and without the outer wall of the settlement, in every direction, are cairns of all shapes and sizes; some long, some round, and a few roughly revetted with stone circles. Beginning at the north end, outside the *enceinte*, and around Beckhead Moss, these memorials are to be noticed in numbers; one, west of this moss, of oblong shape, has been opened,^b and is called the "giant's grave." Outside the west wall the north-west slope is covered with them, and within it, just west of the Homesteads, is a large group, many of considerable size, and both

* Huts of Ardudwy, by Hugh Pritchard; *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 4th S. xii. 27.

^b Interments and a portion of a stone ring were found.

long and round in shape. Still inside the walls, and south of the Homesteads, and above Knott End Moss, is another large group, mostly round; and a short distance east of the Homesteads is a large and symmetrical round cairn, hollowed out to the natural soil at its centre, probably the result of excavation. Due south, nearly a mile distant, are others; and a patch about the same distance north-east, on the other side of Blawith Knott, is marked in the 6-inch Ordnance sheet, "White Borran."

It has been asserted that many of these are beehive huts fallen in; but I see not the slightest reason to consider this to be the case. Very few have been systematically examined.

On visiting this place on one occasion with our Fellow, Mr. C. W. Dymond, C.E., we noticed on the hill flanking the west side of the small gorge leading to the south-west entrance of the settlement, some curious artificially levelled platforms on the steep hillside. These, Mr. Dymond suggested, were slingers' platforms.

I have since found similar places on the high ground on each side of Knott End Moss, placed in an admirable position for covering the approach on the east side of the "Knott." They are, however, much more numerous in the first-mentioned place; and certainly command this dangerous approach to the settlement in a remarkable manner.

These platforms have been formed thus: on the steep hillside a small level has been formed, by excavating into the hill and turning out the material on to the side of the hill, like the rubbish heap from a quarry; in some cases this "tip" is (I think intentionally) worked up with stones, to make it stronger. The slope, but not the summit, of this artificial platform has now a special vegetation, namely, a small fine heather, while the hillside and top of the platform are either grass or brackens. Some of the platforms measure on the level part 12 feet long by 8 feet wide; but others are much smaller. They are placed with intervals between them, which, if Mr. Dymond's surmise as to their use be correct, may have been to allow room for the full play of the sling.

The strength of this settlement is in one sense considerable, placed as it is upon a ridge of moor high above sea level. But the position of the Homesteads is incapable of defence, being immediately commanded by a hill. It is, in fact, the dwelling and burying place of a primitive community, with its attendant cemeteries and large enclosures for various purposes, and in no sense a fortification. The strategical strength of the place has, however, been evidently well considered; as is evident by the method of utilising large morasses or tarns for defence, and the excellency of the water supply.

The other remains in the vicinity are the square camp, already described, half a mile south, perhaps a garrison to the settlement; cairns, ring mounds, and a singular basin-like excavation from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east; and the remains of a large stone circle $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east.

There is also a large cairn and ring mound $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south, a mile further south of which it is interesting to notice an estate called Rathvale, and close by a Rathmoss.

Dunnerdale Fell. (C. and W. iii.)

We have here a place similar in design to, but much smaller and inferior in every way than, Heathwaite Fell; the place of the central Homesteads being taken

by a solitary and small walled enclosure. Its site is very similar to that of the Long House Close settlement, being placed upon the slope of Dunnerdale Fells, east of the river Duddon, at an elevation of about 530 feet (fig. 8).

Beginning from the small enclosure the wall runs north, passing over a rocky eminence; here it bends east, and, after about 100 feet, it makes another turn back south. Some way along this side it becomes lost, but is apparent again further on. At about 800 feet from the north-east corner it turns west and runs down the side of the hill, where it becomes gradually lost.

Besides the small enclosure, the walls of which still stand about 4 feet high, there are within the *enceinte* many cairns, remains of walls, and

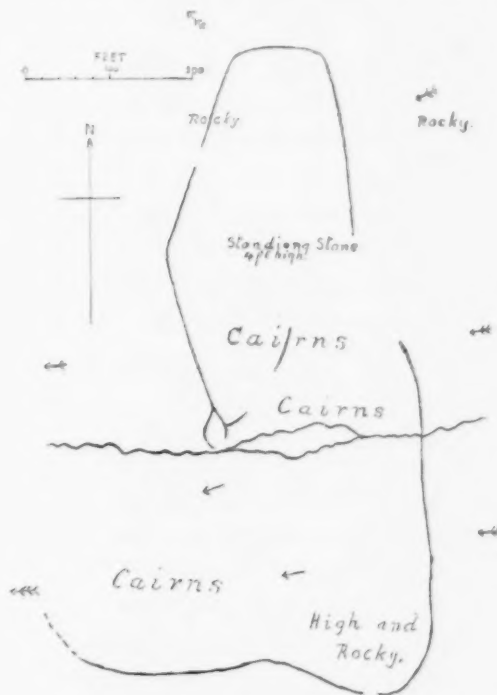


Fig. 8.—Dunnerdale Fell.

one standing stone.

From the east side the rise is very steep to the summit of Great Stickle (1000 feet). On the west and north-west are steep downward slopes to the

Duddon. Near the south-east corner are many cairns; Mr. Clifton Ward noted a circular group. Due south are many more; and near these is the dry bed of an old tarn, very stony, south of which, again, are more cairns and foundations. A stream running through the large enclosure makes a fair water supply. The gap in the south wall may or may not be an ancient entrance, as a cart track now runs through it.

The site of this settlement was, at the time of my visit, covered in every direction by large and thickly-grown brackens, which entirely precluded a satisfactory examination of it. The plan given here is therefore nothing more than a sketch plan partly taken from the 6-inch Ordnance sheet, and partly from such notes as the condition of the remains enabled me to make.

I observed no signs of entrances flanked by chambers, or of circular foundations, but beneath the brackens were many foundations of walls, etc. of which it was impossible to make out the plan.

This settlement is over four miles south-west-by-south of the Long House Close stone walls; a similar distance south-west-by-west of the Torver group, and three miles north-east of the fine megalithic circle at Swinside in Cumberland; and about four miles north-west-by-west of Heathwaite Fell.

About the same distance north-west on Birkby Fell, near Devoke Water in Cumberland, are the remains of another large settlement, very similar in character to Heathwaite Fell, which goes by the name of Barnscar, and concerning which there is much local tradition. It will be of interest to compare this with the Furness examples, especially the two last described.*

B. Composite Enclosures of anomalous form.

Urswick Stone Walls. (W. F. 395; Arch. 31; Barb.; C. and W. iii. xxvii.)

These very curious remains are situated upon an eminence a little over half a mile west of Urswick church; and, in consequence of their accessibility, have, unlike most of the High Furness enclosures, been the subject of more than one detailed description. All of these are, however, in a greater or less degree unsatisfactory, and a considerable amount of speculation and vague theory has at different times been wasted on these structures. As it is undesirable to extend these pages with long extracts I must content myself with a simple description of the remains, and such references to former descriptions as are absolutely necessary.

* See *Barnscar; An ancient settlement in Cumberland*, by C. W. Dymond, F.S.A. C. and W. xii. 179.

The wall foundations which can be examined at the present day are apparently portions of two enclosures (fig. 9). I say apparently of two, as portions are now

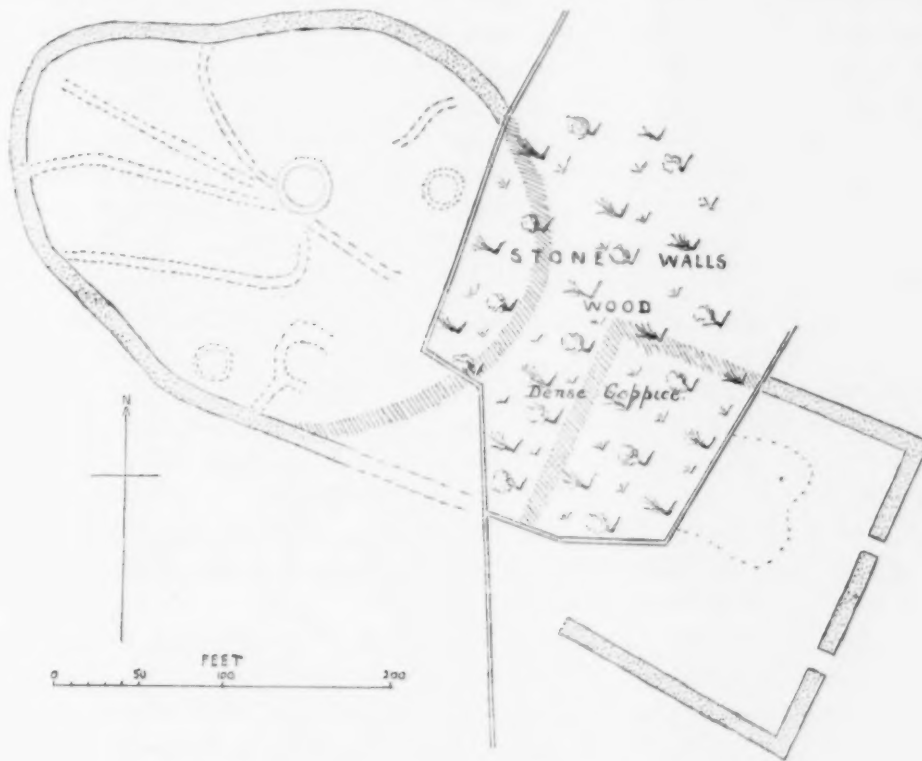


Fig. 9.—Urswick Stone Walls.

contained in a copse wood of such density that it is impossible to examine or even trace them. The first, that nearest to the village, consists of three sides of a rectangular enclosure, the ground within which slopes gently to the south-east. The walls, of which the foundations only remain, are about 10 feet in width. On the south-east side are two openings or entrances. Immediately north-west of this and at the other side of the coppice (see plan) can be traced a very singular-shaped enclosure. It consists of a somewhat oval-shaped space surrounded by the remains of a wall of similar thickness and construction to that of the square. The interior, which slopes gently east, has confused and ill-defined remains of walls which appear to have divided this space into different compartments. Near the centre there is a ring-mound nearly 30 feet in diameter, and there seem to be

remains of two others of smaller size to the south-east. All these have been represented on the plan as accurately as is possible from their confused condition. Close and Jopling have left plans of these remains, both of which are inaccurate, representing the oval enclosure as nearly round; the north points are incorrect, and in Jopling's plan the confused interior is represented something like the nave and spokes of a wheel, to which it is indeed likened in the text.

The portions of the walls shown in the present plan by hatching are continuations of the walls within the wood, as represented in these two plans. It will be seen that at the south side of the oval I represent the wall proceeding in a straight line, and not coinciding with Close's arrangement. At this point it is badly preserved, and a good deal overgrown; but I think my observation is correct, and, if so, had I not seen Close's plan, which seems to have been made before the present wood was thick, the idea would have suggested itself that possibly oval and square formed parts of one enclosure. But Close's description proves that in his time the wood was at any rate thin enough to allow some sort of examination. The construction of the walls is very peculiar. They are apparently formed by fixing long stones edgewise in the ground, about 10 feet apart, and filling in the interior with smaller stones. They are limestone throughout, and as the hill is everywhere covered with masses of carboniferous limestone, there was no difficulty in obtaining the material.

To the north-west of the oval there is an abrupt fall, and to the south-west a hollow, which Close states was by report formed in mining operations.

There is some reason to believe that it is only in quite modern times that the walls have been reduced to their present condition, which appears to have been caused by their demolition for building material. Jopling states that this was the case, and at a meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society in 1877, Mr. John Fell read some particulars obtained from a man who stated that he had worked at their demolition thirty years previously. This man described the wall as then averaging 2 feet in height, a rough construction of various sized stones, and the inner circle as being surrounded by upright stones almost perfect, with space for two entrances. The stones of the circles did not exceed 4 feet above ground, and were upright unquarried limestone slabs. A spear and brass (?) axes, with holes through them for shafts, and some curious rings of the same metal were found 150 yards distant.

This account, however, appears very unreliable. How comes it that if about 1847 the centre circle was such a conspicuous object, Close, who made his plan forty years before, entirely ignored it? To be sure he found this part "in a great

measure covered with wood," and difficult to trace, yet his plan shows the interior walls much more correctly than Jopling's, which was made in 1844, so it is unlikely he would have omitted the inner circle, unless it was, as now, an ill-defined stony ring. Also, if the outer wall had not been nearly as ill-defined as at present, he would probably have left us a more accurate representation of it.

Jopling describes also a "partial enclosure of a natural terrace of rock," about a quarter of a mile north. If this ever existed, the stones have been removed. A limestone mass, which the same writer describes at the same place as a cromlech, has every appearance of being natural. The same remark will probably apply to something similar mentioned by both Close and Jopling between the oval and the square.

These remains are very curious and extremely puzzling, and it is much to be regretted that they are not in a better condition. I would point out that the construction, design, thickness of walls, and general dimensions of the oval, approximate very closely in character to the Celtic cashels figured in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.^a Especially should it be compared with the ground plan of the Innismurry cashel.

These cashels were of Pagan origin, although they often included an early Christian settlement, and in consequence are often found to contain the foundations of small square Celtic churches.

Urswick stone walls should be also compared with a curious and interesting structure near Kirkby Lonsdale, which forms the subject of a paper by the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (Canon Ware).^b There is a remarkable resemblance between the two in shape, the broad enclosing wall, the interior dimensions, and the central bee-hive hut.

The square at Urswick is even a greater puzzle, but though so badly preserved, the present appearance of its walls suggests a similar construction to those of the oval, and therefore it is possibly of the same age.

Both Dr. Barber and Mr. Close compare Urswick stone walls with Mayborough, near Penrith; with which, except as regards dimensions, they have nothing whatever in common.

The great difference between the type of these remains and the High Furness enclosures should be noticed.

^a *Scotland in Early Christian Times*: Rhind Lectures, 1879 (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 87.

^b A British Rath at Kirkby Lonsdale, by the Rev. Canon Ware, M.A. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society*, vii. 111.

II. MISCELLANEOUS.

A. Dwellings.

Throughout the Fell country over which the settlements described are scattered, are found numerous dry stone walled enclosures of much smaller dimensions, many of which are probably sheepfolds and shelters of various dates. On the other hand, it is very probable that some of them are isolated huts of the same period as the larger enclosures near which they occur. It would be useless to plan accurately, or to describe in detail, such rude and doubtful structures; but as in some cases the character of the masonry appears to be identical with that of the settlements, it may be of use to describe one example:

Seathwaite.

Rather more than half a mile south-south-west of the large enclosure at Long House Close, on the other side of the stream, is a curious hut-like construction, which has been already mentioned. From the character of its masonry it is possibly coeval with the adjacent settlement, and is perhaps an ancient hut-like dwelling.

This little place consists of a small outer court of irregular shape, some 15 feet long, and rather more wide, with an entrance to the south. North of this, and connected with it by a tiny entrance, is a chamber of a roughly square plan, about 8 feet long by 4 feet wide. The walls, 2 feet to 3 feet in width, and ruinous, are of the same rough masonry as the settlements, and are composed chiefly of stones unsquared and unquarried, which is not the case with the adjacent structure marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map as "Ancient stone walls," but which appears to be an ancient sheepfold.

The little entrance connecting the two apartments is only 18 inches wide and 20 inches deep, and is covered by a lintel flag, still in its place.

These minute dimensions may be used as an argument against the theory that it is a human habitation. But I would point out that the passages in the Wideford Hill Pict's house in Orkney^a are only 15 inches high and 22 inches wide, and also that some in an earth-house at Kinord, Aberdeenshire,^b are only 16 inches

^a Wilson, *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851), 86.

^b Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, 291. Other passages are found 17 to 24 inches deep and 21 to 28 inches wide.

deep and 20 inches wide, even a more awkward space for a man to scramble through.

B. Sepulchral : Cairns, Tumuli, Stone Circles, Ring Mounds.

(C. and W. ix. ; Arch. 31 ; W. F. ; Barb.)

Cairns.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the various positions in which these memorials are to be found, as this can be ascertained in nearly all cases from the 6-inch Ordnance sheets. They are of all sizes, varying from 5 or 6 feet in diameter to 90 feet, which is the diameter given by Jopling to a large one on Kirkby Moor, which he partly examined.

They also vary very much in depth ; some being flat and only about a foot, and others probably 5 or 6 feet, deep. At Heathwaite Fell long cairns occur ; but I do not think they have been noticed elsewhere in Furness. A few are rudely revetted by a containing circle of stones, but the circle is not as a rule very regular. Many have been tampered with by shepherds in search of treasure, or ignorant excavators who have thrown the centre out, thus giving them an appearance that has led to their being considered beehive huts fallen in, which is not the case.

Tumuli.

Earthen burial mounds are very scarce in this district ; I have, however, noticed one of medium dimensions not far from the small enclosure at Appleby Slack.

At Pennington is a large barrow, in all probability of the same age as the Anglo-Saxon earthworks close by, called "Pennington Castle Hill," which will be described with it.

West ^a describes a tumulus at Mountbarrow : "at a small distance to the east of Mountbarrow house appears a tumulus, but much defaced by the improvement of the ground it stands on." Baines, Whitaker, and Dr. Barber, all make mention of this, and the 6-inch Ordnance map marks a barrow of considerable dimensions, two fields east of Far Mountbarrow House ; yet, on visiting the site, I was unable to detect any traces of a mound, artificial or otherwise. Possibly it has been improved away altogether.

^a W. F. 9.

High Haume, Ireleth. (W. F. 345.)

This singular mount (fig. 10) is situated on an eminence, 500 feet above sea level, about halfway between Ireleth and Dalton in Furness. The place is sometimes called "the Beacon." In Close's edition of West's *Furness* there is some description of it, and the extensive view from this point is there noted. The editor suggests that it was a look-out station for the supposed Roman station at Dalton, and formed for the especial purpose of conveying intelligence across Morecambe Bay.



Fig. 10.—High Haume, near Ireleth.

This circular mount is in form a truncated cone, the summit of which is not, however, level, but rather hollow, and sloping to the south-east; where there has apparently been a way up to it. There appears, by the stony character of the summit, to have been a rough parapet, or some sort of building upon it. The

ditch which encompasses the east side is deepest (about 4 feet) on the north-east. It becomes fainter as it approaches the south, and is just visible on the west side of the entrance. On the west and north-west there is no ditch, the mound being here placed on natural rock, and much stronger. The ditch is also widest on the north and north-east, where it seems about 10 feet across at the top. The sides of the mound are highest on these sides, apparently about 12 feet on the north-east, and are, seemingly, wholly artificial. On the south-east the height seems about 10 feet; and next to the entrance, upon the same side, about 7 feet.

On the west and south-west it is also very steep and high (apparently 12 feet or more), but here it is not wholly artificial, natural rock showing upon its face to a considerable height. As a matter of fact the mound has been raised on a natural platform of rock, and this side forming a low precipice required no ditch, *i.e.* if it was indeed a defensive place. The ground, however, on the south-west side, though much lower than that on the east, is fairly level. On the north-west side there is a steep slope, and at about 40 yards distance in this direction there is a precipitous fall to the west. The mound is chiefly composed of earth.

Immediately in the vicinity of this place, some time ago, four stone celts were found together, and about a mile north a remarkable discovery of eight ancient urns took place. These were apparently British, and ranged in a line north-east and south-west.

Close has noted the extensive views from this point. To the north rise the Lake Mountains, prominent among which is Coniston Old Man, an ancient beacon hill. To the west, Black Comb, another beacon; and the Duddon Estuary, up to Broughton-in-Furness, and the sea. To the south Dalton, Walney Island, Barrow, and seaboard by Aldingham, and to the east Birkkrigg, and the Kent and Leven Sands.

From its strong position and the fact of its being ditched, although on such a small scale, I was at first inclined to believe this mount to be a small defensive fort, but not improbably it is in reality nothing more than a burial mound. The common opinion, that it is a "beacon," however, is also extremely probable, and I am inclined to think it has been mutilated and built upon for this purpose, and that the stony foundations upon its summit are indeed the remains of a beacon or semaphore station, possibly of Roman date, for the use, as Close suggests, of the Roman station of Dalton.

Ring Mounds.

Remains of this class occur in several parts of Furness, and, as similar embankments have been proved in some districts to be sepulchral, I think it best to describe them under that heading here. I am not aware, however, that any in this district have been examined. They usually consist of a low bank of stones and earth (from 5 to 10 feet wide) cast up into a ring or circle, which varies from 40 to 100 feet in diameter. Some have slight ditches formed in the construction of the ring, and some have gaps or entrances, apparently ancient. They seem too large for hut circles and too small for encampments.



Fig. 11.—Ring Mound, Hare Crag, Torver.

Bleaberry Haws.

Rather over 200 yards north-east of the embankment, where it makes a right angle, is one of these circles 53 feet in diameter. The circle is not quite regular and has no entrance.^a

^a Marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map as "circle."

Hare Crag, Torver.

This example is about two-thirds of a mile east of the last, and may be said to be circular with a diameter of 100 feet (fig. 11). If, however, the circle be bisected by a line taken through the west side of the entrance this line will be found to measure 102 feet from centre of mound to centre, all the radii west of it 51 feet, and all east 50 feet.

The embankment itself is about 6 feet wide, with an interior and exterior depression of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet each, the total width therefore being 9 feet.

The ground rises to this ring all round, and the ring itself encompasses the summit of the hill, the ground within the ring being higher than the bank itself. The little gap to the south-east may be ancient or modern.^a

Torver Beck.

About 100 yards south-west of the Torver Beck enclosure, on the opposite side of the stream, is another about 54 feet in diameter, badly preserved, without entrance or trenches.

Bannishhead Mire.

About halfway between Torver Beck settlement and that of Scrow Moss, near the rifle butts, is a ring mound 48 feet in diameter, with a bank 9 feet wide; it has no trench.^b Mr. C. W. Dymond points out to me that this example is raised on an artificially levelled platform on the gently sloping surface of a hill. On the south-east is a break in the ring, which may be an entrance, but is more probably a break-down or natural earth-slip. Probably none of these embankments are more than 2 feet deep.

Goathwaite Moor.

Rather more than a third of a mile west and rather less than two-thirds of a mile north-west of Goathwaite respectively, are two remains marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map as "circle of stones (supposed British remains)." The most southerly of these is a ring embankment 38 feet in diameter, and the other seems to be a large flat cairn with containing circle, which however is barely noticeable.

^a Not marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map.

^b Marked in the 6-inch Ordnance Survey as "circle."

The Kirk, Kirkby Moor, near Gill House Beck. (Arch. 31; Barb.)

The Kirk is a ring embankment 75 feet in diameter, of earth and stones, about three-fourths of a mile south of Kirkby slate quarries. The width of the ring is 6 to 10 feet, and its depth about 2 feet 10 inches. It has what seems to be an ancient entrance 6 feet wide on the south-east. The ground within the circle is level. A large cairn (opened), which has already been referred to, lies about 350 yards north. Jopling has given plans of circle, cairn, and cist, all of which are conventional and useless. Outside the circle, on the north, he shows four stones set in a square, forming a sort of rudimentary avenue. The following seems to be his only authority for this :

At a distance of twenty paces rather east of north are two small stones set edgeways in the ground, about 9 feet apart, and ten paces further two more 4 feet apart. These point, not at the centre of the ring, but at its eastern side. Twenty paces further north are two others 4 feet apart, placed at the same angle to the circle, but not in the same line as the others. All these stones are artificially placed, the two last named being 2 feet above ground, the others less. One or two are mere flat slabs, set on edge. It seems possible that they are the remains of two small avenues of rough stones parallel with each other.

There is no appearance of true megaliths having ever surmounted the ring; but one or two small flat stones, about a foot above ground, still stand. A venerable inhabitant of the parish informed me that stones of this description, from one to two feet in height, did, within his memory, stand on the whole of the circumference. Jopling corroborates this. This then appears to be an intermediate type between the megalithic circle and the ring embankment.^a

Jopling chronicles one or two remarkable traditions anent the Kirk. According to one "it was a place where their forefathers worshipped," and a boggy place close by is "Kirk Sinkings." A more curious thing is that games were held at this place by the lord of the manor at Easter until comparatively recent times.

Coal Ash Grizebeck.

Dr. Barber mentions a segment of a circle here. On visiting the place I found a somewhat horse-shoe shaped embankment, now hardly noticeable, 67 feet in diameter.^b

Another "circle" is marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map, just east of Yeat House, in Woodlands, and therefore not more than a mile from the Heathwaite Fell Settlement. This is not to be found, and is probably a disturbed cairn.

^a Marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map as "Druidical circle."

^b Not on 6-inch Ordnance map.

Dr. Barber also mentions a destroyed "circle" on Osmotherley Common, and one on Lowick Beacon. This last I was unable to find, but there is a cairn marked on the spot on the 6-inch Ordnance map.

A "circle" is also marked on Monk Coniston Moor, which Mr. Clifton Ward mentions as a "stone circle." The site being within half an hour's walk of my home, I have searched for this carefully, perhaps a dozen times, without ever being able to find it. Whatever it has been, I think there can be little doubt it is now destroyed, probably for walling.

Yet another "circle" appears in the 6-inch Ordnance map in Broughton Tower Park. The actual site is not indicated in the map, but it must be either in a thick copse or a corn field; it is probably a small ring mound or a thrown-out cairn.

c. Religious? Circles of Stones.

Sunbrick. (Arch. 31; Barb.)

This is situated on Birkrigg, rather more than a quarter of a mile east-north-east of Sunbrick, and rather less than half a mile south-east-by-east of the enclosure at Appleby Slack. It is on the brow of a hill overlooking Bardsea and Morecambe Bay. It is a double concentric circle of limestone blocks, and the only remains of true megalithic character in any preservation in the district.

Jopling gives the number of stones in the inner circle as twelve; in the outer, uncertain, perhaps nineteen or twenty. The diameter of the former is 30 feet, of the latter 90 feet. The inner circle, according to Dr. Barber, is about 24 feet in diameter, and the outer has thirteen unhewn stones placed upright in the ground. My own observations of this year give an inner circle of eleven stones, and an outer of apparently thirteen, but the number in the latter is hard to ascertain, as some are undoubtedly destroyed, and others are buried, or nearly so. I also found the diameter from the centre of an outer circle stone on the east, to a similar point on the west, to be 88 feet, and measuring the same way north-west and south-east 75 feet. In both directions the inner circle was 26 feet, but apparently it is not in the centre of the outer circle.

Three stones in the inner circle stand about 3 feet high, and the rest are of no eminence or prone.^a

Knapperthaw.

Rather more than a quarter of a mile north of Knapperthaw, in Lowick,

^a Marked in 6-inch Ordnance map as "Druidical temple."

are the remains of a stone circle, which has been erected on a stony ring embankment or platform. On the north-west side of this still remain five stones (which have probably never been upright), of small size and in close order. No others remain, although the sites of some can still be traced. The extreme diameter of the ring is about 100 feet, but as it is about 9 feet wide, and as the only large stones that remain are upon its inner side, the diameter of the stone circle probably did not exceed 90 feet. There appear to be some vestiges of an inner chamber on the north-west, and on the south-west is an entrance or gap in the ring, probably ancient.

This circle is between two and three miles south-east of the Heathwaite Fell settlement, between which and it are the Goathwaite ring mounds.^a

Bleaberry Hawes. (C. and W. ix.)

On the top of the hill close to the rampart is an interesting little relic of this class, being a little circle, or rather ovate ring of seven stones, 17 feet in diameter from north to south and 13 feet from east to west. There is a gap on the north-west side, and the circle may here have been completed by one or two more stones, but if so no sign of them exists. The stones are local and none more than a foot above ground. This circle I caused to be dug into, and a rough pavement of cobble stones was found at a depth of 2 to 3 feet, resting upon natural rock.

Doubtful.

A short distance north of the "large flat cairn, with containing circle" on Goathwaite Fell, mentioned under the head of ring mounds, and just east of Great Burney Hill, is a large cairn, and north-east of this, at a distance of about 100 yards, is a singular bowl-like pit 25 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep. This is marked in the Ordnance map as "Basin," and is about a mile from the Heathwaite Fell settlement. It is the only thing of the sort noticed in Furness, and is perhaps a rude type of dwelling. It is difficult to say where all the excavated material has gone to. Its position is in a narrow and well-sheltered pass.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

On carefully examining the Ordnance map it will be noticed that all these

^a Marked in the 6-inch Ordnance map as "Druidical circle."

settlements and their attendant groups of sepulchral and other remains are situated upon the fells, and not in the dales. Those in Low Furness, namely, the Urswick stone walls and the Birkrigg camps, are between two hundred and three hundred feet above sea level, while the dry stone walled enclosures of High Furness vary from 500 to 1,000 feet. These are in general placed on the sloping sides or lower summits of the heath-covered fells.

From their elevated position it would seem that difficulty of access was to a great extent observed in the choice of a site. This, however, becomes less noticeable when it is seen that the various structures are placed upon equally elevated portions of the same fells; and from this it may perhaps be inferred that they (the High Furness group) were the habitations of the same or kindred tribes, who did not consider it necessary to defend themselves against their neighbours.

It is, however, presumably reasonable to suppose that other similar structures upon the lower ground may have been entirely obliterated in the progress of agriculture. But, if this was the case, it is difficult to account for the fact that no vestige of them remains, or to understand why the bleak fell tops were chosen at all, when as strong, or stronger, positions could have been found on the lower elevations. A not improbable explanation is that all the lower ground was at that remote period covered with such a dense scrub and jungle as to render it useless for residential purposes.

Of an actual defensive system there is no trace. They are not, as a matter of fact, in any sense forts. This is clearly proved by the actual situation of the "Homesteads" themselves, which in no case occupy a hill summit, but the sloping sheltered side of a mountain or some elevation on the fell. They are in fact clearly the abodes of an extremely primitive community, who, although they found it necessary for some reason to choose an elevated site, had no need, or more probably no knowledge, to defend it by artificial means.

It is to be noticed that with the exception of the embankments at Bleaberry Haws, and Hawkshead Hall Park, and the ring mounds, the works are chiefly of dry built masonry.

Considering the material and the fact that few of the stones seem to have been quarried or even squared, these walls evince a certain amount of rude skill. At the present time they stand in places from 5 to 6 feet high, though this is exceptional, their usual height being now from 1 to 4 feet; and in many places, of course, they are quite ruinous. Their width has been usually from 2 to 4 feet.

It is not probable that these walls were ever of any considerable elevation,

although in some places they have been despoiled for enclosing the fells. In other cases, however, they occur where this can hardly have taken place, yet here they have no greater elevation, nor is there enough *débris* about to have formed a wall of any magnitude.

The plan of these settlements is interesting; some of the smaller courts and enclosures no doubt formed the living apartments of the inhabitants, and probably have been covered in by some method, although in none, even the smallest, is there any trace of roofing remaining. The larger enclosures were probably yards or kraals for domestic animals, or for the lower orders of the tribe itself.

The use of the large attendant enclosures, and also of the single ramparts, is obscure, but it is probable that none are defensive, and some may have been only boundary lines.

As a rule these people, whoever they were, seem to have buried their dead close to their homes, as the cairns and ring mounds in the vicinity testify. Such of the former as have been examined have revealed interments of the most primitive order, consisting as a rule of a deposit of burnt bones, sometimes contained in a rude stone cist, and without, as far as I can ascertain, any trace of metal or art workmanship, except rude fragmentary pottery.

The similarity of the construction of the Urswick stone walls, and perhaps of the Birkrigg enclosures close by, to that of the Celtic cashel, I have already called attention to; at all events they differ in all particulars from the High Furness group, and in the stone walls and Holme Bank enclosure more attention seems to have been paid to true defence, neither being immediately commanded by higher ground and the latter having a slight ditch. It is impossible to guess at the present day to what height their walls may have originally reached. They have, however, the appearance of being the work of a more advanced community, and it is of interest to note that bronze weapons have been found close to Urswick stone walls. The propinquity of the concentric stone circle near Sunbrick should also be observed.

Very little can be learnt from the present nomenclature of these remains. Many of them seem to have been locally known simply as "the old stone walls." The places where they occur have almost invariably Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian names.

Tor, however, occurs in Torver, which district has evidently been a place of importance in these primitive times, and the Celtic Rath in Rathvale and Rathmoss, which places are in the neighbourhood of ancient remains, although I

believe there are no primitive structures existing on those sites themselves. Kirk is a common term in Cumberland for a stone circle.

III.—POST-ROMAN AND ANGLO-SAXON EARTHWORKS.

Aldingham Moat Hill. (C. and W. ix. 409; W. F.)

This place, which has formed the subject of a good deal of local controversy, is without doubt an example of the moated mound or "burh" of an Anglo-Saxon lord, and dates perhaps from the ninth or tenth century. As it has recently been made the subject of a paper by Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., who was indeed the first to point out its true origin, I will deal with it briefly.

The earthworks consist of three divisions (fig. 12). Firstly, we have close to the modern farm a rectangular camp, which is not, however, an exact square, and the interior of which is not flat, but rounded and humpy, "heightened," no doubt, as Chancellor Ferguson says, "with the earth from the ditch around it." This ditch is from 36 to 40 feet wide, and originally perhaps 4 or 5 feet deep, a formidable defence for an enclosed space which is barely 100 feet square. It is now wet on the north and west sides, and marshy elsewhere.

Proceeding from here due south up a gentle slope we come at about 100 yards to a broad and straight piece of ditch, which runs in at almost right angles from the sea cliff for a length of about 250 feet, when it abruptly terminates. It is about 18 feet wide at the bottom, and has a diagonal entrance across it, from which a slight artificial scarp runs in the direction of the farm parallel with the cliff. It is doubtful if the entrance and scarp are ancient.

South again of this ditch, and separated from it by about 40 yards, stands the moated "burh" itself on the very edge of the sea cliff. The ditch and part of the mound on the south-west have been apparently washed away by the action of the sea, which is known to have made great encroachments here. Otherwise the burh is of fairly regular shape. It is about 30 feet high, and about 96 feet above sea level. The ditch is about 10 feet deep on the south side, 8 feet on the north, and varies from 15 to 20 feet broad at the bottom.

This is the hame or fortified mound of the Aldingas, who must have been an Anglo-Saxon clan settled in these parts. The straight ditch is probably part of a defence which, as in other similar sites, would surround a base court, and has been perhaps washed away at one end and filled in for agricultural reasons at the

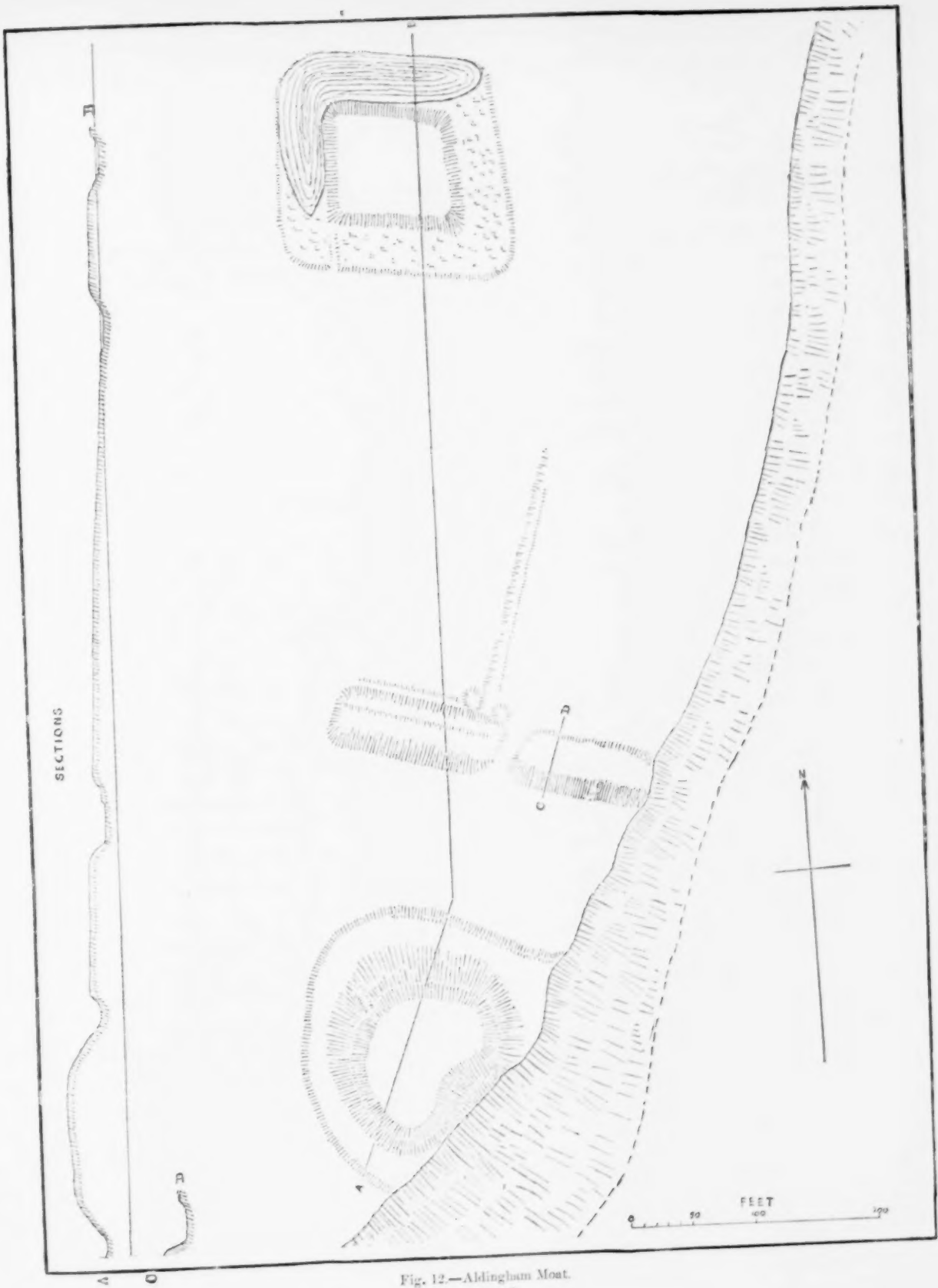


Fig. 12.—Aldingham Moat.
3 L 2

other. The Chancellor further suggests that the mound was the *caput* of the manor of Aldingham, and that for shelter the lords removed their wooden house to the square camp, which, according to tradition, is the site of Aldingham Hall. In later and richer days they abandoned the place altogether and built the adjacent castle of Gleaston.

This explanation of the square is probably the right one, though I am not aware of any other example of a quadrangular earthwork in proximity to and apparently of similar age as a burh. It seems to me just possible that it was the meeting place or folk-moot of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. But the wide ditch militates against such a theory.

Pennington Castle Hill. (W. F.; Barb. etc.)

This earthwork (fig. 13), which has been described by Close^a as an "octagon or square with obtuse angles," by Baines and Whitaker^b as "the foundation of a square building," and by Dr. Barber as a "large circular enclosure," is situated on the edge of a steep ravine, through which flows a stream called Pennington Beck.

The cliff on the east side of the stream, which here forms an elbow at about a right angle, has been isolated by a semicircular ditch and rampart enclosing a small quadrant-shaped area. This ditch is about 45 feet wide, measured from the summit of the rampart to its outer edge, and has always been dry. It has been encroached upon on the east by farm buildings. The rampart, which is loftiest on the north, seems about 12 feet high at that point from ward level. There are no signs of masonry in the ward or upon the ramparts. The entrance upon the south-east seems ancient; a path from it now leads to the farm. It may have been originally crossed by a wooden bridge over the ditch.

The precipices to the north-west and south-west are very steep, and may have been to some extent artificially scarped. There are no signs of a parapet now upon the edge; but I do not think it is the case, as has been stated, that part of the area has been destroyed by stream action.

The north and north-east sides are the weakest, the ground outside the *enceinte* being here level, and at this point the defences are strongest. The ward is about 156 feet long and 132 feet wide, and the whole place is very defensible.

^a P. 407.

^b *History of Lancashire*, iv. 669. *History of Richmondshire*, ii. 404.

About half-a-mile in a south-easterly direction, near the church, is a field called "Ellabarrow, a name it has probably obtained from a large tumulus or artificial

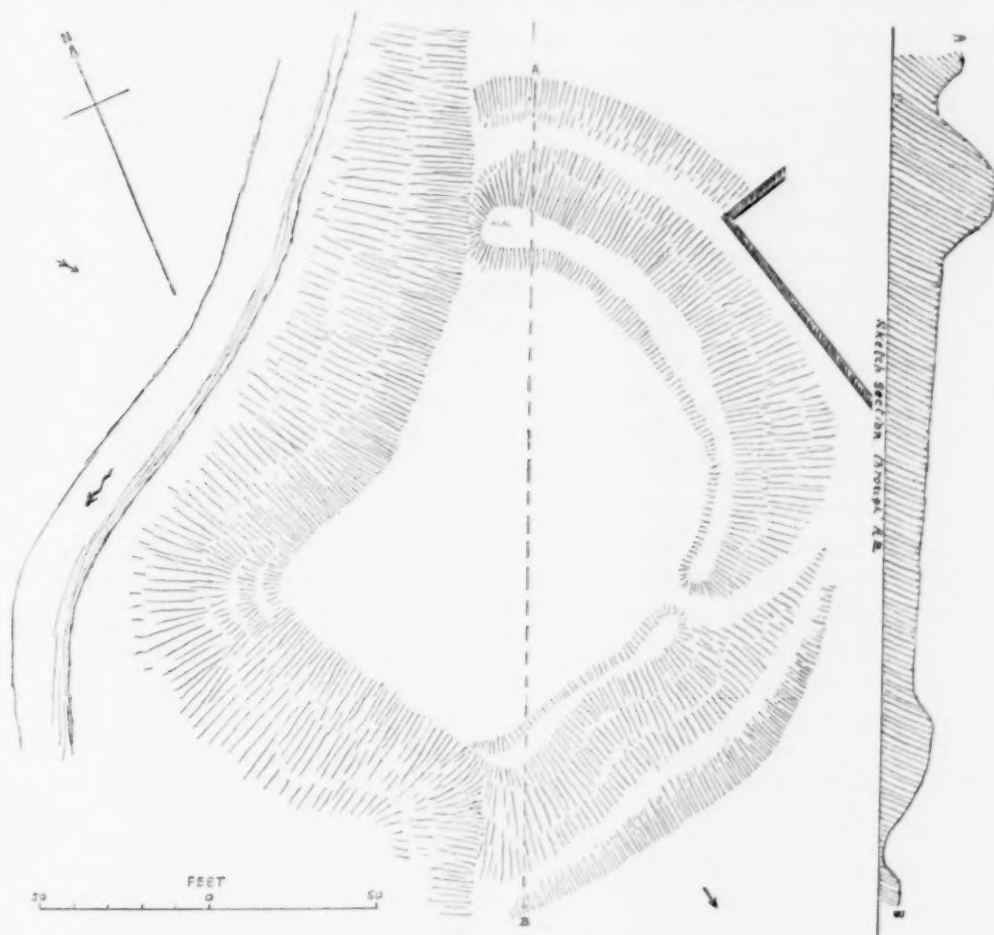


Fig. 13.—Pennington Castle Hill.

mount now covered with trees and known by the name of Coninger or Coninsher Wood, but which has once most probably been called Ella-barrow, and which has perhaps been formed with materials brought from a large excavation in the field which is now called by its name."^a

This tumulus is in shape like an inverted vessel, and is 400 feet in circumference, and measures up the slope facing the stream to the summit 50 feet.

^a W. F. 408.

The name Pennington, of course, signifies the ton or habitation of the Pennings or Paeningas.

The place is mentioned in *Doomsday*. The manor of Pennington has belonged from time immemorial to the ancient family of Pennington (now represented by Lord Muncaster), and not improbably it was their residence prior to the Conquest. It is said, however, to have been abandoned by them as a seat in the thirteenth century. The "capital messuage of Sir William Pennington" is, however, mentioned as late as 1318, in an agreement concerning a dispute between the abbot of Furness and the family.

It is probable, then, that the castle-hill is the fortified ton or habitation of the Pennings, and afterwards of the Penningtons, perhaps their descendants. If it be the site of the "capital messuage" of Sir William, this must have been a wooden house, as there has never been a stone castle upon the earthworks. Ellabarrow is probably a tumulus enclosing one or more of its Saxon lords. Conninger seems to be an abbreviation of Coning or Cyning Garth.^a

The mound has never been examined.

With this the series ends. I cannot help hoping that similar sets of plans will some day be prepared for other parts of the country, and especially for those mountainous regions to which the Britons retreated before the Anglo-Saxon invaders. From such enquiries, and from such only, may we expect that some day a light will be thrown on the rude walled enclosures that crown the fells of Furness.

^a Coning, Cunyg or Cyning enters largely into the nomenclature of these parts. There was a Conninggarth on the site of Caernarvon Castle, the ancient seat of the Le Flemings, near Beckermont, in Cumberland. Also Conninger Scar off Rampside. Coningsgarth, a farm near the Roman station of Old Carlisle. Conishead, Coniston, and perhaps Conybeds, the name of some ancient earthworks near Kendal.

XVII.—*On the Wall-Paintings in All Saints' Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.*
Communicated by the Reverend HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of
Friskney, Rural Dean of Candleshoe, Local Secretary for Lincolnshire.

Read June 11, 1891.

THE discovery of additional subjects since I last had the honour to exhibit tracings of the Friskney wall-paintings has shown me that there was a general purpose of doctrinal teaching in the whole series, the recognition of which purpose gives a clue to the interpretation of each picture. The intention was, as I believe, to represent by a succession of subjects, progressively from west to east, the presence of Christ. First, in the flesh, "His earthly ministry"; second, in the "host"; the former in the series on the north, the latter on the south clerestory. The tracings before us are from the latter. They are a continuation (going from west to east) of the two subjects recorded in Vol. XLVIII. of *Archaeologia*, viz., The Gathering of the Manna, and The Last Supper. I have numbered them in the order in which they stand in the church, occupying the three spandrels east of that which contains the picture of The Last Supper, i.e. on the clerestory wall above the three easternmost bays of the south arcade.

The last, No. 3, is of a different shape from all hitherto exhibited, filling as it does the long narrow space between the chancel wall and first bay of the arcade. It also differs from all (except the corresponding subject opposite on the north wall), in being painted quite up to the wall-plate of the roof. None, except these two on the north and south sides of the rood-loft, extend higher than the brackets which support the king-post principals of the roof. Unfortunately this painting on the south side has been narrowed still more by mutilation of the walls. A window at the east end of the clerestory, which had been evidently added to light the rood-loft, was filled in at the restoration of the church in 1879, and thus a part of the painting was destroyed before we knew of its existence.

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No. I.

Here are two compartments divided equally by a vertical line down the centre (Plate XXIX.). In the sinister compartment a king, crowned and with robe reaching to the feet, is the prominent figure. He is standing, his right hand holding a sceptre, his left arm folded across the breast; from the left hand a long scroll descends to his feet. On his left a sword-bearer stands on the battlements of the entrance to a castle, the approach to it being by a bridge over a moat to the portcullis. The king's face is turned towards the castle.

The sword-bearer carries a drawn sword in the right hand, sloped over the right shoulder; with the left hand he motions towards the castle. Above, on the king's right, are a few lines which indicate, as far as I can judge from other instances in these paintings, the head of an angel or cherub, whose right hand is extended to touch the king's shoulder. There is a scroll from the head of the sword-bearer.

The dexter compartment represents the interior of a church or chapel, with the king crowned, and with arms crossed over his breast, kneeling before the altar; his sword-bearer, with drawn sword sloped over the left shoulder, stands at his right side. Another figure, very indistinct, stands behind the sword-bearer; each of them has one hand raised towards the altar.

A priest is standing before the altar and elevating the "host." There are indistinct lines above and to right and left of the round wafer, seeming to indicate the arms of a small floriated cross, or it may be part of a "glory" as emanating from the host. An attendant clerk stands on a lower step behind the priest. Over the altar are indications of a triptych, and upon it is a chalice. There are no scrolls in this compartment.

I interpret this painting as representing that the king, urged on the one hand to the possession of the castle, as indicating his worldly status, receives on the other hand divine monition to resign earthly sovereignty and seek the "kingdom which is not of this world"; the dexter compartment showing his acceptance of the monition and surrender of himself to the heavenly influence.

It seems not improbable that this may refer to the act of Ethelred, king of Mercia, who in 704 resigned his kingdom to become a monk in the abbey of Bardney, where he was afterwards made abbot.

The memory of this king was held in great veneration in Lincolnshire. The building itself of Bardney abbey is assigned to him; but it seems uncertain



Through two compartments (Fig. 1) divided by a vertical line down the centre (Plat. 341K). In the upper compartment a king, crowned and with robe reaching to the feet, is the central figure. He is standing, his right hand resting on his breast, his left hand holding a long sword-bearer stands on the battlements of a castle, the king being by a bridge over a moat to the castle. The king's right hand is towards the castle.

The sword-bearer wears a long robe in the right hand, shaped over the right shoulder, with his left hand on his breast towards the castle. Above, on the right-hand side, is a figure of an angel or cherub, whose right hand is raised to his head, and whose left hand holds a scroll from the head of the sword-bearer.

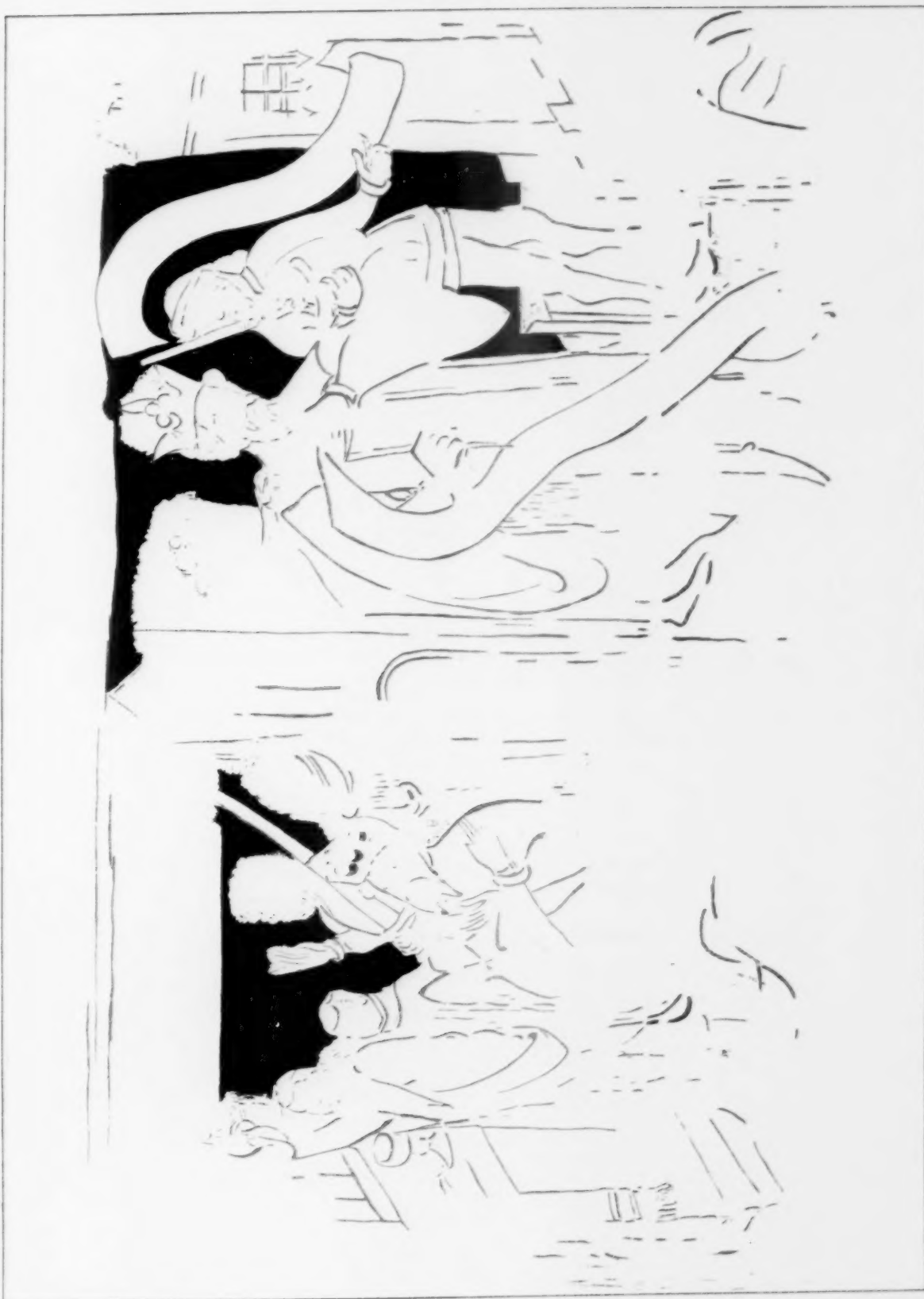
The lower compartment shows the interior of a church or chapel, with the king kneeling with his hands joined in prayer, his breast, kneeling before the altar; his sword-bearer, with sword raised over the left shoulder, stands at his right side. Behind the king, a priest, stands behind the sword-bearer; with his hands joined in prayer, facing the altar.

A figure is kneeling before the altar, and elevating the "host." There are inscriptions on the wall and ceiling, and on the round wafer, seeming to indicate the king's prayer. The king is part of a "glory" as emanating from the altar. Behind the king, on a lower step behind the priest, is a figure of a saint, and upon it is a chalice. There are inscriptions on the wall and ceiling.

The king is kneeling as supplicating that the king, urged on the one hand by the necessity of the world, as indicating his worldly status, receives the host, and is thus enabled to receive earthly sovereignty and seek the "kingdom which is not of this world"; the dexter sword-bearer showing his acceptance of the king's offer of himself to the heavenly influence.

It seems not unlikely that this may refer to the act of Eustace, king of Merrie, who is first reported as having been a monk in the abbey of Bardney, where he was afterwards king.

The memory of this king was well in great veneration in Lincolnshire. The building itself of Bardney Abbey is reported to have been a work of his.



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE KING DOING HOMAGE TO THE HOST.



whether he built or only rebuilt it. He certainly brought there the remains of St. Oswald's headless and handless trunk. It is also recorded^a that "the memory of the king's great benefactions to the abbey is preserved to recent times, a barrow or tumulus near the site of the abbey, where tradition is that he was buried, being called 'King's Garth.'"

The connection of Friskney with Bardney^b leads one to believe that this legend of Bardney's most famous abbot would be specially venerated here, and to conjecture that this painting bears reference to Ethelred's renunciation of his throne and devotion of himself to that Master whose presence he recognizes in the "host."

No. II.

This, like the other, is in two compartments, similarly divided (Plate XXX.). In the sinister compartment is an altar; over the altar a window; upon it something which rather resembles part of a book than chalice or paten. Before the altar, standing with his back to it, is a bishop in mitre and mass vestments. In front of him is a kneeling figure; this seems, from the cast of the draperies in the few lines that have survived, to be that of a woman. This idea is strengthened by the more evident character of the dress in the similar figure in the other compartment. She kneels to receive something at the hands of the bishop, presumably the consecrated wafer.

In the dexter compartment the bishop again stands similarly vested before the altar, and here the posture of his hands is more manifest. They are extended towards the kneeling figure, the thumbs of each hand being in a position which shows the palms upward. The lines of the kneeling figure show part of the bodice and waist of a woman. Above the altar is a triptych, apparently enclosed by ridels; on the altar the "fair linen cloth," the fringe of which is seen at the north end; a chalice (with paten?) and part of the mass book. The frontal is plainly seen on the west side, and below it some lines which may indicate altar steps. (They can hardly be taken to represent a lower border to the frontal, as they are not parallel with the upper ledge of the altar.) There is a scroll upwards from the left hand of the bishop.

The interpretation of this subject, by comparison of the two compart-

^a Oliver's *Monasteries of Lincolnshire* (Bardney).

^b Oldfield's *History of Wainfleet* (Friskney).

ments, is pronounced by Fellows of this Society capable of forming a correct opinion, to have reference to the legend of Pope Gregory and the irreverent woman, as given in the "Golden Legend": "*Matrona quædam singulis diebus dominicis beato Gregorio panes offerebat. Qui cum post missarum solemniam corpus domini offerret, et diceret 'corpus domini nostri ihesu christi custodiat te in vitam eternam' lasciva subrisit. Ille continuo dexteram ab ejus ore convertens partem illam dominici corporis super altare deposuit. Postmodum coram populo interrogavit quam ob causam ridere presumpserit. At illa 'quia panem quem propriis manibus feceram tu corpus dominicum appellabas.' Tunc Gregorius pro incredulitate mulieris se in oratione prostravit, et surgens particulam illam panis instar digiti carnem factam reperit, et sic matronam ad fidem reduxit. Oravit iterum et carnem illam in panem conversam vidit, et matrone sumendum tradidit.*"

The first act in this representation would therefore seem to be in the sinister compartment, where, on being offered the "host" the woman "wantonly laughed." The second, in the dexter compartment, giving the sequel; when, being appalled by the miraculous change of the wafer, she was "brought back to faith," and when the wafer which had been turned into a "finger of flesh" was finally administered to her.

No. III.

I think we may interpret this painting in reference to the legend of the profanation of the sacred "host" by Jews, and the miraculous effusion of blood from the wafers when pierced. It is also in two compartments, the dividing line being not a vertical but horizontal one.

The upper part (Plate XXXI.) represents the interior of a building with a checkered pavement. In it are three male figures, two standing, one sitting. That on the right is in an attitude which well illustrates the words of a writer recording this incident as occurring at Brussels (Jean de St. Gery, Doyen de St. Gudule) "*hostas pugionibus furiose perforebant.*"

There is great vigour and spite in the attitude of the man rising on tiptoe to give more force to his stroke, the right arm jerked up above his head to bring down the dagger upon the wafer, a portion of which is seen under his left hand. Leaning on the table with that hand he steadies himself for the stroke. His comrade, in less energetic posture, sits by the table, holding the point of his dagger in the "host," the weapon being held in the right hand, with elbow of right arm resting upon the table. There are no marks of blood discernible upon



Illustration of a fisherman in a boat, holding a large fish, with a small fish visible in the water.

...represented by the monks of this Society capable of forming a correct picture of the scene according to the legend of Pope Gregory and the *Golden Legend*: "Matrona quondam singulis diebus panem pro Gregorio panes offerebat. Qui cum post missam ad omnia converteretur, dicens, in diceret 'corpus domini nostri Iesu Christi manduciat te ad eternam vitam' passiva exibat. Ille continuo dexteram ad eam convertens panem illius panis corporis super altare deposuit. Panemque illius populo ministravit. Post ob causam ridere presumpserit. At ille 'non potes esse pater' dicens facerem tu corpus dominicum appellare. Tuus Gregorius per te ministravit mulieris se in arctum prostravit, et vocavit. Ille panem illius dicens Agni carnem factam reperit, et in vestimento suo panem accepit. Gregorius dicens convertem illam in panem, conversam habet. Et dicens ministravit dicens."

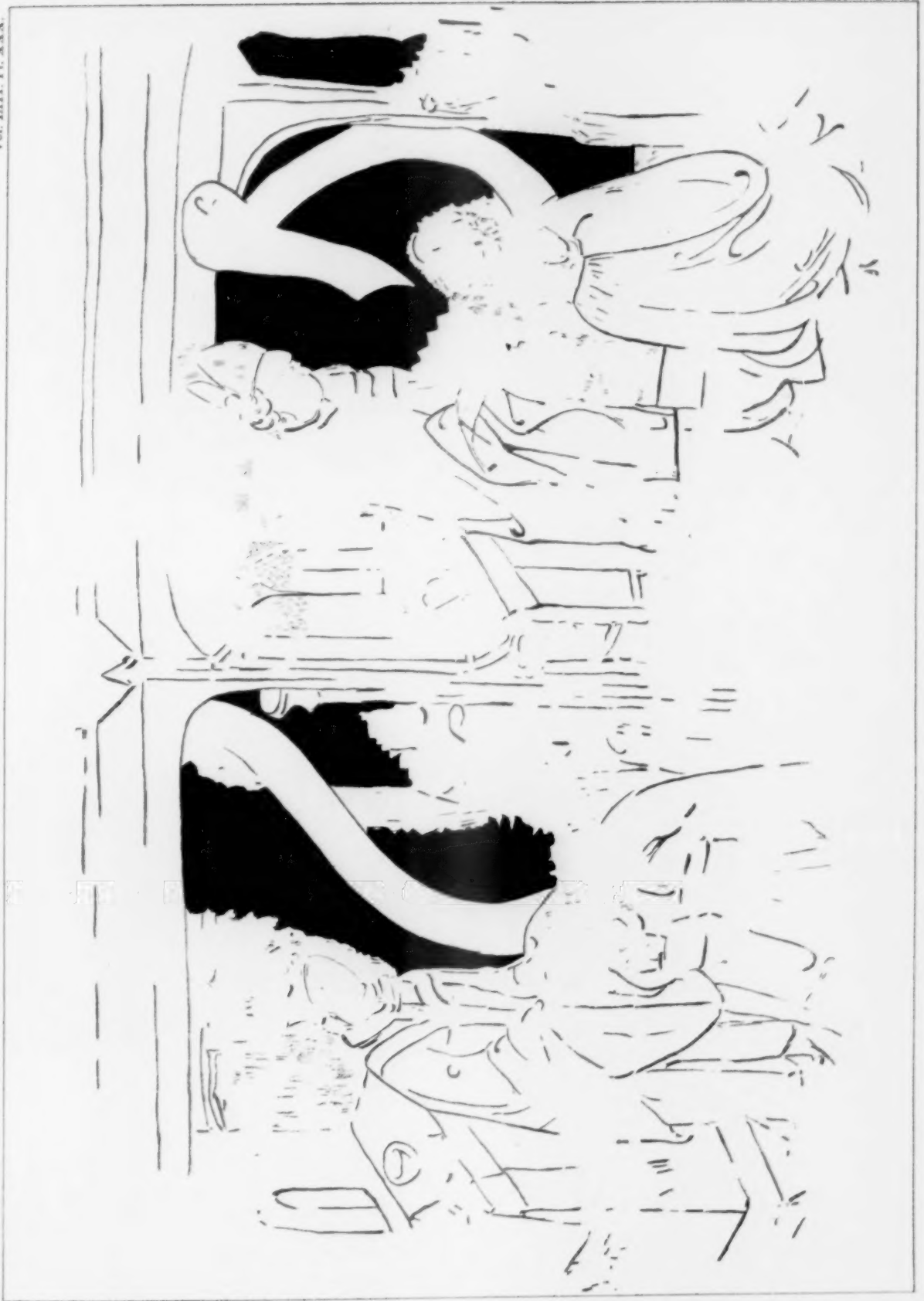
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There is great vigour and power in the attitude of the man rising on tiptoe to give more force to his stroke, his right arm jerked up above his head to bring down the dagger with the point a portion of which is seen under his left hand. Leaning on the table with the head he steadies himself for the stroke. His comrade, in less energetic posture, sits by the table, holding the point of his dagger in the "hilt," the scapes being held in the right hand, with elbow of right arm resting upon the table. There are no marks of blood discernible upon



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE IRREVERENT WOMAN.

the wafers or the table, though I think there are traces of such upon the floor. The marks are, however, so indistinct that I have not shown them in the tracing. The table stands supported by trestles upon a pavement of square tiles in geometrical pattern with alternate bars of red and blue. The position of the pavement shows that this compartment is distinct from that below.

In that the few lines which have survived^a represent two figures reclining as in severe sickness, indicating, I presume, a divine visitation consequent on their profanity. A scroll (the only scroll in the painting) separates the two figures. That on the left has the head bent sideways on a pillow, and is propped up by a third person whose right arm is supporting it. The left arm is raised with the fingers of the hand extended upwards. A hood is drawn over the head of this attendant figure, the sex of which is not apparent.

It is interesting to note that the date of these paintings, early fifteenth century, coincides with the period when the fame of the miracle of the bleeding "hosts," 1370, at St. Gudule's, Brussels, would be great in the Church throughout Europe.

The legends referring to this act of sacrilege are numerous, and mainly of the fourteenth century. In Mr. Baring Gould's *Historic Events and Oddities*, seven instances are quoted.^b The places connected with the legend are various: Paris, at least two instances; Dijon, the Ste. Chapelle; Chalons-sur-Marne, church of St. Alpin; Brandebourg; Dechendorf in Bavaria; and, most notably of all, Brussels. Full details of the theft and profanation of sixteen hosts from St. Catherine's are given with plates in a little book by Von Bergen.^c

But though the legend was so widely spread and frequently recorded the pictorial representations referring to it are rare.

I have been unable, after much inquiry and search, to obtain knowledge of other instances except that of the oil painting in the Chapelle Expiatoire de Salazar and the painted windows in St. Gudule's at Brussels. I do not think that any example of the illustration has been found in England except this in Friskney church. Among the illuminated MSS. in the British Museum, I have been

^a Owing to its fragmentary condition this half of the picture has been omitted from Plate XXXI.

^b Baring Gould's *Historic Events and Oddities*, Second Series, 114, and Lacroix, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, vol. I. Art. JUIFS, fo. vj. Le Juif de la rue des Billettes, au vitrail de l'Eglise Saint Alpin, à Châlons (Marne).

^c Brussels, 1770, *L'Histoire des Hosties Miraculeuses*.

able to find only one instance. It is at the foot of a page in a Gospel Lectionary^a in Latin, written by Sifer Was for Lord Lovel, who died in 1408. Two figures are represented as stabbing a host on a table before them, and the posture, the way their arms are held, curiously resembles that of the two Jews in this group.

Taking these three pictures as concluding the series on the south wall illustrative of the presence of Christ in the "host," we see how that main teaching of the whole series is brought out more strongly and with deeper doctrinal significance by each picture as it approaches in position more nearly to the altar. These three, as I said before, continue the sequence. The first, on the spandrel next to the tower, is the Offering of Bread and Wine by Melchizedech to Abraham; next to that is the Gathering of the Manna; then the anti-type, the Last Supper; the fourth, the first of the pictures before us, shews the power of Christ's presence, acknowledged by the king's doing homage to the "host"; the fifth depicts the miracle wrought to compel reverence to the "host"; then the culminating proof of a corporeal presence in the bleeding of the "hosts," when stabbed, a witness and miraculous evidence of Christ's presence both to confound the enemy and confirm the faithful.

^a Harl. MS. 7026, f. 13.



WISKNEY CHURCH, LINDSEY, ILL. (1910)

the lowest only one figure. It is at the foot of a page in a Gospel Lectionary* written by the first Duke of Devon for Lord Lovel, who died in 1488. Two figures are represented at supper, seated on a table before them, and the posture, the position of the hands, the dress, especially resembles that of the two Jews in this group.

Turning back from pictures as concluding the series on the south wall illustrating the presence of Christ in the "host," we see how that main subject, which began the series, is brought out more strongly and with deeper meaning by each picture as it approached its position more nearly to the altar. These scenes, as I said before, continue the sequence. The first, as we have seen, is the lower, is the Offering of Bread and Wine by the Apostles to Christ; next to that is the Gathering of the Mass; then the washing of the feet; the fourth, the first of the pictures below the altar, is the power of Christ's presence, acknowledged by the king's doing homage to the "host"; the fifth depicts the objects wrought to compel reverence by the "host"; then the culminating proof of a corporeal presence in the bleeding of the "host," when stabbed, a witness and miraculous evidence of Christ's presence, which is to confound the enemy and confirm the faithful.








* Harl. MS. 726. f. 13.



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE JEWS STABBING THE HOST.

XVIII.—*On a Coptic Grave-shirt in the possession of General Sir Francis Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc.* By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Esq., Litt. D., F.S.A.

Read November 26th, 1891.

THAT the Egypt of the Pharaohs was famous from the earliest times for the manufacture of linen is evident not only from the splendid specimens of linen bandages and sheets in which mummies are wrapped, but also from the testimony of ancient writers. Egyptian linen was, for the most part, made of flax, and a good idea of what an important matter the success of the flax crop was in Egypt may be gathered from the fact that the smiting of the flax (קִשְׁיָה) when in bloom by the hail (mentioned in Exodus ix. 31), was considered to be as great a calamity as the smiting of the barley when in the ear. The finest and best linen was worn by the priests of Egypt in the form of shirts, the *κιθῶνας λινέους* of Herodotus, ii. 37, 81, a commoner and coarser sort was used for the final bandages and "sheet" of mummies, perhaps also for sleeping upon, compare the קִשְׁיָה of Prov. vii. 16, and the coarsest sort of all for sails, awnings," etc. Nearly all the flax woven in Egypt was grown in the Delta, and the best quality appears to have come from Pelusium; according to Strabo, Panopolis was famous in olden times for the manufacture of linen, and working in stones,^b and it is easy to show that the art of weaving linen and of ornamenting garments with woven or worked designs did not pass away from that town until ten or eleven centuries after the birth of Christ. The modern representative of Panopolis is the town called Akhmîm by the Arabs,  and Shimin  or Chmim  by the Copts; it is situated on the east or right bank of the Nile, about 325 miles south of Cairo. The names which the old Egyptian town near here bore in hieroglyphics were  *Amsuti*,  *Apsu*,  *Het Ketu*, and  *Nut en ka pes*^c; and it was famous as the seat of the worship of the

^a Ezekiel xxviii. 7, קִשְׁיָה קִשְׁיָה קִשְׁיָה; lxx. *Béssavon éχων ιστίον*; Deipnos. v., p. 206, ed. Casaubon.

^b Πανῶν πόλις, λινουργῶν καὶ λίθουργῶν κατοικία παλαιά. Lib. xvii. § 41.

^c Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1022.

ithyphallic god Āmsu, a form of Āmen-Rā, who was identified with Pan by the Greeks. In the early centuries of the Christian era it was one of the flourishing centres of the Coptic religion, and the site of large Coptic monasteries; it is frequently mentioned in Coptic writings, and many important events connected with the Coptic Church happened there. To this day the modern town contains a large number of Copts, and the cloth-making industry there is by no means unimportant.

The collections of linen garments in the various European museums were comparatively small and insignificant before 1882; bandages, sheets, and such like things existed in large numbers, but very few articles in linen which served to give an idea of the manner in which the Egyptians, Greeks, and Copts ornamented their garments were known. This might be accounted for in two ways; either that very few examples of garments worked with designs had, up to that period, been found; or that, if found, they had been used by the Arabs for purposes of clothing. There is nothing to be surprised at in this latter supposition, because the tenacity of good Egyptian mummy-cloth is so great that it must be cut with scissors or a knife, and cannot be torn; and we know that as far back as the time of 'Abd el-Latif^a (about A.D. 1200), the Arabs employed mummy-cloth for making garments.

About the year 1882 news was received in Europe that a large "find" of mummies had been made near Šakḳārah, and the first report attributed them to a fairly ancient period of Egyptian history;^b the later investigations, however, showed that the grave dresses, and therefore also the bodies, for they were not mummies, belonged to the Graeco-Roman period, and it was possible to see the actual garments in which men and women had walked about in Egypt during the early centuries of the Christian era. Mr. Theodor Graf, the merchant, was successful in making a fine collection, which included choice specimens of all the various kinds of grave garments, in part or whole, and he afterwards gave it to the Museum in Vienna. The other European museums were not fortunate enough to obtain any large proportion of the good things which were found; nevertheless, the British Museum acquired some valuable fragments of worked garments.

A year or two after the discovery of Graeco-Roman and Romano-Coptic garments at Šakḳārah, a very large "find" of textile fabrics happened at Akhmīm, and the most cursory examination shewed at once that the discovery

^a De Sacy's translation, p. 198.

^b An account of this discovery is given by Karabacek in his paper, *Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde in Aegypten*, Wien, 1883, p. 24 ff.

at Šakḳārah was supplemented in a most remarkable manner, and that the enormous quantity of worked linen garments found at the latter place filled up gaps and increased our knowledge of the great art linen industry of ancient Egypt. By whom the discovery of this Romano-Coptic necropolis was first made is not known, but as soon as the natives of Egypt knew of its existence, they forsook their regular employment, and rushed to the spot and began to dig and ransack the graves, stripping the bodies of every stitch of clothing which they had upon them, and in their eagerness for plunder destroying a great deal more than they succeeded in carrying off. A hand was torn off for a bracelet, a finger for a ring, and a head for a necklace; where the good tough linen refused to yield it was hacked through by any tool which the irresponsible excavator happened to have handy, and any ornamental needlework or silk was stripped off from the garment on which it had been sewn without the least regard to the importance that complete garments would have had for science. It need hardly be said that the excavators belonged chiefly to the fellâhîn class, who had no means of disposing of their booty, and who then began a system of selling what they had found to each other, the price of the garment or fragment or object rising each time it changed hands, quite irrespective of its actual value. The middle-men and dealers supplied money to carry on clandestine excavations to be made chiefly by night, and as it henceforth became impossible to gain any exact idea of the "find" as a whole, or to make any scientific investigations in places where important collections of objects had been discovered together, the full value of the "find" to science was never obtained; and the number of whole garments which escaped mutilation was very few. Before I speak of that specimen which is the subject of these remarks a few facts in connection with the "find" at Akhmim must be noted.

The graves of the people who lived at Akhmim during the Romano-Coptic period are different in many respects from those of the same period found elsewhere; the bodies unummified were buried there in graves about five feet deep, and were for the most part unprotected either by coffins or stone slabs, although here, as at Aswân, people of importance had a series of slabs laid over them to preserve their bodies from wild animals, and other disturbing causes. Here, as at Aswân, when the stones round about the grave had become the same colour as the ordinary ground, there was nothing to indicate the existence of a grave to the passer-by. The body is often found bound with linen bandages to a flat board, a custom which appears to have been introduced into Egypt under the Ptolemies, when the ordinary Egyptian coffin in the form of Osiris, and

the wooden sarcophagus in which it was placed, were superseded by a flat board about 7 feet 6 inches by 4 feet, upon which was placed a rectangular vaulted chest, having a thick, square wooden upright at each corner. The Graeco-Egyptian mummy had a painted shroud laid upon it before the large wooden chest was placed over it, and this custom survived at Akhmim several centuries after Christ. Bodies found at Akhmim owe their marvellous state of preservation neither to bitumen nor the ordinary spices, etc., used by the ancient Egyptians to embalm dead bodies, but to the dryness of the stratum of rocky, sandy earth in which they were laid; the salt crystals which are found adhering to the boards on which bodies were laid, and sparkling between the folds of the garment nearest the body, show that natron in some form was used to prevent decay of the body. The appearance of these Akhmim bodies resembles that of those preserved entirely by natron, which are found stored in such numbers in the caves in the mountains of Thebes. In addition to the worked shirt, tunic, or "sheets," etc., with which the body is clothed, the head is bound round with a bandage or turban, and the feet have usually sandals, or shoes, or stockings upon them. The name and rank of the person were indicated not by lengthy inscriptions on the coffin or sarcophagus, as in the time of the ancient Egyptians, but by wooden *tesserae* varying from 3 to 6 inches in breadth, and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, upon which were usually written or cut the names of the deceased and of his father or mother in hieratic, demotic, and Greek; these were pierced at one end and suspended from the necks of the dead by a string. A considerable number of excellent imitations of these *tesserae* have been made in Egypt during the last few years from the ancient sycamore body-boards found in the tombs; they are usually to be detected by the easy manner in which the ink rubs off, and also by its intense blackness. Ancient Egyptian mummies are found to have necklaces, finger-rings, and other ornaments upon them, and the custom of decorating the bodies of the dead was adopted and extended by the people of Akhmim, and the forms of the various articles of ornament are peculiar to the time and place. The hair-pins and combs are usually made of wood and bone, but they are often made of bronze and rarely of iron. In a collection of Coptic crosses, ornaments, etc., from various places in Egypt, presented to the British Museum in 1886 by the late Rev. Greville J. Chester, is an interesting iron hair-pin with a rectangular hollow-work head upon which is the figure of a bird; other examples of the hair-pins have the unpointed ends ornamented with crosses. The combs have a row of teeth on each side, and the space on each side between these is ornamented with floral and other carvings. The earrings are made of gold,

silver, bronze, wood, and glass, and are ornamented with pendants usually made of various precious stones or metals, but sometimes they are formed of twisted wires, from the ends of which is suspended a single bead of pearl, carnelian, or glass. The neck-rings are usually made of bronze, and, except in the manner in which they fasten, are not much different from the neck-ring or torque from which the scarab was suspended by a gold chain on the mummy of Thothmes III. (B. M. No. 18,190); as it was a most important matter that the inscribed scarab should lie over the heart in a mummy this would seem to be a sufficient explanation of the origin of neck-rings in Egypt. The armlets are made of various substances, bronze, iron, and glass, the latter being of considerable variety and interest. Bronze and iron armlets are made of a thick wire or band of metal, and when open the ends terminate in crosses, and frequently little copper bells with wire clappers are suspended from them. An interesting class of objects from Coptic graves at Akhmîm and Thebes are sets of iron or bronze toilet implements suspended from wire rings; a set usually contains five—two pairs of tweezers, one pointed spatula, and two piercers. The crosses found on the bodies at Akhmîm are usually made of bronze, wood, ivory, bone, glass, and mother-of-pearl, and are of various forms; generally the four arms are of equal length. They are ornamented with annules, linear designs, circular bosses, etc., etc., and are suspended either from a ring soldered on to them or from holes drilled in one of the arms. Among the amulets found there must be mentioned the small pendent plaques made of bone or ivory upon which is carved in relief a figure of St. George, or, according to some, St. Michael, spearing the dragon. These plaques are rounded at the top, and were suspended by a projection made in the form of a cross. St. George is seated on a horse and holds a long spear, which he drives into the dragon. It was a favourite subject with the silk and linen workers of Panopolis, for it is often worked on garments in which Copts were buried.^a In the designs on silk and linen St. George holds a cross in his left hand, and one end of the spear, which he drives into the dragon's mouth, terminates in a cross, and the dragon takes the form of a crocodile; the whole scene forms, as Herr Forrer rightly says, "eine bildliche Verherrlichung der Besiegung des Heidenthums durch das Christenthum."^b An interesting representation of this scene is also found on an

^a See Gerspach, *Tapisseries Coptes*, No. 76, and Forrer, *Römische und Byzantinische Seiden-Textilien*, Bl. iii., No. 2.

^b I have made some remarks on the connection of St. George and the Dragon with Râ and Āpepi in the preface to my *Martyrdom of Saint George of Cappadocia*.

embossed metal disk preserved in the British Museum (No. 24,324) ; the disk was suspended by a hair string from the neck, and was presented by the Rev. Greville Chester, 1891. The tombs of Akhmim also yield a number of small, flat mother-of-pearl birds, figures of which are also seen on the margins of Coptic manuscripts ^a as early as the sixth and seventh centuries.

The small objects described above we shall probably be correct in attributing to a period which begins with the end of the third and ends with the beginning or middle of the eighth century A.D. The use of glass arm-rings probably extended over a longer period, for many are known which belong to a period some hundreds of years subsequent to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. The worked garments, however, begin at a much earlier period; certain authorities ^b would date them from the fifth to the eighth century, but there is little doubt now that we must assign the earliest of them to the second or third century after Christ, and the latest of them to the eighth or ninth century.^c

The fabrics from Akhmim have been roughly divided into three classes, which belong to the Roman, Transition, and Byzantine periods respectively. The colours chiefly found in those of the first period are black, dark red, reddish brown, and almost every shade of colour between violet and dark blue; the colours of the transition period are not well defined, while in the Byzantine period bright blue, greens, and yellows are exceedingly common. The designs worked upon garments of the Roman period belong entirely to the classical times, and consist chiefly of contests with animals and mythological and fabulous beings, wrought with wonderful care and beauty. The borders are formed of plants, leaves, flowers, vases of fruit, and patterns in symmetrical line work, and a series of animals running; the medallions are of various shapes, but the most frequent forms met with are square and round, and the designs consist of beings half man, half animal, the labours of Hercules, Perseus and Andromeda, centaur playing a harp, gladiators fighting with beasts, men riding on horseback, mermaids blowing horns, animals running, etc., bordered with smaller medallions representing trees, doves, flowers, animals, geometrical patterns, etc., etc. Round medallions have often an elaborate cross

^a See Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte*, pl. III.

^b Dr. F. Bock and Essenwein quoted in Forrer, *op. cit.* p. 19.

^c Die Textilien der " Römischen Epoche " tragen durchaus den Charakter des ersten 3 Jahrhunderte unserer Zeitrechnung. Forrer, *op. cit.* p. 19. " Les plus anciens et les plus nombreux tombeaux renfermant des tapisseries sont du II^e ou du III^e siècle après Jésus-Christ; les plus récents paraissent être du VIII^e ou du IX^e." Gerspach, *Les Tapisseries Coptes*, p. 2.

worked on them, and have a scalloped edge; medallions are also made in the shape of an eight-rayed star, and some are oval. The characteristics of the work of this period were never reproduced in later times.^a

The designs of the textiles of the transition period may be recognised by lack of exactness, by a modification in the forms of men, animals, etc., and by defective arrangement as compared with those of the Roman period; the beginning of the transition period may, perhaps, be attributed to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century A.D. During this period the use of a number of bright colours became common both in medallions and borders. M. Gerspach (Plates 75 ff.) has reproduced some very interesting and characteristic examples of the work of this time, the most important of which are a Parthian horseman in full flight, having his head turned behind him and shooting an arrow, and St. George in armour on horseback, surrounded with birds, animals, etc.; in the former case the medallion is oval, and in the latter the design is enclosed within an oval, on a square red background, at each corner of which is a cherub. At this period, too, the character of the subjects changes from heathen to Christian. We no longer find wild animals, mythical monsters, gladiators fighting with animals, and the acts of Greek and Roman gods represented, but figures of the Almighty and His saints and apostles, and figures of the Cross, the Lamb, the fish, the Dove, and the cock take their place. These designs are probably the result of the toleration of the Christian religion which followed the declaration of Theodosius I., A.D. 379, that Christianity should be the religion of his empire, when the persecution of the adherents to the form of the religion of ancient Egypt then in use began. By the end of the fourth century the Copts had become a very powerful body in Egypt, and very numerous; monochrome designs on their garments had almost entirely disappeared, and those in polychrome took their place.

A century later brings us to the period when the designs may be considered Byzantine, and one very important characteristic of the time is the white ground upon which they are worked in colours. The figures of men and beasts lack both spirit and delicacy of execution, all the classical beauty which stood out so strongly in the stuffs of the Roman period is lost, and the ornamental borders and patterns which in the first two periods formed such important parts of the whole design, are carelessly wrought and of little interest; it is only with diffi-

^a "Le dessin est sommaire, net, sobre, bien combiné, harmonieux, d'une grande franchise plastique, dans le style qu'adoptera ultérieurement l'art héraldique; naturellement, dans la figure il est plus faible que dans l'ornement, car le tapissier, avec sa broche, ne trace pas aussi facilement que le céramiste avec son pinceau." Gerspach, p. 4.

culty that some subjects can be identified. Many of the animals are comparatively shapeless masses, and what the artist lacked in skill he made up in gaudiness of colour. At the end of the fifth century, or a little later, the designs on Akhmîm fabrics became practically Christian, and the Cross is met with in numberless forms; representations of God the Father, figures of saints wearing halos, scenes in the lives of the Evangelists and Martyrs, pictures of Christ and of events in His life, the peacock and the fish, and ✠, with **A** on one side and **Ω** on the other, are the designs most commonly met with. Long before this time we know that it was customary to weave portraits of emperors and other distinguished men in linen,^a and the transition to weaving portraits of the saints was at once easy and natural. At this period short inscriptions, in Coptic letters, giving usually the name of the person over whom they are placed, and even single letters, were often woven in textiles at Akhmîm.

The above preliminary remarks bring us to the object which has called them forth, viz., the splendid example of an Akhmîm sleeved garment exhibited here this evening by the kind permission of its possessor, Sir Francis Grenfell, G.C.B. (Plate XXXII.) From the neck to the feet it measures 4 feet 6 inches, from the end of one sleeve to the end of the other it measures 5 feet 10½ inches, and the body is 2 feet 9 inches in width; the opening for the neck is 22 inches in circumference, and is worked round in chain-stitch with crimson linen thread. This garment was woven in one piece, which being folded exactly in the middle horizontally, that is in its smaller diameter, thus formed the back and front; the rough edges were turned down about the eighth of an inch, and were sewn together on each side up to the arm-pits, and along underneath the arms, thus forming the body and the sleeves. I believe that the opening for the neck was cut afterwards, and that the crimson chain-stitch which runs along each side, and continues down the front (or back) half an inch, and down the back (or front) 2½ inches, to prevent the opening tearing at the ends, was sewn on to hide the ragged edges. The most interesting fact connected with this garment is the completeness of the monochrome ornamental designs which are woven on separate pieces and sewn on to it, and their wonderful state of preservation. On one shoulder is a rectangular medallion, 7 inches square, formed by the bust of a man, enclosed in a square border which is in turn enclosed by a border somewhat similar to that which surrounds the lion reproduced by Gerspach in his *Tapisseries Coptes*, Plate 5; on the other the

^a Forrer (*Textilfunde*, p. 24) quotes the instance of Gratian (died 383) who sent to the Consul Ausenius a tunic with the portrait of Constantine the Great worked upon it.



COPTIC GRAVE-SHIRT.

*In the possession of General Sir F. Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c.
(about one-sixth linear).*

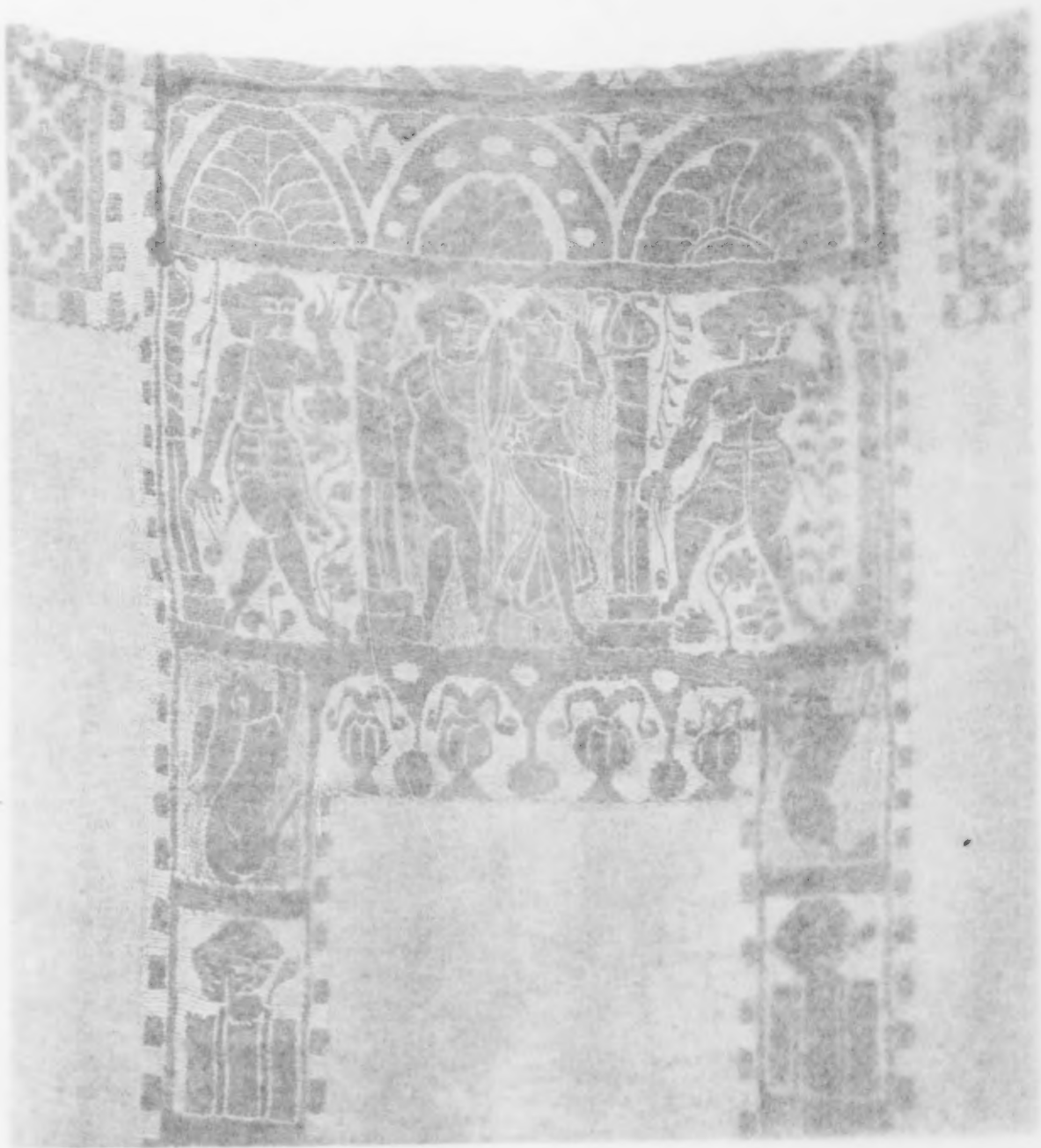
design represents a man running, and holding some object in his left hand. These and the other designs on the garment were woven into the linen, and the pieces were carefully sewn into spaces left for them. On the breast of the garment is a rectangular design $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the upper part or border consists of three semi-circular palm-leaf ornaments, of unequal diameters, the middle one having a band with white spots above it. The lower part contains three divisions formed by pillars; in the first is an upright man walking, the space on each side of him being decorated with vine leaves and flowers, in the second are a man holding an oval shield, and a woman with flowing garments, and in the third is a woman full-faced and upright, having flowers and branches of trees on each side (Plate XXXIII.). The hair of three of the figures is ornamented with threads of reddish-yellow sewn into the linen; beneath these divisions is a row of ornamental vases similar to those figured in Gerspach, *Tapisseries Coptes*, Plate 29. On the back of the garment is an almost similar design, but the position of the human figures is somewhat varied in each of the three divisions. Down the back and front are two bands of ornamental designs consisting of a series of rectangular medallions in which are woven lions, busts of men, and hares and other animals arranged alternately; these medallions measure $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$, and $3\frac{1}{5}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ respectively. Down each bust are two stripes ornamented with yellow and reddish yellow linen thread. It is probable that the Akhmim weavers adopted the hare as an ornament from the gaudily painted shrouds of the Ptolemaic period; in ancient Egyptian times the animal was considered to be emblematic of the god Osiris, and figures of it were worn by the living Egyptians, and were placed upon their bodies, among their bandages, when dead. That the Christian population of Akhmim saw in it the symbol of the resurrection, just as the Egyptians saw in it the emblem of the new birth of the sun, is very probable. Around each sleeve of the garment, at the wrist, is a band formed of two rectangular medallions, in one of which is woven a hare, and in the other a lion. The number of the linen threads varies from about fifty-three to fifty-eight to the inch. About eight inches from the bottom, and about three inches from each side, on the front and back of the garment, is a rectangular medallion in which are woven figures of animals; three have a hare, and one has a bull (?). A careful comparison of the designs upon this garment with those reproduced by Forrer and Gerspach, and those upon textiles in the British Museum, leads me to the belief that the garment itself was made at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century after Christ; it is a very interesting and perfect specimen of Akhmim linen work, and it is a remarkable fact that it has escaped mutilation at the hands of the men who found it. From the days of Joseph the Patriarch, whose father Jacob made him a

כְּתֹנֶת פָּסִים, i.e., a tunic reaching down to the feet, and having sleeves reaching to the wrists, and from the days of Tamar, the sister of Absalom, who also wore such a garment, "for with such robes were the king's daughters that were virgins apparelled," down to the present time the sleeved garment has always been a favourite with the well-to-do oriental, and has always been considered the badge of dignity and position. It is unfortunate that the ends of the sleeves of the garment described above are frayed out, and it is a fact difficult to account for.

Side by side with the work in coloured linen there existed at Akhmîm a large manufacture of silk-weaving, many beautiful examples of which have come down to our day. Silken garments, etc., from Akhmîm belong to three periods, viz., Roman, Late-Roman and Early-Byzantine, and Byzantine; some fine examples of each period are reproduced in colours by Forrer in his *Römische und Byzantinische Seiden-Textilien*, Strassburg, 1891. It is very doubtful if the Jews were acquainted with silk in the days in which the books of the Old Testament were written, although כְּתֹנֶת is rendered in A.V. on the margin in Gen. xli. 42, and in Proverbs xxxi. 22, by "silk," as is also the word כְּתֹנֶת in Ezek. xvi. 10, 13; the Greek and other translations of the latter word do not agree in meaning, and are in any case unsatisfactory. Of the great antiquity of the use of silk in China there is no doubt whatever, and it is said that the mulberry tree was cultivated in China expressly for feeding silkworms as early as B.C. 2200.^a The exact period when it first appeared in the western countries of the Roman empire is unknown, but it is certain that silk was well known and used, among other things, for making flags by the Parthians in the first century before Christ, and that its use should rapidly extend to luxurious Rome was only a matter of course. Once introduced into Europe the members of Imperial families, noblemen, courtesans, and others wore it in the form of tunics, shawls, veils, and other articles of dress, and the curtains of the chariots of the wealthy were made of this valuable material. The Phœnician women of Tyre and Sidon were very skilful in weaving threads of gold into the silk fabric and in embroidering it in such a way that when worn on the persons of women it had all the appearance of lace, and allowed the white skin to be easily seen. From Phœnicia or Rome the introduction of silk into Egypt followed naturally, and by the end of the second century after Christ its use must have become comparatively widespread in that country, although it must have formed a very expensive article of dress. In the third century a pound of gold was the price of a pound of silk, and Aurelian denied his wife a silk shawl because he did not wish to encourage the use of such an expensive luxury.^b In

^a *Résumé des principaux Traités Chinois sur la Culture des Mûriers et l'Éducation des Vers à Soie*, traduit par Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1837, pp. 67, 68.

^b "Et cum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico pallio blatteo serico uteretur, ille respondit, Absit, ut auro fila pensentur." Vopiscus, *Vit. Aur.*, cap. 45.



FRONT PANEL OF A TAPISSERY (RUG) FROM THE
MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF PARIS, 19th CENTURY
FRANCE




FRONT PANEL ON A COPTIC GRAVE-SHIRT.

In the possession of General Sir F. Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c.

(about $\frac{1}{2}$ linear).



the following century the Christian writers Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom often refer to the use of silk, and although some of them rebuke their followers for the love of silk garments, and endeavour to discourage the use of it among them, Basil employs the description of the change of the chrysalis to typify the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, and exhorts the women who wind off the thread from the silkworm to remember the changes which take place in the creature, and to gain therefrom a correct knowledge of the resurrection.^a From the use of silk garments as the dress of the living to forming an ornament of the dead was an easy transition, and it is probable that by the end of the fourth century of our era, silk grave garments were common in Egypt. An interesting account of a mummy dressed in pure silk has come down to us incidentally in the Coptic life of Pisentios, bishop of Coptos in the seventh century. It appears that, owing to the troubles caused by the coming of the Persians into Egypt, this bishop set his affairs in order, and having given all his goods to the poor, he set out for the mountain of  *Shuui* accompanied by his disciple John, where they lived for some time. Shortly after they again set out to seek a resting place, and having walked about three miles in the mountains, they arrived at an open door of the large outer chamber of an Egyptian tomb. They went inside and found a chamber hewn out of the solid rock, the roof of which was supported by six pillars; this chamber was about seventy feet square, and heaped in it were a number of mummified bodies which emitted odours. The names of the people buried there were written on a small parchment roll, and it seems quite clear that we have here an instance of the use of an Egyptian tomb of the ancient or middle empire which had been turned into a common burial place during Graeco-Roman times, and there is little doubt that a considerable amount of the damage done to ancient tombs which were open during this period was caused by the crowds of fanatical recluses who lived in them, and who saw in the pictures of the gods which ornamented the walls the representations of the devils and fiends of hell. To make room for themselves Pisentios and his disciple John began to pile up the coffins one upon the other, and John states that the [outer] coffins were very large, and that those in which the bodies were laid were very much decorated.^b

^a For a valuable discussion on the origin and use of silk in Europe, the original home of the silkworm, etc., etc., see Yates, *Textinum Antiquorum*, p. 229. ff., and Hoffmann, *Observationes circa Bombyces, Sericum, et Moros*, etc., Tübingen, 1757, 4to.

^b The Coptic text may be understood to mean that the place or chamber was a very large one, and that the place or part of it where the bodies had been laid was much decorated; whether the bodies were in coffins or not interferes in no way with the certainty of the statement that one mummy was dressed in pure silk.

The first mummy which they moved had been lying near the door, and we are told that the fingers of the hands and the toes of the feet had been embalmed separately; these details are of great value, for they indicate that the mummy belonged to the Roman period, and when the writer adds the statement that the grave garments of this mummy were made of the "pure silk of kings," *Ζεῦ Ζωλοσηρικοῖ** *ἢ ἔτε πτωρῶν*, we may gather from it that the writer is describing a mummy of the third or fourth century after Christ. If we are right in supposing that the mummies were laid in coffins,^b the allusion is probably made to the massive and shapeless coffins which became common after the knowledge of the worship of Osiris had practically disappeared from Egypt, and the art of mummifying was in its last stages of decay.

In the collection of Sir John Evans, K.C.B., is a very interesting and typical selection of specimens of a large number of the various styles of Akhmim linen work, which are exhibited on the table before us. The monochrome designs, geometrical patterns, rectangular and circular medallions of the earliest and latest periods, fringe work, coarse patterns in wool sewn on a linen ground, specimens of silk and damask work, and a considerable number of good examples of early and late borderings, form an instructive apparatus for the study of Romano-Egyptian, Romano-Coptic, and Byzantine textiles.

These observations may be brought to a close by the mention of a very fine specimen of silk work from Akhmim which was presented to the British Museum by the Rev. W. Macgregor in 1886. A piece of fine yellow silk was laid over a linen garment, and upon this was sewn a rectangular crimson silk medallion upon which are woven two men on horseback facing each other, the faces of both men and horses being in yellow silk, the men's garments and the bodies of the horses and their trappings being in green and red; each man holds in his right hand a long spear with a triangular head which he is driving into the body of a dog (?) with a blue head turned behind him, yellow body, and green legs. Below them are dogs, woven in green silk, with their heads also turned behind them. In the field above the horses' heads is a flowering plant. All these figures are enclosed within a circular border in which red and green flowers are woven on a white ground, and the four corners are ornamented with designs in green upon a crimson ground. This piece of work belongs to the Byzantine period, and an example of a somewhat similar design woven upon linen is given by Forrer in *Die Gräber und Textilfunde*, Bl. xiii. No. 6.

* *Zeus, ζωοσηρικός*.

^b For the Coptic text and a French translation of it see Amélineau, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième Siècle*, Paris, 1887, pp. 142-146.

XIX.—*The Crossbow of Ulrich V. Count of Wurtemberg, 1460, with remarks on its construction.* By the BARON DE COSSON, F.S.A.

Read December 3, 1891, and March 3, 1892.*

THE crossbow which forms the subject of this paper may be, I venture to think, of interest to the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, as it is a weapon of somewhat uncommon construction, of good artistic decoration, and more especially because the date which is inscribed on it and the escutcheons of arms which it bears, enable me to assign its ownership very definitely to a historical personage.

I will not trouble you with general remarks on the history of the crossbow, but I think there is reason to suppose that the use of this weapon in medieval Europe dates from the epoch of the first crusade, when it was introduced from the East.

I have a list of some seventy-five makers of crossbows, and it is significant that the earliest name I possess is that of Peter the Saracen, who in 1205 was maker of crossbows to King John.^b

At the second Lateran Council in 1139 the use of the crossbow was prohibited amongst Christians as a weapon only fit for infidels, although its use was allowed against unbelievers, and this decision was confirmed by a decree of Innocent III. (1198-1216).

But these decrees did not prevent the gradual introduction of the crossbow into European warfare, any more than similar fulminations could at a later date stay the use of firearms, which we now know also to have been of Saracenic origin.

* This paper has been somewhat amended and extended since it was read, so as to embody the results of further investigations into its subject. When read it was still generally believed that bows of this type were made of horn.

^b Close Rolls of King John; Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, 395.

The Eastern origin of the medieval crossbow is also confirmed in a remarkable manner by the analogy which exists between the construction of the bow exhibited and the oriental composite bows dissected by Mr. Henry Balfour of the Oxford University Museum, and described and illustrated by him in his paper "On the structure and affinities of the composite bow," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.⁴

That the Saracens excelled in the construction of the crossbow even as late as the fifteenth century is shown by a letter addressed by King René of Anjou to Monsieur de Plesseys, accompanying the gift of a crossbow, which the king said had been made by some Saracens of Barcelona who refused to teach the art to Christians, and which was of strange form and much smaller than any he possessed and which he much esteemed, as he had never known a better.⁵

Notwithstanding the papal edicts, it is proved that as early as 1181, the Genoese were arming troops with the crossbow,⁶ troops who were the forefathers of the luckless crossbowmen of Crecy. It must here be remembered that the Genoese had taken part in the first Crusade, and had therefore had occasion to appreciate the value of the weapon.

Richard the First of England is also reported to have armed some portion of his troops with the crossbow.

It was in 1205 that the constable of Northampton received orders to retain Peter the Saracen, the maker of crossbows, and another with him, for the king's service, and allow him nine pence a day. Another interesting entry with regard to English crossbows occurs in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.

In 1302 William Conrad, bowyer of the Tower of London, supplied "2 lbs. of wiselase, 4 lbs. of glue, 4 lbs. of sinues of sea dogs," and other necessities for balistae and bows to the Prince of Wales, who was then engaged in an expedition against Scotland.

This brings me back to the weapon now before you. The bow itself is of the kind which has hitherto been described by collectors either as a horn bow or a wooden bow. Its real construction has been thoroughly investigated by my

⁴ November, 1889.

⁵ *Œuvres complètes du Roi René d'Anjou*, par M. le Comte de Quatrebarbes, tome i. p. 110.

⁶ *Museum. Hist. Patria*, t. ii. col. 21. Vandenpeereboom (*Gildes, corps et métiers, seigneurs, etc.*, Patria, Belgium, 1874) says, *L'arbalète était déjà connue en Belgique à la fin du 11^e siècle*," and Magne de Marolles (*La chasse au faucon*) says, "Elle fit son apparition en France sous le règne de Louis le Gros;" but I have not seen these works which are cited in Delaunay's *Étude sur les anciennes compagnies d'archers, d'arbalétriers et d'arquebusiers*, and do not know what proofs the authors may have for their statements.

friend Mr. John Clements of Liverpool, and will be explained in the Appendix to this paper. For the present it will suffice to say that it is composed of a core consisting of whalebone and yew, bound round with a thick sheath of tendon, and having pieces of horn let into its extremities to take the strain of the cord.

Numerous documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention horn crossbows and crossbows of yew. The latter we can understand, but I strongly suspect that all the entries which speak of horn crossbows refer to composite bows similar to the example before you. Horn alone would neither have the size nor the flexibility and toughness needed in a bow. There are two very interesting documents in Paris describing the materials supplied to one Robert l'Artilleur for the construction of crossbows for the castle of Rouen.

The first, which is in the National Library and is dated 1358, reads thus:

Vechi les estoilles qui faillent à Robert l'Artilleur pour faire vint-cinq arbalestres pour le chastel de Rouen, à rendre au terme de Pasques l'an mil ccccl et neuf, lesquelles estoilles furent achatées au mois d'Octobre l'an mil ccccl et huit, que florins d'or à l'escu de Johan valloient vint souz tournois la pièce.

Premierement :

Pour xxv batons d'if, v sous la pièce, vallant vi livres v sous tournois.

Item, pour xxv estaples, xxv sous.

Item, pour xxv nois d'arbalestres ii sous la pièce, vallant l sous.

Item, pour xxv éstriefs, l sous.

Item, pour xxv clefs, l sous.

Item, pour xii livres de fil de chanvre, xxx sous.

Item, pour une livre de chire, vj sous.

Item, pour demie livre de pois raisiné, x deniers.

Item, pour iiii livres de sien, v sous.

Item, pour carbon de bosc, x sous.

Item, pour iiii livres de colle, xxiiii sous.

Item, pour iiii livres de ners de beuf carpis, xl sous.

Item, pour une livre de vernis, viii sous.

Item, pour xii cornes de boue, xii sous vi deniers.

Somme tout, xxi livres xvi sous iiii deniers, achatés et pris au pris du florin d'or à l'escu pour xx sous tournois la pièce, comme dessus est dit.

En tesmoing de ce, je devant dit Robert l'Artilleur en ay seellé ceste escroe de mon seel.*

Now, in this document we find most of the materials that would be needed for the construction of a bow like the one exhibited. Taking them in the order in which they come they are: 25 pieces of yew, 25 staples, 25 crossbow nuts,

* *Bibliothèque Nationale, département des manuscrits, quittances, t. xi, No. 804, transcribed by Siméon Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, Paris, 1876.*

25 stirrups, 25 keys (that is triggers), 12 lbs. of hempen string, 1 lb. of wax, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of resinous pitch, 4 lbs. of tallow, some charcoal, 4 lbs. of glue, 4 lbs. of ox sinew shredded out like lint, 1 lb. of varnish, and 12 rams' horns. The second document shows that three years later twenty-five more crossbows were ordered from the same Robert l'Artilleur. It is preserved in the Archives Nationales (*Monuments Historiques*, K. 48, No. 12), where I transcribed it. The materials are the same, but the prices had slightly changed :

Vechi les estoilles qui fallent à Robert l'Artilleeur pour faire xxv arbalestres pour le chastel de Rouen a rendre au tme de la pasques CCCLXI. Pmeint :

Pour xxv bastons d'if, iiii éseus et demy.

Pour xxv estaples, i éseu.

Pour xxv nois, éseu et demy.

Pour xxv eles, ii éseus.

Pour xxv éstriés, ii éseus.

Pour xii l de fil de chanvre, éseu et demy.

Pour une livre de chire, i quart d'éseu.

Pour demie livre de pois, xviii d.

Pour iiii l de sien, viii s.

Pour carbon de bosc, i quart d'éseu.

Pour iiii l de colle, i éseu.

Pour iiii l de nerfs de beuf carpis, iii éseus.

Pour une livre de vernis, demy éseu.

Pour xii cornes de boue, demy éseu.

Somme xviii éseus, ix s, vi d.

En tesm de ce, je artilleeur dess dit ay seellé ceste escroe de mon seel.

When we come to examine the construction of the bow now before you, we shall find that the materials are the same, with the exception that Robert l'Artilleur probably used horn where whalebone is found in the existing example.

A considerable number of crossbows of this composite construction are now known to exist, but they can all be traced to the north of Europe, and principally North Germany, and Scandinavia. I do not know of a single example in the national armouries of France, Italy, or Spain.

Mr. Henry Balfour informs me* there are: one in the Royal Armoury at Stockholm, one or two in the Northern Museum in the same place, one in the Northern Museum at Copenhagen, ten in the Arsenal at Berlin, and four in the Provincial Museum in the same city. There were also four in the Christian

* Letter of the 6th September, 1892.

Hammer Museum at Stockholm, which was dispersed at Cologne in May 1892. And there is at least one in the Arsenal at Zurich.

Before this I was only acquainted with the following examples: a very fine and large one in the superb collection at Vienna from Ambras, which is decorated with the arms of the Styrian family of Baumkircher, and is attributed to the knight Andreas Baumkircher, who was beheaded in 1471,^a and one from the Arsenal, described as having a bow of horn.^b Another of similar form engraved in Skelton's *Engraved Illustrations of the Meyrick Collection*,^c and there described as having a bow of wood. A fourth in the collection of Mr. W. H. Riggs, in Paris, engraved in Gay's *Glossaire Archéologique*,^d and also said to be of wood; but Mr. Riggs himself, who has now seen my bow, says that his weapon is undoubtedly of the same construction. A fifth in the Tower of London, to which Lord Dillon has called my attention. Also the crossbow now under consideration, and lastly a plainer one laid on the table for comparison. It is by the careful dissection of this last example that its present owner, Mr. Clements, has made clear the true construction of these curious pieces. In confirmation of the view that all these bows are of similar make, I may mention that the Baumkircher bow was described by Böheim in the catalogue of 1889 as being of *wood*, whilst in his later work, *Waffenkunde*, he distinctly says it is of horn covered with parchment.

The true nature of this covering will be explained later, but it has sometimes been described as snake skin, as in the Christian Hammer Catalogue and in the example owned by Mr. Riggs, and sometimes as parchment; the dotted decoration on it having led to the first of these misconceptions.

We have therefore a type of medieval crossbow the true construction of which has never been described, and my strong impression is that in these northern weapons of the fifteenth century we have a survival of the earliest form of crossbow introduced into medieval Europe, those with a steel bow being of much later invention.

There is a somewhat archaic look about them, and a marked simplicity in their mechanism, which seems to point to this. It is well known how very conservative of old forms the Germans and Scandinavians have always been, and how at a later date many a German huntsman would persist in the use of the wheel-lock arquebus long after the flint-lock had taken its place in southern

^a Engraved in Böheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 407, fig. 484.

^b *Die Waffensammlung des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses*, by Gairin Leitner (Vienna, 1866-70), plate xxv, fig. 3.

^c Plate xcv. No. 2.

^d Page 50.

Europe. There are wheel-lock rifles of German make in existence which date as late as the early part of the last century.

The plainer bow which I exhibit cannot, I think, be very different from the weapons made by Peter the Saracen in 1295, and it bears a strong resemblance to the crossbows represented on the Chertsey tiles and other archaeological documents of the thirteenth century.

The bow itself is thick and massive, and it has a covering of a thin substance, decorated with yellow dots on a dark ground. Not much of this covering remains on the finer bow, but on the second there are portions in good preservation. This covering, whilst it decorated the bow, protected it from the action of damp. As in all early examples, the bow is lashed to the stock with strong cord. The shock of discharge was thus softened. Had the bow passed through the stock the jerk on discharge would have been apt to tear away the front part of the wood. The stock in both bows is of a light, close-grained wood, apparently beech, and where a harder substance is needed, as round the nut and the pins for the trigger and winder, etc., black-horn, bone, or stag-horn are inlaid in the wood, and the bold curves of these pieces add to the decoration of the weapon. The upper surface, on which the bolt lay, is in both cases of bone or stag-horn.

The plainer bow preserves its nut and stirrup, but both are wanting in the finer one. The long trigger, or "clef" as it was called in French, has a bold curve downwards, and in the finer bow the iron of which it is made is coated with brass on its under side. This combined use of iron and brass was very usual in German fifteenth-century armour and weapons of the richer sort. The bow itself is of immense stiffness, and the position of the transverse pin, about six inches behind the nut, proves that it was bent with the aid of a rack and pinion winder.

In the more decorated example, the bow itself curves slightly towards the stock, but in the plainer one the arms of the bow have a reflex curvature forwards, reminding one of the oriental strongly-reflexed composite bows. Mr. Balfour found in some few of the examples, which he kindly examined for me, a very extreme curvature, as in fig. 1, copied from his rough sketch. The

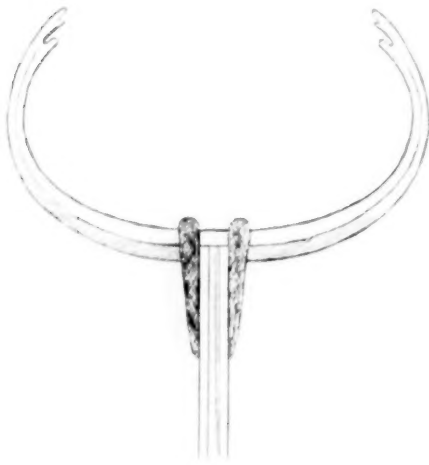


Fig. 1

Sketch of Crossbow with strongly reflexed arms.

oriental bows before being strung had to be steeped for a considerable time in water to render them flexible, and it is probable that the extreme unyieldingness of the European examples at the present time is due to their complete dryness.

Such are the general constructive features of this class of crossbow, but one of the examples now before you is rendered additionally interesting by the presence of inlaid plaques of ivory finely sculptured in the style of the middle of the fifteenth century. There is also a pretty incised pattern on portions of the stock, filled with black mastic, in which Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, suspects an Italian influence. This is quite possible. On the under side of the stock near the bow is an ivory plaque carved with a St. Michael standing in a niche of Gothic tracery, and close to the trigger another with a scroll in a figure of eight form inscribed with Hebrew characters. The united learning of Dr. Ginsburg and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge has been brought to bear on this inscription, but without success so far as its interpretation is concerned,* and their conclusion is that the characters were copied by a sculptor who did not understand the Hebrew language. I believe that similar inscriptions, only destined to impress the ignorant with the vastness of the artist's learning, exist on some medals of the renaissance.

The sacred monogram I.H.S. is engraved on the ivory near the nut. On the dexter side of the stock behind the winder pin is a plaque bearing the arms of Wurtemberg with helm and crest, and beneath it a zigzag scroll inscribed in Gothic characters:

Gloria in excelsis deo Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis Laudamus te Benedicimus te.
1460. (1460).

Below is the figure of a man raising his hat.

On the sinister side are the arms of Savoy, also with helm and crest, and on an interwoven scroll a short hymn to the Virgin:

O Maria graciosā Dei mīr generosa Dīga laude gloriosa sis pro nobis speciosa. MCCCCXX
and beneath is a figure similar to the one on the other side.

When I obtained this piece in Paris last year, the owner informed me, and I have no reason to doubt his story, that the bow had been brought to Paris by Count Pourtalès Gorgier, who had found it with a few other weapons in the roof of his castle of Gorgier on the lake of Neuchâtel.

The other weapons had been sold, and the crossbow had for several years hung unnoticed on the wall where I found it. I at once recognised the arms of Wur-

* Dr. Ginsburg reads the characters "*Hab quoth zarah karab th'izé*"

temburg and the date, but I felt uncertain about the second escutcheon, as the plain cross had been borne by many families besides that of Savoy. My delight was therefore great when I discovered that precisely in 1460, the families of Wurtemberg and Savoy were united in the persons of Ulrich V. Count of Wurtemberg, surnamed the Well-beloved, and his third wife Margaret of Savoy.

In 1419 Ulrich V. and his brother Louis I. succeeded Eberhard IV. under the regency of their mother, they being respectively nine and ten years of age. In 1442 they divided their states, Louis taking the upper part of Wurtemberg and the county of Montbéliard, and the remainder falling to Ulrich, who chose the castle of Stuttgart as his residence. His popularity with his subjects earned him the surname of the Well-beloved; but his warlike disposition involved him in numerous unsuccessful wars.

In 1462 he was signally defeated at Seckenheim on the Neckar, by Frederick Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who there gained the surname of the Victorious, and whose suit of armour, made by Missaglia of Milan, now at Vienna, is probably the earliest complete suit of armour in existence. After a year's imprisonment in the castle of Heidelberg, Ulrich was ransomed for 100,000 florins, and in 1482 he died. As has been said, his third wife was Margaret, daughter of Amadeus VIII., first Duke of Savoy, and widow of Louis IV., Elector Palatine.

I venture to think the conjunction of the escutcheons of husband and wife on this crossbow clearly proves it to have been the personal property of Ulrich the Well-beloved, and its original ownership being thus established, the question arises how it found its way to the castle of Gorgier on the lake of Neuchâtel; and a hypothesis here presents itself to my mind, which I will submit to your consideration.

Gorgier is only a few miles from Grandson, where Charles the Bold was so signally defeated in 1476. It is known that immense booty was taken on that occasion by the Swiss, and distributed through the different arsenals of their country. At that epoch the courts of Wurtemberg and Burgundy were in close and constant intercourse. The son of Ulrich the Well-beloved, who succeeded him as Eberhard V., passed his youth at the court of Charles the Bold.

The bow was not made for him, for Margaret of Savoy was not his mother; he being the son of the second wife, Elizabeth of Bavaria. When it was made he was thirteen years old; but had the bow been given to him later by his father, it is easy to see how it might have passed into the Burgundian camp.

I have not yet been able to find whether Eberhard was still with Charles the Bold at the time of the battle of Grandson; but if he was, the track of the bow would be clearly made out.



CROSSBOW OF ULRICH V, COUNT OF WURTEMBERG, 1460.
(The front and sides views & linear; the details from the back full-size)

APPENDIX.

When three months ago I read to this Society a paper on the Crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Wurtemberg, I treated more particularly of the historical aspect of the subject, but it will be remembered that in the very interesting discussion which followed Lord Dillon gave us a sketch of the results of an examination which he had made of the construction of crossbows in general and the method of using them. Some questions were also raised with respect to the special construction of the two bows then exhibited, but as our knowledge was at that time derived from the external appearance of the bows only, their true construction remained in doubt.

Since then, however, through the enterprise of my excellent friend Mr. John Clements, the owner of the plainer of the two bows which I exhibited, these questions have been thoroughly investigated, and all our doubts are now set at rest.

With the skill of a practised anatomist, Mr. Clements has dissected his bow at various points, examined the materials of which it is constructed, and made a series of full-size diagrams of its transverse and longitudinal sections at different points, which I am now enabled to lay before you. (Plate XXXV.)

Here is the letter in which he describes to me the results of his latest investigations:

12, Prince's Avenue, Liverpool.
5th May, 1892.

"DEAR BARON,

"Having concluded the examination of the bow, I have now great pleasure in handing you my completed notes, accompanied by a sheet of diagrams illustrating the same.

The bow is a composite one, consisting of tendon, wood, and whalebone, arranged in the following order: first or top layer, tendon; second, wood; third, whalebone; fourth and last, wood. This structure is encased in a sheath of tendon and covered by bark decorated with a painted design. A general dissection of the bow, together with a very close and critical examination of the different substances of which it is composed, now enables me to give you the following particulars:

The top layer, which I will call the shell of the bow, for it is of horseshoe section and encloses two of the other layers, consists of tendon mixed with some glutinous matter, the fibre running longitudinally. This shell is made up of several layers of the substance, but the number cannot be definitely fixed, as the division lines are very irregular even where most traceable.*

* Mr. Balfour and I both thought we could distinguish three layers, without counting the outer sheath of pure tendon described later.

It is evident from the serrated outline of these divisions, that each layer was allowed to become nearly dry and hard, and then had its surface channeled before another was placed on it, the moist layer readily moulding itself to the dry one. The fibres of this tendinous mass are much stronger and coarser on the inner side, and the colour is also much deeper at that part. The substance itself is $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick in its centre, with $\frac{3}{16}$ inch edges,^a continues about the same thickness throughout, and joining the whalebone at about one inch from the ends of the bow, provides solid material for the cutting of the nocks, and the insertion of a vertical core of horn which is inserted into the body of the bow at either end to a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (See Plate XXXV, figs. 1, 5, 6, and 7.)

The cores just referred to are not placed exactly in the middle of the bow, being a little nearer the front or bolt side of the bow (see Plate XXXV, figs. 4, 6, 7, and 8), and they are of close-grained horn, quadrilateral in section, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick at their extremities, and tapering down to $\frac{1}{16}$ inch at their termination about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the ends of the bow.

Throughout their whole length they have the full depth of the body of the bow, and by passing through the different layers of which it is composed they materially assist in keeping them in position at those points where the strain of the string is greatest. (See Plate XXXV, figs. 2 at A, 3, 4, and a, b, c, and d.)

Further to strengthen the extreme ends, which would be apt to fray from the friction of the string or from a blow or other injury, they are protected by small curved tips of horn glued to the cores. There are two such pieces to each core at the back, and one on the front or bolt side. These last are somewhat smaller than the others and do not quite extend to the top of the cores.^b Their form and disposition will be better understood by reference to Plate XXXV, fig. 1, at C and fig. 8.

It may here be mentioned that the whole surfaces of these materials wherever they come in contact with one another are rather deeply hatched or grooved, the incisions crossing one another diagonally. The object of this was to promote adhesion by holding glue or cement; and, by keying the pieces together, to prevent their slipping or separating with the action of the bow.

The next or second layer, after what I have called the shell, is of wood, yew, convex on the upper side to fit into the concavity of the shell, and flat at the bottom to sit on the whalebone. At the middle of the bow it is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and tapers down until, at a short distance from the ends, it dies out to allow of the junction of the tendon and the whalebone. (See Plate XXXV, fig. 1 at C, and fig. 5.) The other layer of wood (the fourth layer), also yew, is of the full width of the body of the bow, and at the middle of the same is $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick throughout its

^a The edges are more or less cracked, and small pieces of horn have been introduced in places, evidently, as their insignificance and irregularity show, to make good deficiencies.

^b The reason for this difference in construction on the two sides is to be found in the fact that the bow had to be set at a slight angle to the stock to allow free action to the string, and in consequence the strains on the two sides were not exactly alike.

width, gradually tapering down to $\frac{1}{8}$ at the ends of the bow. (See Plate XXXV, fig. 1 at C, and figs. 5, 6, and 7.)

The grain of both these layers runs longitudinally. One characteristic of yew, and in this in a measure also consists its strength and suitability for bows, is the peculiar arrangement of its fibre. In the placing of the layers the workmen did not neglect to utilise this peculiarity. Another quality that would render it peculiarly suitable for a bow like this one, which was built up damp, is mentioned by S. Boulger, F.L.S., F.G.S., in his *Familiar Trees*. He states that yew 'shrinks so little in drying as not to lose above $\frac{1}{8}$ part of its bulk,' and also that it 'is remarkably free from the attacks of insects.'

In a section which I made at the thickest part of the bow, extending a little more than one-half its width, I counted twelve distinct pieces of whalebone, so that if I say that this layer, which I have called the third, consists of twenty-one pieces of whalebone, I should not be far wrong. (See Plate XXXV, fig. 1 at D, and fig. 5.) These pieces are quadrilateral, of varying thickness, grooved on each side and fitted so closely that the joints are scarcely visible; indeed, the manner in which these small pieces are put together shows the most careful and honest workmanship, and the strong desire on the part of the workman to secure, by every means in his power, the integrity of the bow.

The layer thus formed is half an inch thick at the middle of the bow, tapering to three-eighths of an inch at the ends, the grain running vertically as well as longitudinally. Had the grain been placed horizontally, in which case one piece would have sufficed, the whalebone would have split and flaked under the strain.*

The whole body of the bow is covered over, encased as it were, with tendon in its natural state. The upper portion consists of one piece, which extends for its whole length and is then turned over at the ends and moulded into the nocks, thus not only concealing the insertions (cores and tips) but also binding and protecting the ends from injury. In width it covers the whole of the arched side of the bow, is one-eighth of an inch in thickness, and beveled off to a thin edge at the line of junction with the flat side of the bow. The fibre runs longitudinally, so that this tendon must have given a strong rebound to the bow when released. The outer coating of tendon on the under or flat side of the bow has its fibre placed transversely, and in consequence probably consists of a number of pieces carefully joined together. It is of the same thickness as the upper portion in the middle of the bow, but more attenuated as it approaches the ends. It is wider than the actual body of the bow by about half-an-inch on each side, and these flaps beveled to a sharp edge, are brought up over the arched tendon on either side in the manner of a splice and firmly attached to it. This tendon acts as a clamp and keeps the different materials of which the bow is composed from spreading or splitting longitudinally. (See Plate XXXV, figs. 1, 5, 6, and 7.)

A very fine bark is applied over all, in order to receive the decoration, portions of which still remain. The bark is probably one of the coats of the birch, for under the decoration and still

* I take it from my examination of this section, that the fibre runs longitudinally and the line of cleavage vertically.

adhering to the outer covering of pure tendon, are numbers of dark irregular streaks varying in length, and, as in the bark of that tree, clustered in some places, sparse in others. These marks appear both on the upper and under sides of the bow and run diagonally in both instances but in opposite directions, which shows conclusively that they are separate pieces, indeed this is confirmed by the slight lapping of the arched piece over the flat one, quite discernable at the edges of the bow, which still remain intact under the lashings.

The decoration is painted, and the design formed by a number of small, but very regular, yellow dots on a dark ground.

These dots are arranged in diamonds; and the central dot of each diamond in every other column being omitted, gives it a speckled appearance, reminding one of some reptile's skin.

(See fig. 2.) Perhaps the early Saracenic bows may have been covered with snake skin, and this decoration may be a survival of that tradition; for I somehow have the impression that this peculiar style of decoration was originally intended to represent that substance.* As the pattern does not fit at either edge, for it is cut through quite sharply, we may infer that it was applied to the bark before the latter was placed on the bow.

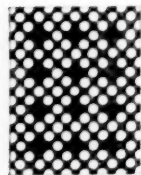


Fig. 2.
Pattern of decoration
(in cross-bow)
(Full-size)

I have said the bark used is probably one of the coats of the birch. I believe it to be the outer bark of that tree; but as Mr. Balfour differs with me in this, for he writes, 'it seems to be always the inner bark of the birch,' I think it better to describe it as above. My conclusion is based upon a dissection I have made of a piece of the bark which I was enabled to procure, and

also on the statements of two well-known writers upon trees. Prideaux John Selby, F.L.S., etc., in his *History of British Forest Trees*, says: 'In Sweden the outer bark, which may be termed imperishable (as it remains uncorrupted for ages), is used instead of tiles or slabs as a covering for houses, and so completely does it resist decay that the Norwegians generally cover their bark roofs to a depth of a foot or more with earth. The Laplanders make their waterproof boots and shoes of it; the legs being taken entire from the trees, and therefore without a seam.' Again, the description given by G. S. Boulger, in the work already cited, of the structure and appearance of the outer bark confirms my view.

I may state, in conclusion, that what has impressed me most in the course of my examination is the extraordinary tenacity of the glue or cement used, for with it has chiefly depended the efficiency and the durability of the bow. When we consider the variety of materials, the manner in which they are put together, and the strain to which they have been subjected, as also the number of years that have elapsed since the bow was made, with its present compactness and

* In confirmation of this view is the fact that Mr. Riggs' bow, now admitted to be of the same structure as mine, was originally described as being covered with snake skin, and the same description was given to those in the Christian Hammer sale, May, 1892. I may add that Mr. Henry Balfour tells me that on the numerous composite bows which he saw in Scandinavia and at Berlin, "the dotted ornamentation on bark seems almost universal."

solidity, this tenacity becomes a matter of wonderment, and gives us cause to regret that its nature and composition are unknown to us.

I attach a key or explanation of the diagrams, and, with kind regards, remain,

Dear Baron,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CLEMENTS."

Such are the results of Mr. Clements's investigation into the construction of this curious form of crossbow, an investigation which extended over several months and involved much correspondence, for the results were only arrived at slowly, Mr. Clements beginning them with the usually received idea that he possessed a bow of horn, and communicating to me each new disclosure obtained by a fresh cut into the bow, so that we might thoroughly discuss each feature brought to light. Indeed the bow was cut into and put together three several times, as new questions presented themselves, which needed great hardening of heart on the part of a collector of ancient arms such as Mr. Clements is.

But I feel that he has made a truly valuable contribution to scientific archaeology in thus determining the construction of a type of crossbow which had never hitherto been correctly described, and I am especially grateful to him for having unreservedly placed the results of his work at my disposal, and allowing me to communicate them to our Society.

To Mr. Henry Balfour, of the Oxford University Museum, my best thanks are also due. He followed our investigation with lively interest, and freely gave us the benefit of all the experience and knowledge he had acquired in the course of a similar examination of non-European bows. I must also thank Mr. A. B. Skinner, of the Science and Art Department, and Mr. M. F. Woodward, of the Royal College of Science, for aid rendered to us at the earliest stages of our inquiry.

It has now been shown how nearly the substances found in the bow by Mr. Clements correspond to those supplied to Robert l'Artilleur in the fourteenth century, the principal differences being that he employed ram's horn where whalebone is found in the latter bow, and apparently coated his bows with varnish* instead of with birch bark, of which no mention is made in his contracts. Pitch and tallow were also required by him, but their use must remain a matter of conjecture.

It may not be unprofitable now to consider how the workman probably proceeded in making these bows of the finer sort, such as the one above described. I may differ somewhat from Mr. Clements in the order in which I place the various operations, but I have thought the matter over carefully from a workman's point of view, and I cannot see otherwise how the requisite strength and close fit of the parts could have been obtained.

* There is a Venetian MS. in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 416), written by one Albertus Theotonicus, a friar spoken of in 1335 as having formerly introduced his methods into Venice, and one passage is headed "a fare vernixe da depinture e da balastro." (Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, i. 86, 90, and 91.) He is supposed to be of German origin, hence called *Tentonicus*. (Communicated by J. G. Waller, Esq., F.S.A.)

I take it that in the first place the workman, having the twenty-one or twenty-three rods of whalebone of the requisite length, grooved them carefully on either side with a toothed scraper. He then glued them all firmly together, probably with fish glue, taking care that the ridges on one piece fitted into the grooves of the next, and he let the whole mass dry under considerable pressure to secure adhesion.

The upper and lower surfaces of the block of whalebone thus obtained would then be smoothed, and the whole tapered slightly in width and thickness towards the ends.

This would be formed the core or back-bone of the bow, and when this core was made of horn, as was most usually the case, the bow was called from it a horn crossbow.

It is necessary to discard from one's mind the possibility of making a bow, of the size needed for a crossbow, entirely of horn.

The supposition formerly existed, for references to horn crossbows are numerous in documents of the middle ages, but an inquiry into the practicable possibilities of constructing large bows entirely of horn has convinced me that in all these documents composite bows with a horn core are designated.^a

Whether the construction of horn cores was exactly similar to that of whalebone cores, only the dissection of a bow with a horn core could tell, but it is certain that other materials besides horn always entered into the composition of the so-called *arbalestes de corne*.

When shaped, the upper and lower surfaces of the whalebone were scored with diagonal grooving, and the two layers of yew wood were glued to it. The outer one was arched on its upper surface, and the inner one was wider than the whalebone core by about a quarter of an inch on either side in the middle, the flange diminishing in due proportion as it approached the ends, and its width representing that of the body of the bow when ultimately filled up.^b

When all this was dry, notches were cut in the ends of the structure, into which were firmly glued the horn cores, and to these were fixed the curved tips. I consider that these horn cores and tips were placed before any tendon was applied, because had they been inserted afterwards, they never would have had that close adhesion to the other components of the bow which was needed for the part they had to play in its structure.

What I may term the skeleton of the bow was now completed, and the flesh had next to be applied in the form of sinew or tendon. The document relating to Robert l'Artilleur proves that this sinew was shredded out into strands. After being steeped in water, a layer of this, strongly impregnated with glue, was pressed on to the arch formed by the outer layer of the yew and the

^a 1248, "Pro 21 capitibus *coramum* et 46 *glutinis* ad faciendum balistas 26l. 14s." (Compte d'Alphonse de Poitiers, p. 294.) 1338, "Arbaleste de *cor* et d'*if*." (Comptes de Barth. du Dauch, 1336, "Balistas de *cor*." (Reglements de Montauban, cited by V. Gay.) 1426, "2 grosses arbalestes de *corne* de revers grans." (Inventaire du Chateau des Baux, No. 61.) 1428, "quatre grans arcs de *corne*." (Inventaire de la Bastide Saint Anthoine.) The *gluten* in the first document is the tendon needed for the bow.

^b The variety of yew most generally used for crossbows in France was "*if de Roumaine*," Romanian yew. Four texts of the fifteenth century relating to it are given by V. Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique*, p. 47.

sides of the whalebone, all of which had been previously grooved. As this dried, it also was grooved longitudinally, and a second and a third layer were applied in the same way, each successive one having somewhat less glue in its composition, until the whole arch was built up. The nocks were to a certain extent formed during this process, and ultimately cut to the required depth. In drying, this coating of tendon would shrink, and produce the reflex curvature noticeable in many of these bows. The skin next had to be put on, and this consisted, for the arched side, of long strands of pure tendon, whilst for the flat side, transverse fibre was applied with a lap over on each side of half an inch, which was moulded up on to the arch at either side, so as to hold the whole thing firmly together. Lastly came the cuticle, which was formed of thin birch bark.

We have seen how impervious to damp this bark is, and my belief is that the object of this, as is the case with the human cuticle, was as much to keep moisture in, as to keep damp out. It is well known that when the oriental composite bows become perfectly dry, they lose all flexibility and will snap rather than bend. Before being used they often had to be softened in a bath, and gradually opened by cords attached to pegs in the ground.^a

A certain amount of moisture is essential to the flexibility of these composite bows, and the crossbows above described are at present absolutely rigid and inflexible, no doubt through their thorough dryness.

This cuticle of birch bark had been decorated before it was applied. It was first stained or painted black or dark brown, and on this ground were applied the yellow dots. So extreme is their regularity that I think they must have been applied by means of a stencilling-plate. When this bark was glued on in two sections, as described by Mr. Clements, the bow was complete and only needed stringing and mounting on its stock.

The excellence of these German crossbows of the fifteenth century is attested by a passage in Gilles le Bouvier (A. D. 1455), quoted by Victor Gay.^b He says, speaking of the Bavarians: "Ces gens sont bons arbalestriers à cheval et à pié, et tirent d'arbalestres de corne ou de nerts qui sont bonnes, seures et fortes, car ils ne rompent point; et les arbalestres de bois et les arcs sont autres, ilz" (ceux de corne) "ne rompent quand elles sont gellées; et pour ce les font de corne . . . et plus fait froid, plus sont fortes."

It shall perhaps add to the interest of this notice if I append a list of crossbow makers as far as I have been able to compile it. I must mention that I owe the notices of Spanish makers contained therein to the extreme courtesy of the Count de Valencia de Don Juan, the learned director of the Royal Armoury at Madrid, who has caused researches to be made in the Archives of Simancas and of the Crown of Aragon.

Readers of John Evelyn's Diary will remember the excellent account it contains of the crossbow shooting as still practised at Geneva in 1646, and in Flanders the same exercises continued in vogue even during the last century.

^a Murdoch Smith, *Pecunia Artis*, South Kensington Museum Handbook.

^b *Glossaire Archéologique*, p. 50.

The following list of bow makers is necessarily far from complete, but it may serve as a foundation for future research into the history of this interesting weapon:

Makers of Crossbows, Bows, and Bolts.

- Acacio, crossbow maker, Spanish, cited by Alonso Martinez de Espinar, huntsman to Philip IV., in his *Arte de Ballesteria y Monteria*, published in 1644.
- Alanis, crossbow maker (Espinar).
- Alexandre (Jehan), *Artilleur du Roy* (Charles V.), 1519-30. (Van Vinkeroy, *Catalogue des Armes et Armures*, Bruxelles, 1885, p. 242, and Boheim *Das Waffencosen*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 659.) Made bows for Charles V. at Saragossa.
- Ambrémont (Claude d'), master crossbow maker at Paris in 1532, and father-in-law of Pierre Conseil. (Baron Pichon, *Extraits*, t. 5.)
- Armengon (P.), master crossbow maker of Barcelona in 1381. (Archives of the Crown of Aragon.)
- Aubert, crossbow maker of Paris in 1738. (Piece signed by him at the Musée d'Artillerie.)
- Azeoitia (Juan de), cited by Espinar.
- Azeoitia (Cristobal de), grandson of Azeoitia the elder. Cited by Espinar.
- Bagot (Gyllaine), crossbow maker to Henry VIII., 1525. (*Archæologia*, LI. 234.)
- Balbastro, crossbow maker of Monzon in Aragon about 1530. (Boheim, p. 657.)
- Baltasar, signature on a crossbow in the Real Armeria at Madrid, No. 579.
- Baur (Hans), of Nuremberg, 1573. Signature on crossbow wind in the Armeria Reale at Turin, No. L. 19.
- Blanco (Juan), maker of a number of hunting crossbows about 1551. There are nine by him in the Madrid collection, and one at Turin, No. L. 4.
- Bletterie (de La), crossbow maker at Paris about 1785. "Arquebusier et Archer du Roi et des Princes." Example at Dresden. (Boheim, p. 657.)
- Breton (Pierre le), bowmaker of Liège about 1538. (Boheim, p. 659.)
- Buckstede, fletcher to Henry VIII., 1528. (*Archæologia*, LI. 234.)
- Conrad (William), bowyer of the Tower of London in 1302. (Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.) Already mentioned in the body of this paper.
- Conseil (Pierre), master crossbow maker of Paris, 1572. Son-in-law of Claude d'Ambrémont. (Baron Pichon, t. 5.)
- Cottenat (*Maître*), French crossbow maker, 1490. "Faiseur d'arbalestre d'assiez" (weier). (Journal de J. Aubrion de Metz, V. Gay, p. 42.)

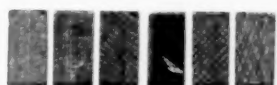
- Cornier (Thomas), crossbow maker of Angers, 1463. (*Comptes du Roi René*, V. Gay, p. 42.)
- Criado (Juan), cited by Espinar, only made the stocks of crossbows.
- Dancet (Pierre), master crossbow maker of Paris, 1575. Father-in-law of Remy Planchette (Baron Pichon, t. 5.)
- Daza (Juan), signature on a crossbow in the Madrid collection.
- Dietrich, crossbow maker of Vienna about 1392. (Boheim, p. 645.)
- Dumesnil (Robert), *see* Mesnil.
- Escobar (Cristobal de), made crossbow bolts for Philip II. and Philip III. (Espinar.)
- Escobar (Juan de), son of Cristobal. Bolt maker to Philip III. and Philip IV. (Espinar.)
- Fernandez (Juan), signed a crossbow wind, of the middle of the sixteenth century, in the Madrid collection.
- Fownset (George), bowstring maker to Henry VIII., 1533. (*Archæologia*, LI. 234.)
- Fuente (Juan de la), crossbow maker to Charles V. Two bows by him exist in the Madrid collection.
- Fuente (Pedro de la), made crossbows for the Prince, afterwards Philip II. Two exist at Madrid. Also cited by Espinar.
- Gajardo (Giacomello), crossbow maker of Venice, about 1400. (Boheim, p. 663.)
- Ganguart (Michel), master crossbow maker of Paris, 1552. (Baron Pichon, t. 4.)
- Grageras, crossbow signed by him in the Madrid collection.
- Guillaume, *P. Arbalestrier*, of Caen, 1355. 20,000 goose quills to be purchased in the neighbourhood by him, in order that he may put "*l'artillerie*" of the castle and garrison of Caen into good order. (Bibliothèque Nationale, dep. des MSS, quittances, t. ix., No. 316.)
- Guillen (Juan), crossbow maker of Valencia in 1543. Supplied Philip II. (Archives of Simancas).
- Haucher (Pierre), crossbow maker of Paris, 1488. (V. Gay, p. 42.)
- Haye (Loys de la), crossbow maker of Bruges, about 1460. (Boheim, p. 659.)
- Henry, *le Serrurier*, made crossbows at Brussels about 1394. (Boheim, p. 659.)
- Hernandez (Juan), 1551. Example at Madrid, and cited by Espinar.
- Hovorst (Jehan Van), crossbow maker of Mechlin, supplied Philip the Fair in 1501. (Vinkroy, p. 243.)
- Hortega, crossbow maker. (Espinar.)
- Hyndy (Walter), fletcher to Henry VIII., 1519-12. (*Archæologia*, LI. 233.)
- Jean, *P. Artilleur*, Burgundian bow maker, 1400. (Boheim, p. 659.)

- Planchette (Remy), crossbow maker of Paris, 1570, crossbow of Paris, France (Paris, Piccini, 50).
- Puebla, *de Toledo*, crossbow maker of Madrid, 1570. Two examples in the Madrid collection.
- Pykeman (Henry), son of Thomas Pykeman, bow maker of the Tower, 1527. (London, Cf. 233 and 234).
- Pykeman (Thomas), bow maker of the Tower, 1511-1540. (London, Cf. 233 and 234).
- Regnault (Antoine), crossbow maker of Paris, 1572. (Baron Piccini, 50).
- Remala (*the father*), bow maker. (Spain, 1570).
- Renedo (*the son*), bow maker. (London).
- Robert *le Belhene*, 1524, working for the court of France, already referred to in this book in this paper.
- Rodriguez (Juan), crossbow maker of Madrid, of the assembly of crossbows. (London, acquired by him at Paris, No. 4, 1570).
- Roquefort (Juan), crossbow maker of France, 1511-1540. Alfonso V. of Aragon in a document of the archbishop of the Cathedral of Aragon speaks of three crossbows made by him, but they are small hunting crossbows, not crossbows, and small hunting crossbows are not the same as the crossbows which the archbishop.
- St. Catherine (Piccini, de 1570, p. 157, 1570, 1570, 1570). (Piccini, p. 157).
- Sandir (Jan), of Hannover, crossbow maker of the Mass. of Aragon, 1570.
- Santa Maria, crossbow maker of France.
- Serejos (Juan de), crossbow maker of the Prince, afterwards Philip II., 1537. (London, of Sanabria).
- Sordo de Zamora, crossbow maker. (Spain, 1570).
- Tarrago (Francisco), crossbow maker of Paris, 1570. (London, of Piccini, 50).
- Temple (William), crossbow maker of the Tower, 1511-1540. (London, Cf. 233 and 234).
- Tandery (Jehan le), crossbow maker of the Tower, 1511-1540. (London, of Piccini, 50).
- Uredo, crossbow maker. (Spain, 1570).
- Valleras (Pedro de), crossbow maker of the Madrid collection.
- Visin (Renaldo de), crossbow maker of Aragon, about 1570. (Piccini, p. 157, 1570, 1570, 1570).
- Wagnart, (Piccini, de 1570, p. 157, 1570). (Piccini, p. 157).
- Wagnart (John), bow maker of the Tower, 1511-1540. (London, Cf. 233 and 234).
- Xennot, 1531, crossbow maker of the Mass. of Aragon, 1570.

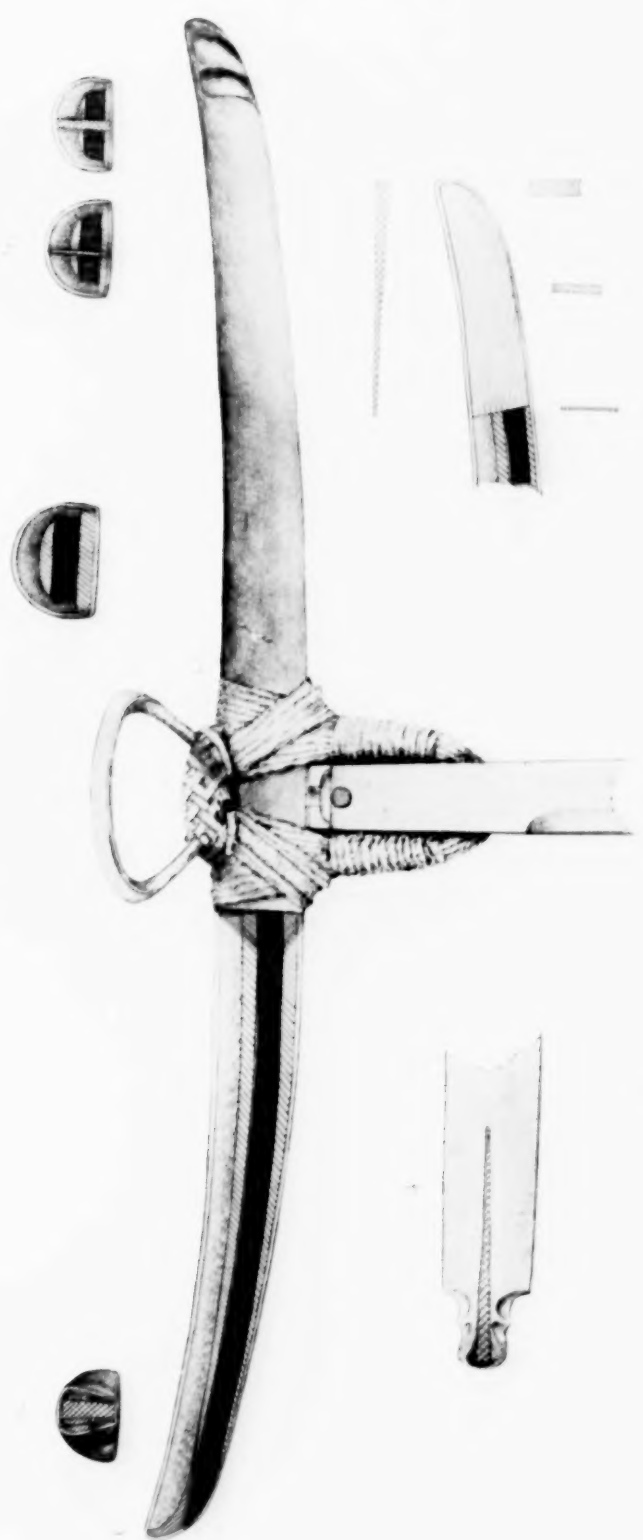
EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXV.

- Fig. 1. Front view of the bow with part of the stock. Left arm intact, showing the nocks. Right arm opened down from the end to the heshings, displaying the various layers longitudinally, with the outer covering of tendon, as also the small horn tips at *C*.
- Fig. 2. Underside of arm, the outer tendon and wood removed at *A*, exposing the whalebone layer with the lower edge of the core projecting. The opening at *B* shows that there is no insertion or projection at that portion of the bow. The diagonal intersecting lines represent the channeling to promote adhesion.
- Fig. 3. Longitudinal section of end of the bow, showing the extent and width of the core, its surface also diagonally channeled. *A* shows the wedge form of the core as seen from the top, and *B*, *C*, and *D* give its sections at the points marked.
- Fig. 4. Underside of right end showing the manner of inserting the core, it being not quite in the centre but rather nearer the front side of the bow. This is also observable in figs. 2 at *A*, 6, 7, and 8.
- Fig. 5. Cross-section of left arm taken at 12 inches from the end of the bow, showing the different layers and the outer covering of tendon.
- Fig. 6. Cross-section at 4½ inches from the end of the bow, showing the different layers with section of the core at that part.
- Fig. 7. Cross-section at 2 inches from the end of the bow, showing the different layers with section of the core at that part.
- Fig. 8. End view of right arm, showing disposition of the core and tips.

NOTE.—The bow is twenty-eight and a quarter inches long.



1. *Stachys recta*
 2. *Stachys recta*
 3. *Stachys recta*
 4. *Stachys recta*
 5. *Stachys recta*
 6. *Stachys recta*
 7. *Stachys recta*



1. *Stachys recta*
 2. *Stachys recta*
 3. *Stachys recta*
 4. *Stachys recta*
 5. *Stachys recta*
 6. *Stachys recta*
 7. *Stachys recta*

XX.—*On Offa's Dyke.* By T. McKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Read January 28th, 1892.

THERE are few points in ancient history more interesting than an inquiry into the age and object of the great "dykes"; such as those of north Wiltshire, between central and southern England; those north of Cambridge, which bar the only access into East Anglia from the south; those which run from the estuary of the Dee to that of the Severn, cutting off the whole of Wales; or the great earthwork nearly parallel to the Roman wall which crossed the island from the Solway to the Tyne.

Were these the outcome of similar circumstances among various races and at many different times, or were those of even one district the work of the same age and of the same people, and if so whom were they thrown up to defend and whom to repel?

The object of this communication is to collect more evidence than has hitherto been put together with regard to the history and traditions respecting the earthworks referred to Offa; to criticise the value of that reference in the light of further observations along the boundary, and to suggest and commence an attempt at a more systematic grouping of the earthworks on the eastern frontiers of the Ordovices and Silures, with a view to the revision of Offa's boundary; and a determination of the ancient landmarks adopted and perhaps adapted by him, and possibly a recognition of prolongations made and gaps filled by him.

Dr. Guest has treated of the north Wiltshire dykes, which he refers to the advance of the Belgae. General Pitt-Rivers, however, informs me that he has ascertained that some of these belong to Roman times, as he has found Roman remains under the rampart.

Prof. Ridgeway* has recently shown a reasonable probability that the East Anglian dykes may be those referred to by Tacitus in his account of how Ostorius,

* *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vii, 200-207.

having stormed the first line of these *agrestes aggeres*, caught the Iceni tangled among their own earthworks and defeated them with great slaughter. I had previously* added one to the number of these dykes by classing with them the earthwork known as the Roman road over the Gog Magogs.

The received notions with regard to the North British rampart too I have recently^b had an opportunity of criticising, and have endeavoured to show that the Picts wall or *callum* is a much older work than the Roman wall or *murus*.

I have also already expressed doubts as to the age of Offa's Dyke, and to this question I would now return with additional evidence.

In the *Brut y Tywysogion* it is stated that Offa made the great dyke known as Offa's Dyke after Mercia had been laid waste by the Cymry in 765; that the men of Gwent and Morganwg destroyed Offa's dyke in 776, and that after a subsequent devastation by the Cymry in 784, Offa made another dyke nearer to him. In another Brut, which is said to be older and in which the chronology runs in decades, it is recorded that in the decade 770 to 780 there was a great destruction of the Southern British by Offa.^c Professor Rhys, however, tells me that the value of the Bruts as historical evidence is as yet but doubtful.

Asser Menevensis,^d A.D. 910, says that by the directions of Offa a great *callum* was made from sea to sea between Britain and Mercia,^e and Simeon of Durham, whose chronicle ends in 1129,^f repeats this in the very same words.

Higden in his *Polychronicon* speaks of it as *fossa*,^g and says that it was *ad perpetuam Regnorum Anglorum et Walliarum distinctionem habendam*,^h but wrongly describes its course, probably because he did not distinguish between Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke, which is nearly parallel to Offa's Dyke, the distance between them varying from 500 yards to 3 miles, and which was often confounded with it by earlier writers, and is generally described as if it were part of it by later authors. Speed speaks of Offa's Dyke as a bound set to separate the Welsh from the English.

In the chronicle of Caradoc of Llangarvanⁱ referred to the twelfth century,

* *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vi. 41-44.

^b *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vi. 355-361.

^c *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. ii. 152-3.

^d De Rebus gestis Alfredi, in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 471.

^e Wise, 10.

^f Ed. 1652, 118.

^g This is probably the origin of the name Fosse Ditch, applied to part of the southern end of the earthworks referred to Offa.

^h Cf. Gale, XV. *Scriptores*, i. 194.

ⁱ Reference in Ormerod, *Archæologia*, xxix. 13, to Caradoc's *Welsh Chronicle*, ed. 1584, p. 19. Matt. Paris, *Vita Offæ Secundi*, ed. Wats, p. 27.

quoted in Dr. Powell's *History*,^a it is stated that, in consequence of the "deep ditch" called Offa's Dyke being made, the royal seat of the princes of Powys was moved from Shrewsbury (Pengwern) to Mathyraval in Montgomeryshire.

Pennant gives an account of Offa's Dyke,^b as does Hartshorne also in his *Salopia Antiqua*.^c Dr. Geo. Ormerod and Mr. Longueville Jones have published several valuable communications on Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.^d

Dr. Ormerod^e has given references to the *Polychronicon*, as well as to Camden and other writers, respecting the date and extent of Offa's Dyke; and Milman^f refers to various documents in which the boundary between the Welsh and Saxons is mentioned. Wright^g suggests that the principal object of Offa's Dyke was to prevent cattle-lifting; but he does not even notice the difficulty that the steep side is next Wales, as if the Welsh had thrown it up to prevent the English carrying off their cattle. Prof. Earle, on the other hand, brings forward evidence from the Saxon chronicles to show that there was a regular patrol service along the Welsh border with stations at regular intervals, but implies that the dyke was rather a boundary line for them to guard from trespass than a fortification for them to defend.^h

Dr. Edwin Guest read a paper at Rhyl on the northern termination of Offa's Dyke, where he refers to the Book of Basingwerk, in which the word "terfyn" (*terminus*), a boundary, is frequently used for the dyke, and points out that it appears also in many local names.ⁱ

Similar dykes are found in other parts of England. For instance, Wan's Dyke, which runs from the neighbourhood of Andover, in Hampshire, across the centre of Wiltshire, and past Bath to Bristol, a distance of about 50 miles. This dyke is said to consist of a vallum and fosse, the fosse being on the north side; so that it was not likely that it could have been built by the Mercians, who were on the north side of it, if they also built Offa's Dyke which has the fosse, when there is one, on the Welsh or furthest side.^j

^a p. 29.

^c Q^{uo} ed. ii. 273, see *Archæologia*, xxix. 13.

^e *Archæologia*, xxix. 13.

^g *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. iii. 311.

^h Some notices of the dyke and protests against the destruction of parts of it will be found in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. iii. 204, 397-8.

ⁱ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. iv. 335.

^j *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th S. vi. 275.

^b *Tours in Wales*, i. 315, 351.

^d 3rd S. ii. 1-23, 151-4, 155; v. 317.

^f *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 23.

With regard to the name, Skeat says "There is a place called Wansborough, in Wiltshire, which is spelt Wodensburh in old books; *i. e.*, Wodensborough. Similarly Wan's Dyke is clearly Woden's Dyke; merely named after him, just as we build a street, and call it Victoria Street."

Some curious facts in connection with the various names applied to Offa's Dyke may be found in the paper by Professor Earle, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*.^a

He says that he found the dyke called Heyve Deytch, Have Deytch, or Hof Deytch, which he thought might be only a corruption of Offa's dyke. While a friend of his suggested that the other forms might refer to its being the dyke which halves or divides the two countries. Dr. Hoopell informs me that Offa's Dyke at the southern end is locally called Off Ditch. Whatever may have been the original form, this suggests the idea of the off or far ditch, or that which formed the outside boundary. Professor Earle points out the rather remarkable coincidence of two parts of an extensive earthwork near Aynho, on the borders of Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, being called the one Avesditch and the other Wattlebank. Corresponding to Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke.

In the south of Shropshire Offa's Dyke goes by the name of the Devil's Ditch.^b

There are plenty of examples of conspicuous or artificial objects being referred to well-known characters of a past time. A natural rock table on the corner between Dyffryn Alud and the Elwy is called Bwrdd Arthur, while numerous artificial earthworks of various kinds in Wales and England are referred to the same king. Caesar's camp at Folkestone has been shown by General Pitt-Rivers to be Norman. Cromwell gets credit for having thrown up innumerable British and Roman tumuli all over the country, in order from them to batter down some neighbouring church or castle. And, when local traditions do not suggest an earthly hero, bridges and dykes are referred to his satanic majesty's work; while natural hollows were his punch bowls, and queerly perched rocks offered him a seat. When the name of Offa became familiar, any earthwork which had a name of some similar sound might soon be called after Offa, and pedantic writers would invent a history in accord with the suggestion. Hwfa is a well-known Welsh name, and Careghofa was a strong castle near the dyke south of Oswestry.

It is not at all improbable that a pre-existing earthwork may have got called Offa's Dyke if it was fixed upon by Offa, or anywhere near Offa's time, as the boundary line between English and Welsh territory.

When a mountain tract is taken in under the Enclosures Act two things are done: the limits of common rights are defined, and a fence is put to keep the

^a 3rd S. iii. 197-209.

^b Parkins, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th S. vi. 275.

cattle and sheep from straying beyond it. One side may be cut up into small allotments, the other left open, and arrangements are made by which the labour or expense is divided among those concerned.

Having regard to the position and structure of Offa's Dyke, it is clear that much of it was well adapted for marking the territorial limits, and bounding the pasturage of a people who had flocks and herds which they wished to keep from straying beyond that limit. It would therefore be, at the time that name was given to it, a boundary to stop wandering, straying, or runaway cattle.

When inquiring about the age of the similar dykes on the other side of England, I asked Professor Skeat about the meaning of some of the names, Wat's Dyke and Fleam Dyke, for example; both of which he referred to Anglo-Saxon words meaning flight, wandering, straying. Wat as a man's name, he said, was only the short for Walter, and was Norman or Frankish and not Saxon at all; and yet if we insist that the whole of Offa's Dyke must have been thrown up by Offa, because of the name, we should also infer that Wat's Dyke was thrown up by some one of the name of Wat.

Mr. Hurrell tells me that the stream which runs from Chronicle Hills, near Triplow, was named Offa's Bourn; and that the bridge by which the high road near Foxton crosses it was known as Offa's Bridge: written Hoffer's Bridge on the Ordnance map. The Rev. E. Conybeare, of Barrington, while confirming the recollection of Mr. Hurrell as to the bridge having been formerly called Offa's Bridge, adds the curious fact that not long ago a farmer named Heffer took the adjoining farm, and that the bridge is now commonly called Heffer's Bridge.

Mr. Conybeare also mentions that in St. Ives there is a small street leading down to the river and now called Offa Lane, but that in old documents it is Offal Lane: which he interprets Off-fall from its position. Thus we find two sets of similar sounding words applied by the old English speaking people to dykes like Offa's Dyke in various parts of the country: Off Ditch, Hof Deytch, Have Deytch, Heyve Deytch, Avesditch; and Hwfa, Hofa, Hoffer, Offa, applied to various objects connected with them. In association with these we have Wat's Dyke, Wattlebank, Wan's Dyke, and may we add Watling Street.

If Offa, as recorded in the *Brut*,^a made another dyke nearer to him, *i.e.* Wat's Dyke, after the great devastation by the Cymry in 784, why was not the second one also traditionally connected with his name. Wan's Dyke, from the analogy of Wansburh, as shown by Skeat, is probably Woden's Dyke; and as we must

^a See above p. 2.

not infer that Woden made these, so we need not, on the strength of name, at any rate, infer that Offa made the others.

The traditional names do not therefore seem to go for much, and when the exact meaning and association of the words were lost, a similar sounding word, with an obvious meaning, was commonly adopted, as the name of the ship-of-war Bellerophon assumes in the mouths of sailors several forms having an obvious English meaning, or as the mottoes and signs over hostelrys have been modified into words more intelligible to their frequenters. It does seem, therefore, probable that these dykes were simply recognised by the early English folk as bounds beyond which cattle might not stray nor huntsmen wander; a view strengthened by the fact that Offa's Dyke was known in Wales as *terfyn*, the Welsh form of *terminus*.^a

It was not like a city boundary where people dwelt thickly on the inside of the walls. Probably there was no very dense population just along the dyke. Plenty of domestic cattle ranged over the low lands on the east and up the valleys on the west, where there were also rich hunting grounds. A strong fence to prevent the cattle straying beyond the limits arranged between two neighbouring clans, and a well-marked boundary to warn the eager huntsman off from the ground claimed by his powerful neighbour, would appear to have been a most natural thing to have made in any of these rough early ages, and most essential along a district which seems almost always to have been the border land between hostile races. The misunderstandings that might occur along a boundary not clearly marked by some obvious feature have been recently exemplified in the difficulties which have arisen between the French and Germans along their newly-defined boundary lines of Elsass Lothringen.

I endeavoured to make out the form of Offa's Dyke, which does not appear to have had much attention paid to it hitherto. It has been observed before that Wat's Dyke is a much stronger line of defence than Offa's Dyke, but what struck me most was that there is now no fosse at all along a great part of Offa's Dyke where it runs over rising ground. It seemed somewhat remarkable that if the line was in some places strengthened by a fosse, as if for defence, such an obvious addition would not have been made everywhere, especially when they were already digging earth to form the vallum, considering that all along the dykes of East Anglia, and in the case of most early earthworks there is a deep fosse, the earth from which, thrown up on the inside, forms the vallum, so that the

^a See Guest *op. cit. supra*, p. 4.

ditch was next the enemy. There are exceptions, as in the case of the Irish raths, where the earth often seems to have been thrown up from the inside, and in some of the circular earthworks of the Lake district.

Seeing, however, that the steep scarp was always turned towards Wales, and that, when there was a fosse, it also was on that side, I thought it possible that there may have been one along the whole line, but that it had got filled up by farming operations and nature; and therefore, with the permission and kind assistance of Sir George Osborne Morgan, I dug at the base of the vallum in one or two places near Brymbo, and examined it carefully in other parts of the line. I was unable to make out that there ever had been a fosse at the bottom of the vallum where I examined it, but the brow of the hill seems to have been simply cut down on the side next Wales, and the material to have been thrown up to form the vallum thus



Fig. 1.

where the dotted line represents the original form of the ground. It may be that the fosse was further out and the vallum cut back in recent times, so that where I dug (*) was in reality under the vallum, the dotted line in fig. 2 repre-



Fig. 2.

senting the original form of the dyke and the hard line the present form after the portion (*x*) had been thrown in to fill up the fosse (*f*), or perhaps spread over the land. But as far as I was able to go I found no traces of a fosse in those places where there is no fosse now seen.

Now let us see whether the form of the ground along which it has been carried will throw any light on the subject. We are at once met with the fact that no military engineer would have adopted such a line of defence, whether he held the east or the west side of the dyke. It is sometimes carried obliquely along the sides of the hills, so that, as it runs down the west flank, for instance, it is commanded by the hill above it on the east and, as it crosses the valley and runs obliquely up

the west of the valley and east slope of the hill beyond it, it is commanded from the west, as may be seen near Caergwrle. We must not, however, press this point too hard, as the ancient military engineers commonly carried their lines straight, but they generally strengthened the weaker places by double lines or outworks. The great length of the line to be defended, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the Dee to the estuary of the Severn, along which the dyke has been traced, though not continuously, for some seventy-five miles, is an objection to any of the explanations yet offered, but it presents greater difficulties in the way of our accepting the line-of-defence theory than any other. It would be impossible to man such a line, and if the English were scattered all along the line a compact body of Welsh could rush it anywhere. Besides, as has been shown, it is in many places more favourable to the Welsh than to the English. An earthwork like that, even with a pallisading on top, would, except where strongly defended, present no difficulty to men. And it would be easy enough to make a gap for cattle, especially if they were being driven from England into Wales.

It has always been taken for granted that Offa's Dyke was made by Offa and was not merely a series of pre-existing features selected by him and perhaps joined up to form the limit of his jurisdiction. Where the Wye formed the boundary no one says that he dug the channel of that river.

When the evidence of early writers that Offa made or fixed some kind of boundary along the whole Welsh frontier is admitted, it is assumed that it was probably continuous, and some similarity of design and strength is looked for along the whole line. But this is far from being the case, Offa's Dyke is not continuous, but occurs in long interrupted pieces, dying out just as do the East Anglian dykes. It does not run in a straight line along its whole course, but is made up of a number of more or less straight dykes inclined at various angles to one another, but all approximately coinciding with the boundaries of the lowlands and mountain lands.*

It is curious to compare a small scale map of England and Wales having the line of Offa's Dyke traced on it with one on which the margin of the mountain land is indicated, or an agricultural map on which the arable districts are distinguished from the pastoral. The boundary agrees marvellously in all three, so it is likely to have coincided with the most ancient tribal divisions; and in fact we find that the strong portions of it do coincide with the frontiers of the Ordovices and Silures as far as their territories can be defined.

Milman^b in his paper on the *Political Geography of Wales* says, "The political

* Cf. Foshroke, *Gentleman's Magazine*, cii, 2, p. 509 et seq. ^b *Archæologia*, xxxviii, 19.

boundary of Wales originally coincided with its physical or geological boundary as laid down by modern science—namely, the line of the rivers Severn and Dee. But this was soon overstepped by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, who gradually forced the Welsh further to the westward and established a new boundary at first indeterminate, but at length defined by Offa's Dyke," but, he remarks, "the records of the treaty under which, and of the extraordinary means by which, Offa's Dyke was constructed, have long since perished."

It does not appear that the dyke had been traced continuously from estuary to estuary by any of the earlier observers. From an examination of the ground we should infer that it never can have existed in many of the places through which it must have run on the supposition of there ever having been a continuous line of demarcation of uniform character and strength constructed by Offa. There is no reason why it should have been artificially removed and all traces of it destroyed, and there are no natural operations which can have obliterated it in most of the cases referred to. An immense earthwork cannot have been entirely destroyed in any incursion, and moreover the only historic notice of such a destruction refers it to the Southern Welsh^a and leaves unexplained the gaps in the northern part of the dyke. With regard to much of the ground we may safely say that if there are no traces there now the dyke never did run there.

Offa's Dyke cannot be followed to the sea at its northern extremity.^b A few remains of an ancient earthwork can be traced running in a south-easterly direction from half a mile to a mile along the south-west side of the road from Newmarket^c to Llynhelig, and the name of the nearest farm, Bryn terfyn (*terminus*),^d may refer to this boundary, but it is a very different thing from the great fosse and agger which no cultivation has obliterated along the borderland further south in Denbighshire and Shropshire.

The direction of this Newmarket boundary would take us by the entrenched position known as Bwrddyrhyfel (the Battle Board), and passing by many a tumulus would run on to Bryn-y-Cloddiau (the Hill of the Dykes), about one mile and a quarter north of Ysceifiog.

Nothing is seen in the line of what is now called Offa's Dyke anywhere near the seaboard of Flintshire.^e Yet the country next north of where traces are last

^a See p. 2, inf. ^b 1 inch O.S. Map 79 N.W., 6 inch V.Va.

^c 1 inch 79 N.E., 1 inch 79 S.E.

^d Maesterfyn is, however, a long way from any dyke, and the word may mean the termination of a road or of anything.

^e 1-inch 79 S.E.

^f 6-inch Flint vi.

seen has not been subjected to much surface change by agricultural operations. I should infer, from an examination of the ground, that there never has been any important earthwork along that line of country. Traces of what is called Wat's Dyke, however, exist east of the Strand Fields at Holywell, and again in, and north-west of Wern Sirk. As a caution against inferring too much from such names as *clawdd* or *terfyn*, I may point out that Tyddyn Cloddiau is the name of a farm a mile east of these earthworks, and there is a doubt as to whether the word should be *cloddiau* or *tlodion*. Bryn-y-Cloddiau is another similar name about one mile and a third north of Ysceifiog. *Clawdd* is used for any fence, and *terfyn* for the termination of anything. Nant-y-Flint,^a and the ravines and escarpments by Bryngareg,^b seem to have been sufficient protection or mark without any earthworks, but about three miles and a-half to the south-east we again find traces. It is worth remark that, although the farm close to the Soughton turnpike is called Clawdd Offa, and on the same dyke about one mile and a-half still further south-east we have Bryn Offa, and, close by, Llwyn Offa; these are all on Wat's Dyke.

Wat's Dyke^c seems now to be better marked, and may be traced in a south-south-east direction about one mile and a-half east of Mold by Hope as far as Caergwrle.^d The brow of the wooded slope then served for and helped to obscure the line; but opposite Gwersyllt Park^e and by Bradley and Alwyn Bank^f it can be followed till it rests on the British camp in the bend of the Alyn;^g south of which on the other side of the river we pick it up again and trace it more or less continuously by Pentreclawdd near Rhuabon to Wynstay.

Curiously enough where we should expect the strongest defences, viz., the entrance to the fertile vale of Llangollen, we lose both dykes, and, when we find any dyke again, it looks like an independent earthwork flanking the strong entrenchments of Old Oswestry^h on the north and on the south for about two miles and a-half, after which we see no more earthworks that can be referred to this line of defence.

Thus we see that what we have been calling Wat's Dyke and Offa's Dyke both terminate on the same latitude of Trefonen,ⁱ and a single series of disconnected entrenchments referred to Offa runs from this south.

The earthworks to which the name of Offa's Dyke is generally applied are

^a Linch 79 S.E.

^b Linch 79 S.E.

^c Flint xiv.

^d Linch 74 N.E.

^e Shropshire xix N.W.

^f 6-inch, Flint ix. Denbigh x.

^g 6-inch, Flint xiii. Denbigh xv.

^h Flint xvii. Denbigh xxi.

ⁱ 6-inch, Shropshire xii N.W., xii S.W.

first seen as pointed out above (p. 9) near Newmarket,^a after which there is nothing that can with any certainty be referred to it for some fifteen miles to the south-east; but south of Treiddyn or Tryddyn a strong earthwork is seen, and from this point it can be traced by Nant-y-ffrith and over the hill west of Brymbo by Adwy'r Clawdd, between Minera and Wrexham,^b and thence more or less continuously by Tanyclawdd, close to the camp known as Y Gardden, and so on west of Rhuabon. We pick it up again south of the River Dee as it flows out of the Vale of Llangollen into the low lying coal country on the east, and trace it south by Chirk Castle and Penyclawdd.

From Chirk it may be followed south along the county boundary of Denbigh and Shropshire,^c south of Selattyn Hill, after which its course lies a little east of south through the Welsh part of Shropshire past Trefarcawdd to Trefonen. Then there is a gap of two miles defended by the camp near Whitehaven.^d On the south of the road to Llanyblodwel, on Crickheath Hill,^e another earthwork is seen running for about a mile south-south-west, and terminating in the strong entrenchments of Llanymynech Hill.

South of the River Vyrnwy^f a long continuous dyke runs southerly by Llandysilio Four Crosses to the River Severn, on the east of which we find the entrenchments of the Breidden.

South of the Breidden^g short interrupted banks are seen in the general line of Offa's Dyke; and, extending from Buttington along the east side of the Severn to Moel-y-Mab, near Leighton Hall,^h a longer earthwork which ends, as has been already shown to be frequently the case, in the entrenchments of that probably British fortified position. The next earthworks referred to Offa commence about a quarter of a mile further eastⁱ and can be traced south-south-west with little interruption to beyond the camp at Nant.^j

When we come down to the country about Montgomery,^k dotted with tumuli and bristling with camps, we might expect to find that Offa would, if any where, have made a strong rampart. There are traces of earthworks here on the line along

^a 6-inch, Flint xvii. Denbigh xxi.

^b 6-inch, Flint xxxv. Denbigh xxi. Denbigh xxxix. Denbigh xliii.

^c 6-inch, Shropshire Va. S.E., Shropshire xi N.E.

^d 6-inch, Shropshire xi S.E., Shropshire xviii N.E.

^e 1-inch 74 S.E.

^f 6-inch, Shropshire xxvi N.W., Montgomery xi N.W., xi S.W., xvi N.W.

^g Montgomery xvi S.W.

^h Montgomery xxxiii N.E., xxxiii S.E.

ⁱ Montgomery xxiv S.E.

^j Montgomery xxx N.E.

^k 1-inch 50 S.E.

which Offa is supposed to have drawn his boundary, but they are interrupted and obscure, and what is very important for the purposes of our enquiry there are here other similar earthworks quite off the line of Offa's Dyke. It is supposed to run from the great north road through Montgomery, passing about a mile east of the town by Brompton Ditches, the name denoting its occurrence here, and so two miles further to the south-south-east into the Cwm. But there it ends. Another dyke less than a mile in length runs across Edenhope Hill to Mainstone, and there are traces of another crossing the hill by the camp on Upper Knuck. South of which there is nothing that could be referred to Offa's Dyke for many a long mile.

We find in this district much evidence in support of the suggestion that Offa did not make the great dykes that ran along the eastern boundary of the country of the Ordovices, but that he only selected and appointed as limits these and other artificial and natural features which occur here and elsewhere at intervals along the borders of Wales, possibly joining them up by lighter structures. For there are similar dykes further west, such as the "upper short ditch" and the "lower short ditch" at either end of Bone-y-Saeson on the north-western borders of the Clun Forest, in the midst of a country covered with British camps and tumuli. The name implies that this area was contested in Saxon or English times also, but it is quite out of the line of Offa's Dyke, and the country near Montgomery was evidently the scene of many a battle long before the time of Offa. The Marrington Dingle, the precipices of the Corndon Hills, and the ridges of the Longmynd offered such fastnesses one behind the other, that it was likely that some strong line of defence would be required between them and the hills at the back of Montgomery and the gap through which the Camlad flows into the valley of the Severn. The Romans recognised the importance of this position by throwing up their camp at Fflos.

When we have crossed the Camlad* we find another bank passing Round Hill, which we follow south-south-east along the parliamentary boundary and on by Mellington Hall,^b and south and south-south-east to where it is interrupted by the stream at Upper Edenhope.^c Thence it runs past Mainstone,^d takes a curious twist under the tumulus on Hergan,^e and runs about one-third of a mile east^f of

* Shropshire xxx S.E., xlv S.E.

^b Montgomery xxxvii N.E., Shropshire liii N.E.

^c Montgomery liii S.E., Shropshire liii S.E.

^d Montgomery xxxviii S.W., Shropshire liv S.W.

^e Shropshire lxii N.W., Montgomery xlv N.W.

^f Shropshire lxii S.W., Shropshire lxix N.W., Shropshire lxix S.W., Shropshire lxxvi N.W., Radnor xi N.W.

the camp at Fron over Llanfair Hill, more than 1,400 feet above sea level, to Cwm Sannan Hill where its course is curiously irregular and interrupted.

From this it runs down by Knighton,^a where its course is somewhat obscure, but we pick it up again on the south and trace it, interrupted at Rhosymeirch,^b but recognisable over Hawthorn Hill and Furrow Hill, and from this traces can be followed south-south-west making straight for the camp known as Castle Ring,^c opposite which it bends and runs across to the south-south-east so as to cover the low ground between the camp and east end of Evenjobb Hill;^d thence we have to travel half a mile south-west to pick it up again when we find it running in a south-easterly direction to the Burva Bank British Camp on the borders of Radnor and Herefordshire. Half a mile south of this is an earthwork running round the west and south of Herrock Hill, and this also is called Offa's Dyke. From this point, on the strength of some small banks here and there, it is supposed to run as far as Lyon's Hall,^e now taking an east-south-easterly course.^f

Milman,^g noticing the absence of any continuous rampart which could be referred to Offa at the southern end of the boundary between England and Wales, remarks that, "The southern portion of the dyke accompanies and sometimes seems to coincide with the lower course of the Wye."^h But the fortified positions along the east bank of the Wye from Tintern to Chepstow are, like those common all round the west coast, only defended promontories or slopes above a landing place, and have no connection with one another. No one would have thrown up such earthworks to repel the tribes on the other side of the Wye, who had the whole line of the river to choose from, but they might have been useful in conflicts between those who held the uplands and those who came up the river to attack them.

Ormerod,ⁱ speaking of the earthworks near the mouth of the Wye, says that, "There are other lines defending the area," enclosed by them, "namely, the lines of Offa's Dyke which skirt the Wye in Tidenham; which lines Mr. Fosbroke (varying from received opinion) has considered as communications between the Roman camps thrown out to check the Silures," which must have "guarded the Trajectus in a most powerful force, and almost invincibly have protected the passage of the Severn through the numerous

^a Shropshire lxxvi S.W., Radnor xi S.W.

^c Hereford x N.W., Radnor xxv N.W.

^e Hereford xvii N.E., xvii S.E., xviii S.W.

^g *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 23.

ⁱ *Archæologia*, xxix. 9.

^b Radnor xviii N.W., Radnor xviii S.W.

^d Hereford x S.W., Radnor xxv S.W.

^f Cf. Meyrick, *Gentleman's Magazine*, ciii. 1, 594.

^h See also Fosbroke, *Gentleman's Magazine*, vi.

582.

garrisons which could have been collected against an enemy within a very few hours. A substructure by an earlier prince or nation is perfectly reconcileable with Offa's subsequent adaptation of these lines to his purposes; and the preceding observations tend, in some points, rather to confirm than otherwise this theory of a vast advanced position between the rivers. But it must be remembered that no Roman remains have been discovered here (except the uninscribed altar afterwards mentioned from Madgetts), and the difficulties arising from such want of authentication increase in proportion to the scale of the settlement or station which requires it. A Roman position defended on the sides towards the Wye by the lines attributed traditionally to Offa, and on the northern side by the earthworks at Madgetts and the Chase Hills would be nearly co-extensive with the entire parish of Tidenham, which contains about six thousand acres."

Those who support the view that the whole earthwork was constructed by Offa have to explain its unequal and interrupted character. It is not enough to say, in explanation, that it has been destroyed by agricultural operations or rased in some of the numerous incursions of the Welsh, for it is not so easy to obliterate all traces of an immense fosse and agger. It is still a strong line of defence in some places, while in other parts there is no evidence at all of the former existence of such a rampart. In the old tribal times a small encroachment on a neighbour's land was not worth while. There was plenty of room, and if they went to war it was for supremacy over a principedom. But when large alien races advanced towards the borders of Wales it might well be that some ruler would join up the disconnected entrenchments thrown up no one knows when, to check the border raids of the turbulent mountain tribes and to render cattle-lifting more difficult. What we have to do now is to try to work out the history of the successive earthwork builders; of those who strengthened a promontory by building a rampart across the isthmus; of those who protected a plateau by throwing up earthworks across the more accessible approaches; of those who fortified the whole of a hill top by running entrenchments all round, and doubling, trebling, or still further adding to them where the position was naturally less strong; of those who dug dykes across the whole front along which they considered themselves most open or liable to attack. What we have to ask now is whether a great part of the rampart attributed to Offa, the most important parts of which run along the eastern frontier of the Ordovices, might not have been constructed in the time of that powerful and warlike tribe. These portions were

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. iii. 491.

lines of defence probably thrown up across those districts where attacks were most common and where the enemy could be conveniently watched and waited for. When, if ever, they were joined up and formed a continuous line from the estuary of the Dee to the Severn it could never have been intended to defend the whole line, but still it might be a well-marked and probably stockaded boundary, to cross which implied violence and was a *casus belli*.

Thus we see that the historical record of the dyke being the work of Offa is untrustworthy, the nomenclature doubtful, and the archaeological evidence *nil*.

Had the question been quite open we should probably have had ere this much evidence accumulated to show that the Romans made it, or the Romanised British, to keep off the turbulent hill tribes of Wales; or the early Britons themselves in some part of the long periods during which the stronger races as they pushed forward from the south and east were driving the weaker into the mountains, and the tribal divisions which Caesar found here were being formed, consolidated, and defined. Archdeacon Williams^a long ago suggested that, whether the dyke were pre-Roman, Roman, or Saxon, might be proved by an examination of the places where the Roman roads cross the dyke, of which there were five or six, viz.: 1, near Caer Gwrle; 2, near Clawdd Coch, at the foot of Llanymynech Hill; 3, near Fordan; 4, near Kenchester (Magna); 5, near Chepstow; and 6, at the north end, where it crosses Sarn Hwlcin. But these Roman roads cross on low ground, where the dyke is generally absent; so that no satisfactory evidence has been obtained on this point.

Judging from the distribution of British and Roman camps, we should infer that it was along the line of Offa's Dyke that the strongest resistance had been offered to the advance of the Roman legions. "On the hill of Llanymynech, which adjoins the celebrated Offa's Dyke six miles south of Oswestry, the tide of Roman conquest had been stayed."^b In a paper on Saxon earthworks,^c by the late H. H. Lines, there are the following suggestive remarks:

Watt's Dyke commences north of the camp of Llanymynech, at two miles and a half east of Offa's Dyke, the great boundary of the kingdom of Mercia. It proceeds east of Oswestry to the great camp called Old Oswestry, or Hendinas. At Gobowen it passes between two small camps at Bryn-y-Castell, and crosses the Dee two miles below Ruabon, and one mile east of Offa's Dyke. It then passes through Wynnstay Park, and about one mile beyond there is a place on the dyke called Pentreclawdd; this is exactly opposite a small round fort called Pen-ys-

^a *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd S. i. 72.

^b *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vi. 377.

^c *Montgomeryshire Collections*, xxxvi. 237.

Gardden, on Offa's Dyke. At this point Watt's Dyke begins to widen its space to two miles, as it passes just outside to the west of Wrexham, and continues to widen up to the river Alyn, near Gresford, where there is a small trenched fort on the dyke, and in the middle of the space between the dykes is another Gaer. It then passes between Caer Estyn and Caer Gwrle, which are not more than half a mile apart. Soon after it turns north-west to within a mile and a half of Mold on the west. Here it appears to overlap the termination of Offa's Dyke, and passing to the west of Northop it terminates at Basingwerk Abbey on the Dee near Holywell, about fourteen miles beyond where Offa's Dyke is lost, after having continued its course nearly parallel to that dyke nineteen miles. Thus the entire length of Watt's Dyke is twenty-three miles, while that of Offa is sixty-one miles; Offa's Dyke extending forty-two miles south of the termination of Watt's Dyke, giving to Offa a line of rampart of seventy-five miles.

On the east side and within a range of one day's march of these two Welsh dykes, we might expect to find, if anywhere, certain camps originating with the Saxon invaders. But, after a careful examination of the country in the east and south of the dykes—that is on the Saxon side—we find on the entire length of seventy-five miles, from Basingwerk on the Dee to Byford on Wye, nine Roman camps and ten others, which being without any indication of Roman work, may be set down to that British, or Silurian, or Ordovician army against which the nine Roman camps were required to act. There is the same proportional equality if we continue the examination south from Sutton Walls camp as far as the Doward on the Wye, where the Roman legions appear in the Silurian war to have entered on the real business of the campaign. In this southern division there are eight Roman and eight Silurian camps, with three undoubted Saxon camps, showing the characteristics of high castellated mounds. Of one of the above Silurian camps, that of Wall Hills, near Tedbury, there can be no doubt that it shows extensive Roman work: and this exactly equalises the relative number of camps, as Wall Hills must have belonged in turn to both contending powers. The result is that we find eighteen camps clearly may be allotted to each army. If there was this equality of power as indicated in these thirty-six camps, where shall we find the Mercian or Saxon strongholds which Offa would require to garrison those long dykes—seventy-five miles? Clearly he found them in the old Silurian camps ready to his hand, and thus utilised them, even after they had been occupied by the Romans.

If the author of that paper had not been hampered by the necessity of referring the construction of the great earthwork to Offa, how much simpler to have suggested in explanation that Offa found in the old Cambrian dykes a succession of boundaries ready to his hand, and utilised them as they may also have been utilised in the time of the Romans, whose camps, faced by British camps along the whole frontier, tell more clearly than history or tradition that there was something here which long held in check the military power of Rome.

Mr. W. Trevor Parkins read a paper at Wrexham on Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke in which he gives some further details and references to various notices of the dykes, and refers to the discovery at Nantyffrith of Roman remains con-

tiguous to Offa's Dyke, and in such a position that they must necessarily have been deposited there before it was constructed.^a These specimens have unfortunately got scattered and most of them lost, and it is now difficult to obtain any trustworthy information as to the exact position or the circumstances under which they were found.

I went to the spot and found the man who built the cottages close to the dyke, and with him and two other men dug in the gardens at the back where some of the material excavated in digging the foundations had been thrown, and I also examined the sides of the two streams which were cutting into another heap of rubbish from the same spot. There were great masses of concrete and Roman tiles and bricks. I saw no coins or any other objects that would exactly fix the date, and the evidence was altogether most unsatisfactory. Still I had no doubt that Roman remains had been dug up there, but I could not learn that any of these objects had been dug up under the rampart. On the contrary, all the evidence that I could collect on the spot went to show that they were found near or in the surface of the dyke but not under it. Just as in the case of the Devil's Dyke, which was cut through by the railway from Cambridge to Mildenhall, I saw the fresh cutting and noticed many Roman rubbish pits and interments along the top of cuttings adjoining the dyke, but though the original surface soil was clearly seen at the base of the artificial agger there were no Roman remains found along that line. A portion of an amphora and the bones of a horse were found at an inconsiderable depth from the surface of the dyke itself. These were probably buried in it, or thrown up with earth on to a pre-existing dyke to strengthen it in later, perhaps in Roman times. In this case the probability that these dykes were in existence when Ostorius marched against the Iceni in the third century A.D., has been well argued by Professor Ridgeway.^b Had the excavations been carried on in Cambridgeshire in the same way as were those at Nant-y-frith we should probably have had some story told of Roman remains under the original earthworks.^c

In the first half of the eighth century Procopius wrote his histories and incorporated such geographical information as he could gather. As there was considerable intercourse between Gaul and Britain he introduces some notice of that island in his work *de Bello Gothico*:^d

^a *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th S. vi. 275.

^b *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vii. 266-297.

^c I have just received a letter from a Fellow of the Society, the Rev. Thos. Auden, written after he had received the notice of this meeting, informing me that he had a denarius of Vespasian which was picked up on Offa's Dyke, near to Llanyfrynnech.

^d *Procopius de Bell. Goth.*, iv. 20. Niebuhr, 1833, p. 565.

The people who in old time lived in this island of Britain built a great wall which cut off a considerable portion of it. On either side of this wall the land, the climate, and everything are different. For the district to the east of the wall enjoys a healthy climate, changing with the seasons, being moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. It is thickly inhabited by people who live in the same way as other folk. Trees also flourish and bring forth their fruit in due season, and the field crops grow and are in no way inferior to those of other districts; moreover it appears that the district can boast of never failing springs.

But on the west of the wall everything is quite the opposite; so that, forsooth, it is impossible for a man to live there for half-an-hour. Vipers and snakes innumerable and every kind of wild beast share the possession of that country between them; and, what is most marvellous, the natives say that if any man crosses the wall and enters the district beyond it, he immediately dies, being quite unable to withstand the pestilential climate which prevails there, and that any beasts that wander in there straightway meet their death.

Whatever value we may attach to this description, we may, I think, assume that the geographer Procopius had heard a graphic account from merchants and travellers, probably mixed up with still extant accounts from the time of the Roman occupation, of some kind of wall forming a boundary between two very distinct and dissimilar parts of the island, and it is noteworthy that he refers it to an ancient prehistoric people, and says nothing about its running from sea to sea. Now, as we know that there are several dykes of unknown age in Britain, let us inquire to which of them his description will best apply, and whether the more fabulous parts of his story may not be explained by reference to local features and traditions.

No part of Offa's Dyke was then believed to be of earlier date than the time of Procopius. Procopius was therefore supposed to refer to the other wall which crosses the island from sea to sea, namely that known as the Wall of Severus, the more northern wall of Antoninus being out of the question, and no difference of date and origin having been yet suggested^a between the Picts' Wall or earthworks known as "the Vallum," between the Tyne and Solway, and the Roman Wall of masonry known as "the Murus," which runs nearly parallel to it along its whole length. Now Procopius speaks of the wall as running north and south. This is true of Offa's Dyke but not of any of the great northern dykes. And, even if we allow for such a difference of orientation in the ancient geographers as would make Scotland extend to the east of North Britain, that would place the wild or Caledonian side on the east of the wall and not, as Procopius says, on the west. Besides we must

^a *Cambridge Review*, ix. 195, 219, 227. *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xi. 355.

remember that we have little evidence of what even Ptolemy's own maps were like save some medieval sketches of what it was inferred from his statement of longitude, etc. they must have been. Perhaps this very description by Procopius helped to make the early geographers twist Caledonia round into an east and west position.

Procopius describes the country on one side of it as rich and well-watered, with crops and productive fruit trees, while that on the other side was just the contrary. There is no such difference between the districts on either side of the wall of Severus, which runs across an undulating country very similar along the whole line. But, if he is comparing the rich Cheshire plains and the fertile valley of the Severn on the east side with the rough scars and barren hills of Wales on the west, the description applies very well.

He says that the country on the east of the boundary wall was thickly inhabited by people who lived comfortably like the country folk with whom Procopius and his friends were familiar: there was nothing exceptional about their houses or them. But it was dangerous to cross the borders into the country of the Ordovices, or other fierce tribes of Wales. If he did so his life was not worth half an hour's purchase. Procopius having just said that the western area was full of wild beasts, then makes a quite contradictory statement about pestilential vapours which kill man or beast that ventures over the boundary. This could not apply to any of the dykes, nor indeed to any part of Britain, and may be much more easily explained by reference to the tradition that there was a well defined boundary between Wales and England, and that anyone who crossed that into the strangers' land was instantly put to death. In *Montgomeryshire Collections*^a we read, "Near to this site, and alongside of Offa's Dyke, is a field called 'Erw Brock Pen,' or the gallows field, where in Saxon times, the Englishman passing over the boundary line was hanged, and the Welshman committing the same offence was mercilessly deprived of his right hand;" and we read in Speed (Radnorshire), "By Egbert the monarch was a law made, that it should be present death for the Welsh to pass over Offa's Ditch." This tradition may be of any antiquity and have been incorporated into English history at any time, and it is probable enough that severe measures, more or less legalised, prevailed at many different periods along that fiercely contested frontier.

There is also an easy explanation of his statements as to the prevalence of wild beasts, vipers, etc.: for wolves and bears were driven into the hills by the advance of settled occupation of the lowlands. They held their own throughout

^a vi. 386.

^b Cf. Nicholson, *Cambrian Travellers' Guide*, p. 910.

Britain till long after the time of Procopius, but must have been always more numerous in the mountain districts. Beavers still lingered in Wales till the eleventh century. The story of the Afanc runs through all Welsh medieval legend. Vipers are still very common all along our west coasts, and on the warm limestone hills that bound the eastern margin of Wales and Devonshire. There seems therefore to be sufficient reason to ask for a re-consideration of the age of Offa's Dyke, to ask whether the evidence of Procopius is not as good as that of the Chronicles, whether the Roman and British camps marshalled along the frontier do not make it more probable that the long lines of earthwork, carried generally along the hill fronts and rarely across the valleys, belonged to the defensive systems of the Britons, or even of the Romans, or of the Romanised British, rather than that they were the work of the Saxons who, except in their cemeteries, have left hardly a wall or a potsherd to tell of their former existence.

This sketch, which is necessarily very incomplete, will, at any rate, I hope, throw sufficient doubt on the received theory to call for more careful examination of all the earthworks along the borders of Wales: not merely a search for traces of banks along the supposed line of Offa's Dyke, but an attempt to group the several parts of that which has been referred to Offa according to their construction and association with other similar works in each area; and further, to suggest the attempt to discriminate between the original earthworks thrown up for defensive purposes and banks which may have been thrown up in later times to connect those isolated entrenchments, and form a visible easily-defined boundary.

XXI.—*An Archaeological Survey of Cumberland and Westmorland.* By R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle; and of Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, by H. SWAINSON COWPER, Esq., F.S.A.

Read April 28, 1892

INTRODUCTION

By R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

I HAVE the honour to lay before the Society an archaeological survey in which will be found the principal and most of the minor archaeological discoveries which have been made in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, in other words in the diocese of Carlisle and the parish of Alston, which though in the county of Cumberland is not in the diocese of Carlisle. The Survey is based upon the model of the able Survey of Kent by our Fellow Mr. George Payne, printed in *Archæologia*,* with one or two deviations which I venture to think improvements. For instance, arranging the Topographical Index in three columns instead of four, so obtaining more space in the three left, while the duty done by the abolished column (Mr. Payne's second column) is discharged by appropriate cross-headings. In the first column, that headed "Locality," I have given, after the name of a place, the reference to the quarter (N.E., N.W., S.W., or S.E.,) of the 6-inch Ordnance Map in which the place is or should be marked. The labour of doing this is no light work, and the mere turning over and over of some hundred and fifty of these sheets entails considerable fatigue. But once done, its convenience to all using the index is obvious. Thus two places of the same name allocate themselves at once without the necessity of a long description, *e.g.* in Cumberland, Kirkland, 15 N.W. and Kirkland, 51 S.E. at once define and differentiate themselves. To a stranger the help given by this notation is invaluable, but even a Cumberland man may be excused if he does not know off-hand where to look for Belmont, Boat How, Carling Knott, Dunwalloght Castle, etc., or a Westmorland man for Crawdiddle

* Vol. II. 447.

Wath, Hugill High House, Redlands Camp, etc. In one or two cases it has proved impossible to assign to a place a locality nearer than the half of the sheet, 26 N, 27 E, etc., and occasionally no nearer approximation can be got than the number of the sheet. These difficulties generally arise in the case of camps, earthworks, and finds recorded in the county histories of the last century, but which have been swept away by the great enclosures of commons at the end of last and beginning of this century. In other respects the lines laid down in the first paragraph of Mr. Payne's Introduction have been followed, but there are neither British coins nor palæolithic implements to record. Neolithic implements have been noted in the index, but not as a rule upon the map. The greater sign includes the less, that is where a place is marked as a Roman town or camp, it appears unnecessary to add the signs for foundations, coins, miscellaneous antiquities, etc. It has proved impossible to mark every single cairn; in some districts they are almost unlimited in numbers. A survey of the British settlement at Barnscar made by our Fellow Mr. C. W. Dymond for the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society shows between three and four hundred cairns in a very limited space. Many cairns and barrows that must once have existed survive now only in place names, such as Latterbarrow, Stone Chest, etc. These are not included in the topographical index, they will have to be dealt with when the field names of the district are taken in hand, a necessary supplement, or complement rather, as it seems to me, to such an archæological survey as this.

For Mr. Payne's heading or division of "Anglo-Saxon," I have substituted "Post-Roman," which in the counties dealt with in this survey includes very little Anglo-Saxon, but a great deal of Scandinavian, Norse, and Danish remains.

The assignments to the various classes may be open to criticism, and may appear inconsistent one with another, but many of the remains indexed are recorded only in the county histories of the last century and have since perished in the great enclosures of commons, which have already been mentioned. The writers of these works, though not without merit and knowledge, were men of the closet and the desk, given to searching among ancient records, but in the main ignorant of and careless about field archæology.* They accepted implicitly such account as the local parson or schoolmaster supplied, and printed it without

* Dr. Burn, the learned Chancellor of Carlisle, and one of the authors of Nicolson and Burn's *History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, omits all mention of the great stone circle at Gamelands, though within a mile of his own house at Orton.

further inquiry, or without even visiting the place. Now that the remains have themselves perished, it is impossible to verify or to contradict the accounts. In other cases, where the remains do exist, a free use of the spade would probably help to many corrections, and would prove that many sites put down as Post-Roman or Roman had been occupied at far earlier periods. However, let each student of this survey turn up the references and judge for himself.

I have included in the index a few remains (three or four) which are not archaeological remains in the usual sense, but the Ordnance surveyors have marked them "tumuli," whereas the spade has proved them to be mere eskers or gravel knobs; the corrections are worth recording.

It would, I think, be out of place to burden this introduction, in addition to the Topographical Index, with a survey of the archaeological remains in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, or to go into the vexed question of the tenth iter. The first I have, for Cumberland, done elsewhere;* the second I decline to do. The Great Barrier of Hadrian, with its camps and roads, is a feature peculiar to Cumberland and to Northumberland, and its interest and importance overshadow all other archaeological remains in the district. Attention should be drawn to the elaborate system of roads and camps by which reinforcements could be rapidly brought up to any menaced part of the Roman territory. The proposed excavations at Hardknott Castle may possibly throw light upon the Roman topography of Cumberland and create an interest which may lead to the still more important work of excavating the camp at Old Carlisle near Wigton. A survey of the unenclosed fells in Cumberland and Westmoreland, such as my friend Mr. David Christison, M.D., F.S.A., Scot., has been making in several counties in Scotland,^b would bring to knowledge many unknown hill forts and settlements.

I may mention that in the case of the county of Cumberland, I have marked on my set of the 6-inch Ordnance Map all the archaeological remains specified in the Topographical Index, using the same symbols as on the map given herewith. (Plate XXXVI.)

* *A History of Cumberland*, by Richard S. Ferguson, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A. (London, Elliot Stock, 1890), chapters i-vi.

^b *The Prehistoric Forts of Peebleshire*, *Proc. S.A.S.*, 2nd Series, ix, 13. *The Duns and Forts of Lorne, Nether Lochar and the Neighbourhood*, xi, 368. *Fort, Camps, and Motes of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, xii, 281.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND, AND LANCASHIRE NORTH-OF-THE-SANDS.

(1) In referring to books, the notation following has been used.

(2) The objects are divided into three sections, viz. :—

(i) Pre-Roman :

(a) Earthworks and tumuli. Where no date can be assigned to this class of antiquities, it is proposed to simply mark them as Earthworks.

(b) Megalithic Remains, Cists, Palaeolithic and Neolithic Implements, Bronze Ob-

jects, as Celts, Palstaves, Spear-heads, etc., Sepulchral Relics, etc.

(ii) Roman, including Cemeteries, Interments, Tombs, and Sepulchral Relics, Foundations, Camps, Roads, Hoards of Coins, Pottery, Glass, Personal Ornaments, etc., etc.

(iii) Post-Roman, including Barrows, Cemeteries, Interments, and Sepulchral Relics, Coins, Glass Objects, etc., Personal Ornaments, Arms, etc.

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------|--|
| A | Archæologia. Soc. Antiq. Lond. | C. F. | Carlisle, History of Diocese of. (Chancellor Ferguson). |
| A. J. E., n. s. | Archæologia Eliana. 1st series. | C. and W. | Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society's Transactions. |
| A. J. E., n. s. | Archæologia Eliana. 2nd series. | Corp. | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. vii. |
| A. B. C. | Ancient British Coins (Evans). | D. S. | A Survey and Maps of the Roman Wall made for the Duke of Northumberland (MacLaughlan). |
| A. B. I. | Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain (Evans). | F | Cumberland, Popular History of (Chancellor Ferguson). |
| A. J. | Archæological Journal. Royal Arch. Inst. | G. M. | Gentleman's Magazine. |
| A. S. I. | Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain (Evans). | G. M. L. | Gentleman's Magazine Library (Gomme). |
| Arch. Mus. | Catalogue of Museum formed at Carlisle in 1859, during visit of Royal Archaeological Institute. | H. | Cumberland, History of (Hutchinson). |
| B. A. A. | Journal of the British Archaeological Association. | H. N. | Northumberland, History of (Hodgson), Pt. II, Vol. III. |
| B. B. | British Barrows (Greenwell and Rolleston). | Hon. | Housman's Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire. |
| Br. and Br. | Britton and Brayley's Description of Cumberland and Westmorland. | Hut. | Hutchinson's Excursion to the Lakes. |
| B. R. | Britannia Romana (Horsley). | Hw. | Westmorland, Topographical and Historical Description of (Hodgson). |
| C. A. | Collectanea Antiqua (C. Roach Smith). | I. B. | Iter Boreale (Stukeley). |
| Cam. | Camden's Britannia. | | |
| C. C. | Carlisle—Historic Town Series (Professor Craghton). | | |

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|-------------------|---|-------------------|--|
| I. C. | Itinerarium Curiosum (Stukeley). | Proc. S. A. n. s. | Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London. 2nd series. |
| I. S. | Itinerarium Septentrionale (Gordon). | Proc. S. A. N. | Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. |
| J. i., ii., iii. | Cumberland, History and Antiquities of, Vol. I. Carlisle. Vol. II. Leath Ward. Vol. III. Allerdale Ward above Derwent (S. Jefferson). | Proc. S. A. S. | Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. |
| L. | Cumberland, Magna Britannia Series (D. and S. Lysons). | Roy. | Roy's Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain. |
| L. S. | Lapidarium Septentrionale (Collingwood Bruce). | R. S. M. | Rude Stone Monuments (Fergusson). |
| N. and B. | Cumberland and Westmorland, the History and Antiquities of (Nicolson and Burn). | R. W. | The Roman Wall (Collingwood Bruce). |
| Proc. S. A. o. s. | Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London. 1st series. | S. | Westmorland, History of (Sayer). |
| | | V. M. | Vetusta Monumenta. Soc. Antiq. Lond. |
| | | V. R. | Vallum Romanum (Warburton). |
| | | W. | Cumberland and Westmorland, History of (Whelan). |
| | | West. | West's Guide to the Lakes. 2nd edition. |

LANCASHIRE NORTH-OF-THE-SANDS.

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|-------|--|-------|---------------------------------------|
| Barb. | Prehistoric Remains of Furness and Cartmel (Barber). | L. M. | Lonsdale Magazine (editor Briggs). |
| Jo. | Sketch of Furness and Cartmel (Jopling). | R. L. | Roman Lancashire (Thompson Watkin). |
| Fur. | Furness Past and Present (Tweddle). | St. | Annals of Cartmel (Stockdale). |
| Lanc. | Lancashire, History of (Baines). 1836. | W. F. | Antiquities of Furness (West). 1865. |
| | | Whi. | Richmondshire, History of (Whitaker). |

O. S. Ordnance Survey 6-inch. This reference is only given when no other record has been found.

The numbers in the column headed "Locality" refer to the 6-inch Ordnance Survey sheets, and the letters to the quarter of the sheet.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX :—CUMBERLAND.

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Aiket Gate, 31. S.E. | Foundations and enclosures overlooking Tarn Wadling (<i>see</i> Castle Hewin) | H. i. 492 |
| Arthur's Church, 10. N.E. | Tumuli | Personal knowledge |
| Aughertree Fell, near Ireby, 47. N.W. | Three circular camps, each about 85 yards in diameter, with surrounding ditch and internal rampart. A pre-historic tumulus close by, <i>vide infra</i> on this page | C. and W. vi. 190 |
| Ditto, Thistlebottom, 37. S.E. | Small square camp | C. and W. vi. 193 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Addingham, 50. N.E. | Megalithic remains. Stone circle, known as "Long Meg and her daughters." Cup and ring markings | H. i. 225-253; N. and B. ii. 448-449; L. cxxxviii.; W. 592; Br. and Br. 146-147; Hou. 411-12; Hut. 108-118; G. M. L. Archaeology ii. 71, 72, 319-21; B. B. 381; I. B. 47; R. S. M. 127; B. A. A. xxxiv. 31; Proc. S. A. n.s. x. 311; xii. 91-92; J. ii. 334; C. and W. v. 40; vi. 491; x. 271 |
| Ditto. | Megalithic remains. A second stone circle with cist near "Long Meg." Cup markings | I. B. 47; C. and W. vi. 491; Proc. S. A. n.s. iii. 211, 258, x. 313 |
| Angle Gill, near Aspatria, 35. N.E. | Stone implements, an adze and a double pointed stone | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 493; C. and W. v. 121 |
| Ainstable, Broomrigg Plantation, 32. S.W. | Stone circle | O. S. |
| Allonby, 35. N.W. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 491 |
| Arthur's, 6 and 10 | Bronze palstave | Arch. Mus. 6 |
| Askerton Park, 8. S.W. | Cairns (three) of stones | A. J. xi. 13 |
| Aspatria, 36. N.W. | Bronze palstave | A. J. xvii. 164; A. B. I. 86 |
| Aughertree Fell, Ireby, 37. S.W. | Tumulus with urns of British type full of calcined bones | C. and W. vi. 190 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Addingham, 41. | Road [The Maiden Way] | H. i. 255; L. cxxxv. |
| Aikton, 22. | Road | C. and W. iii. 77 |
| Ainstable, 32. S.W. | Altar | Corp. 89 |
| Ainstable Low Hall, 32. S.W. | Copper coins, all now lost; (?) if not same find as <i>sub voce</i> Carlatten Low Hall | H. i. 199 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Allerby, 35. S.E. | Road | L. cxxxvi. |
| Allonby, 35. N.W. | Road | L. cxxxvi; C. and W. iii. 71 |
| Alston, 33. S.E. | Road [The Maiden Way] | L. cxxxv. H. i. 214; W. 509; C. and W. iii. 70; Hw. 22 |
| Ditto, 33. S.E. | Inscribed altar | A. xvii. 229 |
| Ditto, Garrigill, 42. N.W. | Field called Chesters | J. ii. 119 |
| Ditto, Hall Hill, 33. S.E. | Camp. Silver denarii; also in 1839 two bronze vessels | J. ii. 112 |
| Appletree, near Birdoswald, 12. S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian. Additional entrenchments | F. 92; R. W. |
| Arledon, 62. S.W. and 77. N.E. | Road | L. cxxxvii; W. 379; J. iii. 72 |
| Aspatria, 36. N.W. and 35. S.E. | Road; Outerside to Allerby | H. ii. 287; W. 203 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Aikton, Downhall, 22. S.E. | Mounted mount and base court | H. ii. 482; W. 201; C. and W. vi. 194 |
| Aspatria, 36. N.W. | Gold armlet | A. J.E. o.s. ii. 269; A. xvii. 439; A. J. vi. 59; Arch. Mus. 14 |
| Ditto (Beacon Hill), 36. N.W. | Interment under a barrow in cist of cobble [boulder] stones, on which cup and ring markings. Sword (iron?) with guard ornamented with silver flowers; buckle and strap end of gold; dagger, horse bit, spur, axe (of iron?). Opened 1789 | A. x. 112; G. M. L. Archaeology; i. 124; H. i. 288; Br. and Br. 200; Hou. 450-1 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Bassenthwaite Lake, foot of, 55. N.E. | Circular entrenchment on hill called "Castle How" | H. ii. 235; C. and W. vi. 519 |
| Belmont, Penrith, 58. N.E. | Cistvaen | O. S. |
| Bewcastle, Anston town, 4. S.W. | Earthworks | A. J. xi. 223 |
| Ditto, crossing of the Black Lyneriver by the Maiden Way, 4. N.W. | Foundations and enclosures, some called Roman camps | A. J. xi. 229 |
| Ditto, Cairnsfield at the Nook, Roanstrees, 3. S.E. | Five parallel cairns of stone each 150 yards long and a yard deep. Now gone | A. J. xi. 231 |
| Ditto, Green Knowe, 4. S.W. | Earthworks and foundations | A. J. xi. 223 |
| Bewcastle, Kettlesike Cross, 4. N.W. | Fortifications and earthworks | A. J. xi. 228 |
| Ditto, Shield Knowe, and Kilm Pot Knowe, 4. N.W. | Earthworks | A. J. xi. 225; W. 646 |
| Bleatarn, 17. N.W. | Tumuli | O. S. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| Earthworks— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Beet How, 73. N.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 249 |
| Boothby, 18. N.W. | Tumulus | O. S. |
| Brampton Mote, 18. N.W. | Entrenched and fortified hill | H. i. 124, 128; N. and B. ii. 493; W. 649; Br. and Br. 128-9; Hou. 425; Hut. 261; D. S. 65-6; L. B. 58 |
| Brampton, 17. N.E. | Many natural eskers, often taken for tumuli | D. S. 65 |
| Burgh-upon-Sands, Hall Walls, near Hangman Tree, 16. S.W. | Ancient castle | H. ii. 510; D. S. 81 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Barnscar, on Birker Fell, near Devoke Water, 83. S.W. | Extensive settlements, enclosures, walls, cairns, burials in urns | H. i. 562, 578; W. 377, 494; Br. and Br. 231; Hou. 471; Proc. S. A. n.s. iii. 227; C. and W. iii. 252, xii. (in the press); J. iii. 211 |
| Bowcastle, 8. N.W. | British Oppidum, afterwards Roman camp | Personal observation |
| Ditto | Six rude stone implements | Arch. Mus. 5 |
| Ditto | Stone adzes | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 494 |
| Ditto, Cairn o' th' Mount, Peelshill, 8. N.W. | Long barrow | A. J. xi. 219 |
| Ditto, Camp or Hemp's Graves, 4. N.W. | Bronze spear-head. Cairn opened about 1800; two stone cists, bones, urns with ashes, iron sword, bronze jug, Roman silver coins, (?) interments of different dates, <i>vide infra</i> | A. J. xi. 230, 231; A. B. I. 314; Arch. Mus. 5; H. ii. 563 |
| Ditto, The Carragh, Skelton Pike, 2. S.W. | Large cairn | A. J. xi. 233 |
| Ditto, 2. N.W. | Large cairn | O. S. |
| Ditto, Crosshill, near Lyne-stands, 8. N.W. | Stone axe | A. J. xi. 218 |
| Ditto, The Shield Knowe, 4. N.W. | Star fish cairn | A. J. xi. 225 |
| Ditto, on the White Lyne river, 8 and 4. | Cairns (? if natural) | A. J. xi. 227 |
| Bucey summit, 46. N.E. | Tumulus, near Ordnance mark | C. and W. iii. 245 |
| Birkenthwaite, Green How, 83. N.W. | Cairns and enclosures | C. and W. iii. 251 |
| Blackford, 16. N.E. | Polished stone celt | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 493 |
| Blencarn, 51. S.W. | Tumulus | O. S. |
| Blencow Bank, Hutton-in-the-Forest, 39. S.W. or 49. N.W. | Urns, incense cups, and burnt bones found in 1772 | H. i. 512; West. 142; J. ii. 438 |
| Blunehasset, 36. S.W. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 491 |
| Bottle, 85 and 86 | Stone hammer, found in 1813 | L. cxxix; J. iii. 127 |
| Ditto | Flint and quartz arrow-heads | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 491 |
| Brackenhill Tower, 11. N.W. | Cists and interments | Proc. S. A. n.s. xiii. 347, 348; C. and W. xii. (in the press) |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Pre-Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Broadfield, Hesketh-in-the-Forest, 39, N.W. | Polished stone celt | Proc. S. A. n.s. viii. 493 |
| Broadfield, Inglewood Forest, near Highhead Castle, 38, N.E. | Tumulus, circular enclosure, stone cists, bones | H. ii. 431; L. cxxix; W. 521; Br. and Br. 178; A. x. 106 |
| Burnmore, Eskdale, 79, S.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circles, cairns, <i>see</i> Eskdale | Proc. S. A. o.s. iii. 225, n.s. xii. 91-2; C. and W. iii. 250 |
| Burn's Common, Threlkeld, 64, N.E. | Stone hammer | C. and W. i. 217 |
| ROMAN | | |
| Baggerhay, or Baggrow, 36, N.W. | Road | L. cxxxvi. |
| Bank Head, near Lanercost, 12, S.E. | Inscription in limestone quarry | A. J. xvii. 74 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altars | L. clxx. |
| Bankhill Burn, near Lanercost, 12, S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian Road (the Maiden Way) | H. i. 74; D. S. 58; B. R. i. 153 |
| Bankhill House, near Lanercost, 12, S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian | W. 148 |
| Banksburn, near Lanercost, 12, S.W. | Inscribed Rock | C. and W. i. 45; Corp. 141, 150 |
| Banks Fell and Head, near Lanercost, 12, S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian Watch towers | L. cxxxiii |
| Banks Head, near Lanercost, 12, S.E. | Altars | L. cl.—clxxxiv |
| Beaumont, 16, S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian Mile Castle | W. 148 D. S. 89; Corp. 162, 163, 164; F. 86 |
| Ditto | Inscribed stones | A. J. o.s. ii. 420; H. N. 301; L. S. Nos. 507, 509 |
| Ditto | Ditto | A. J. xlv. 121 |
| Beckfoot, <i>see</i> Mawbray | | |
| Bewcastle, 8, N.W. | Camp, formerly British Oppidum, inscribed stones, miscellaneous antiquities | H. i. 63, 92, 4, 95; N. and B. ii. 477; L. cxlv.; W. 630, 633; Br. and Br. 115; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 20; B. R. ii. 270; A. xi. 69, 124, 217 |
| Ditto | Camp, formerly British Oppidum, inscribed stones, miscellaneous antiquities | C. and W. viii. 322; L. S. 378-380; Corp. 168-9; F. 75 |
| Ditto | Road [The Maiden Way] | H. i. 95; W. 630, 644; A. J. xi. 124, 217 |
| Ditto, 4, N.W. | Cairn opened about 1800, two stone cists, bones, urn with ashes, iron sword, bronze jug, Roman silver coins, <i>vide ante</i> (?) interments of different dates | A. J. xi. 230 |
| Bewcastle, Hillpasture, 4, S.W. | Earthworks of 22 yards square | A. J. xi. 221 |
| Ditto, Lynesteads, 4, S.W. | Foundations | A. J. xi. 218 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| | Roman— <i>cont.</i> | |
| Birdoswald, 12, S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian Camp [Amboglanna] Inscribed altars and stones Miscellaneous antiquities | H. i. 65-74 N. and B. 504-505 L. cxxxvii.-viii. W. 689-690; Br. and Br. 118-120; Hut. 288-291; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 20-23; D. S. 54; C. A. ii. 192, iii. 200; H. N. 206, 295; B. R. i. 107, 152, Bk. ii. ch. iii.; A. J. i. 392, xi. 1; A. J.E. o.s. iv. 63-75, 141-144, n.s. xii. 288; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 216, 217; Corp. 141-150 F. 93; L. S. 172-210 |
| Ditto | Bronze arm purse | A. J. xvi. 84 |
| Ditto | Silvanus, figure of | Arch. Mus. 11 |
| Ditto | Inscribed stone, found in 1883 | A. J. xli. 180 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altar, found June 29, 1886 | A. J. xlii. 118; Proc. S. A. n.s. xi. 298; C. and W. ix. 291 |
| Black Comb, 88, N.W. | Road at foot of | C. and W. iii. 13 |
| Blackford, 16, N.E. | Road | L. cxxxv. |
| Black Hall, 89, S.W. | Road | C. and W. iii. 338 |
| Bleaturn, 17, N.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, inscribed altar and stone, Mile Castle | H. i. 122; L. S. Nos. 433, 465; Corp. 151, 153, 156; F. 90 |
| Blencow, 19, S.W. | Road | L. cxxxvi.; C. and W. iii. 78 |
| Bolton Pasture, 36, N.E. | Road | L. cxxxvi.; W. 209 |
| Bottle, 85 and 86 | Road, "the common High street" | H. i. 556; N. and B. ii. 16 |
| Bottle, Eskmeals near Raven- glass, 82, S.E. | Camp, altars and coins. Same place as Walls Castle, Ravenglass | H. i. 561, L. cxlviii.; C. and W. iii. 13, 71, 73, 79; J. iii. 125 |
| Borrowsdale, 70, S.W. | Road in | C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Ditto, Southwaite Bridge, 70, S.W. | Part of the bridge | Proc. S. A. o.s. iii. 225 |
| Butcherby Lane, near Carlisle, 23, N.E. | Interments in lead coffins | C. and W. iv. 325. Personal knowledge |
| Bothel, Camp Hill, 46, N.E. | Camp, interments | W. 258 |
| Baustead Hill, 15, S.E. | Camp (?) | C. and W. i. 152; H. iv. 303 |
| Bow, and Little Orton, be- tween, 23, N.W. | Sculptured stone now a gatepost, brought from Foldsteads, Kirkandrews | A. J. xxxvi. 178; C. and W. iv. 323 |
| Bowness-on-Solway, 14, N.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp, inscribed stones, and altars, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 484-90; N. and B. ii. 214; L. cxl. W. 149, 151; Br. and Br. 191-2; Hut. 249-50 D. S. 87; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 240; B. R. i. 109, 158; ii. 267; C. and W. i. 212; H. N. 225, 303; L. S. 267-9; Corp. 164-5, 214; F. 82 |
| Ditto | Sepulchral slab, found 1879 | A. J. xxxvi. 178; C. and W. iv. 324, v. 125; C. A. vii. 232 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Roman—cont. | | |
| Bowness-on-Solway— <i>cont.</i> | Rediscovered inscription, found 1879 | A. J. xxxvi. 423, xxxvii. 148. Proc. S. A. n.s. vii. 295; C. and W. iv. 530 |
| Brampton, Hawk Hirst, 17. N.E. | Camp, inscribed altar, miscellaneous antiquities, 5,000 coins [see next entry], found in 1829. Road | H. i. 124-5; W. 648-9; Br. and Br. 128-9; Hut. 261-6; D.S. 64; A. ix. 222; C. and W. i. 206; H. N. 233; L.S. 239 |
| Ditto, ditto | Urn with 5,000 coins, found in 1829 | A. J.E. o.s. ii. 209 |
| Brigham, Eaglesfield, 54. S.E. | Road, skeletons and sword | H. ii. 106; W. 297 C. and W. iii. 343 |
| Broadfield and Broadfield Com- mon, <i>see</i> Stocklewath | | |
| Burdoswald, <i>see</i> Birdoswald | | |
| Burgh-upon-Sands, 15. S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 496, 500-3; N. and B. ii. 222; L. cxxxix-cl; W. 153; Br. and Br. 190; Hut. 247; D. S. 81-2; A. i. 308; A. J.E. o.s. 115; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 238; B. R. i. 108, 156, ii. 266; C. and W. i. 151; H. N. 221; L. S. 459- 266; Corp. 162-4; F. 84-5 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altar | A. J.E. o.s. i. App. 4 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altar | A. J. xxxix. 357; Proc. S. A. n.s. ix. 69 |
| Ditto | Curious head in pottery | Proc. S. A. n.s. xi. 210; C. and W. ix. 295 |
| Ditto, Speergerth Holes, 15. S.E. | Oak frames under the Murus of Hadrian's Barrier | A. J.E. n.s. xii. 171 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Beaumont, 16. S.W. | Moated mound, formerly Roman mile-castle | D. S. 89 |
| Beckermest, 72. S.E. | Pillar, with Runic inscription | A. J.E. n.s. vi. 61-2, 191-2; L. ccii; W. 459; J. iii. 308 |
| Bewcastle Churchyard, 8. N.W. | Obelisk, with Runic inscription | H. i. 89-92; N. and B. ii. 478; L. cxcix-ccc; W. 635-44; Br. and Br. 116; A. xiv. 113-118, xxviii. 347; A. J.E. n. s. i. 149-95; Proc. S. A. n. s. xii. 219; A. J. xi. 139 |
| Ditto, Baron's Pike, and Hazell Gill Crag, 8. N.E. | Runic inscriptions | A. J.E. n. s. vii. 82-4 |
| Ditto, Murchie's Cairn, 8. N.E. | Anglo-Saxon interment | C. and W. i. 329 |
| Bleatarn, 17. N.W. | Moated mound | H. i. 122; D. S. 71 |
| Brayton, 36. N.W. | Silver brooch, with triquetra ornament | Pendant's Scotland, ii. 44; Arch. Mus. 15 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Post-Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Bridekirk, 45. S.E. | Font, with Runie inscription | H. ii. 246, etc.; N. and B. ii. 191-3; L. xciii; W. 285; Hut. 224-9; A. ii. 131, xiv. 113-8, xix. 379, xxviii. 346; A. Æ. n. s. vi. 8-10, 107-8 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Carling Knott, 62. S.E. | Tumuli (?) | C. and W. iii. 247 |
| Carlisle and Wigton, between | Several tumuli | Hut. 236 |
| Castlesteads, Eaglesfield, 54. S.E. | Circular enclosure | C. and W. iii. 344 |
| Castle Carrock, near Brampton, 25. N.W. | Moated enclosures, one near the church, the other at Hallsteads | H. i. 178-9; W. 671; Hut. 266; Br. and Br. 137-8; C. and W. vi. 465 |
| Ditto Fell, near Brampton, Hospecke Raise, Car-duncock Pike, 25. N.W. and S.W. | Cairns of stones | C. and W. vi. 469; W. 671; H. i. 180 |
| Ditto, near Caldbeck, 48. S.W. | Settlements, stone walls, circle and enclosures, cairns | H. ii. 381-7 |
| Castle Hewin, near Tarn Wadling, 31. S.E. | Foundations and enclosures, <i>vide</i> Aiket Gate | H. i. 492; Br. and Br. 140-1; J. ii. 225 |
| Castle Sowerby, Castle How, 38. S.W. | Fort | H. i. 520; W. 519; Br. and Br. 171; J. ii. 138 |
| Ditto, How Hill, 38. S.W. | Circular enclosure | H. i. 520; W. 520; Br. and Br. 171-2; J. ii. 140 |
| Cawfell Beck, 73. N.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 249 |
| Cockermouth, Fittswood, 54. N.E. | Triangular enclosure, rampart and ditch | H. ii. 119; W. 391 |
| Ditto, The Toothill, 54. N.E. | Tumulus | H. ii. 119; W. 391 |
| Crosby-on-Eden, 17. N.W. and S.W. | The Bishop's Dyke (otherwise the Baron's or Barras Dyke, dividing parishes of Crosby and Irthington) | C. and W. vii. 271; W. 157 |
| Crossfell, Green Castle, 41. S.E. | Semicircular fortification | H. i. 263 |
| Cumrew, 32. N.W. | Earthworks known as Dunwalloght Castle, foundations | H. i. 182; W. 672; Br. and Br. 138 |
| Ditto | Cairns | H. i. 182; Br. and Br. 138 |
| Cumwhitton Commons, 24. S.E. | Square entrenchments | H. i. 177 |
| Ditto, Castle Hill, 24. S.E. | Fort | O.S. |
| Cunninggarth, near Shawkbeck, 30. N.W. | Square camp and barrows | H. ii. 444; L. cxlviii; W. 162 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Carlatten, Saughtree Gate Farm, 25. S.W. | Cairn, bronze implements | H. i. 184 |
| Carlisle | Stone hatchets | A. ii. 118; H. ii. 651 |
| Ditto | Perforated axe of stone | A. ii. 118; A. S. i. 173 |
| Ditto | Pestle of stone | A. J. xxiv. 253; A. S. i. 228 |
| Ditto, Caldewgravelbed | Interment in cist | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 392 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Pre-Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Castle Carrock, near Brampton, Garthhead, 25, N.W. | Pit dwellings, earth ovens. | C. and W. vi. 462-3. |
| Ditto, Cardonnock Pike, 25, S.W. | Pit dwellings | C. and W. vi. 464; C. and W. vi. 495. |
| Ditto | Flint knives | A. S. I. 295; B. B. 379-80. |
| Ditto, Leafy Hill, 25, N.W. | Barrows, <i>see</i> Gelt Bridge. | B. B. 379-80. |
| Corney, 85 and 86 | Flint arrow-head | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491. |
| Croghin, 32 | Stone moulds for casting bronze implements | Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 16; Proc. S. A. S. 2nd series, vi. 163; C. and W. vii. 279; A. J. xlii. 481. |
| Croghin, 32 | Urn with calcined bones. | A. J. E. o.s.; Catalogue 3; Proc. S. A. N. iii. 434. |
| Culgaith Moor, Kirkland, 59, N.E. and 60, N.W. | Mounds and urns with ashes, found 1775 and 1784. | H. i. 262; J. ii. 431. |
| Cumwhitton, King Harry Fell, 32, N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle called "Grey Yards" | H. i. 175; N. and B. ii. 495; L. cxxxix.; W. 673; Br. and Br. 136-7; C. and W. vi. 468. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Caermote, 46, N.E. | Camps | H. ii. 235; West's Guide to the Lakes, 129; Proc. S. A. n. s. iii. 224; C. and W. iii. 43, 76, 243-5; vi. 191. |
| Caldbeck, Pikeless Gate and Wath, 37, S.E. | Road | W. 221, 224. |
| Ditto, Street, and Hesketh Newmarket, 39, S.W. | Road | W. 221. |
| Calderbridge, 78, N.W. | Road | C. and W. iii. 349. |
| Ditto, In Fell | | |
| Campfield, near Bowness on Solway, 14, N.E. | Supposed camp, found to be shingle ridges. Mounds in vicinity contain Roman pottery, bones, charcoal. | C. and W. iii. 72; Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 395. |
| Carlatten Low Hall | Copper coins, <i>vide</i> Ainstable Low Hall. | H. i. 184. |
| Carleton, 24, S.W. | Road | W. 187. |
| Carlisle | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, town, inscribed stones and altars, coins, and miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 587, 650 etc.; N. and B. ii. 228; L. cxlviii-vii.; cxxxvi.-vii.; W. 139-40; D. S. 75-7; Br. and Br. 266-7; Hist. 238-40; I. S. 96; I. B. 54; B. R. i. 114; A. J. E. o.s. i. App. I. n. s. xii. 163-9; L. S. 245-58; H. N. 219 n.; Corp. p. 161-2; F. chapter vi. 87, <i>et passim</i> . |
| Ditto, Annetwell Street | Inscribed and sculptured figure, coins, vase of grey clay | A. J. xxxvi. 134; C. and W. iv. 324; Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 357. |
| Ditto, Bank Street | Bronze winged bat or griffin expanding into acanthus leaf. Gold ring with representation of panthers drinking. Stockade. Axe of iron. | A. J. xxxvi. 208; xl. 249; Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 356; C. and W. iii. 134, 141; iv. 91; vii. 116; B. A. A. xxxii. 525; xxxiv. 269. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Carlisle, Blackfriars Street | Bronze bust, small, with Roman coins. Found 1877 | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 356 |
| Ditto, Blackfriars Street | Pillar and pavement, found 1891 | Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 263 |
| Ditto, Blackfriars Street, White Horse | Pillar (now at Tullie House) on concrete pavement | Personal information; Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 263, 264 |
| Ditto, Caldew Holmes | Sculptured stone [upper part of a male figure]. Urn with ashes and bronze ring found with it. Found 1862 | A. J. xix. 176 B. A. A. xx. 84 |
| Ditto, Castle Hill | Hooded figures, group of three | A. 139; J. i. 329 |
| Ditto, Castle Bank | Altar, small, without inscription | Arch. Mus. 11 |
| Ditto, Castle Sameries, near Windy Corner | Altar. Found 1884 | Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 154; C. and W. viii. 317 |
| Ditto, Cathedral Precincts | Bronze lamp, Samian ware, bronze chape or bouterolle of a scabbard, 1859 | Arch. Mus. 9 |
| Ditto, The Citadel | Vase | A. JE. o. s. i. Catalogue 7 |
| Ditto, Citadel Row | Stockade | B. A. A. xxxiii. 525, xxxiv. 260; C. and W. iii. 134, iv. 91 |
| Ditto, Devonshire Street | Bath, remains of, pillars, vase with several faces moulded on it. Found 1830 | J. i. 330; Arch. Mus. 9 |
| Ditto, Devonshire Street | Two-handled vase with <i>graffiti</i> . Found 1863 | A. J. xxi. 88; xxxviii. 295 |
| Ditto, River Eden | Bridge and wath | C. and W. ix. 167; Proc. S. A. n. s. xi. 269 |
| Ditto, near River Eden | Bronze female head | A. J. xxxv. 298; C. and W. iii. 141; Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 356 |
| Ditto, English Street, Blair's shop | Deae Matres, group of | Proc. S. A. N. i. 15 |
| Ditto, English Street, Bush Hotel | Stockading and road, vase, pottery, coins, tanks of oak | B. A. A. xxxiii. 525, xxxiv. 260; C. and W. iii. xxv. 134, iv. 91; Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 216, 356 |
| Ditto, English Street, Journal Office | Inscribed stones and miscellaneous antiquities, found 1860; also diminutive gold ring inscribed AMA ME | A. J. xvii. 73, 159, 182 |
| Ditto, English Street, White Swan | Deae Matres, group of, bronze lamp. Found 1883 | Proc. S. A. n. s. ix. 327, x. 15; C. and W. vii. 114 |
| Ditto, English Street | Inscribed stones | A. JE. n. s. v. 98-9, 109, 138, vi. 52 |
| Ditto, English Street, Ling's premises | Bronze beaded torque | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 534; A. J. xl. 240; C. and W. vi. 196 |
| Ditto, Fisher Street | Silver coins, large number. Found in 1782 | J. i. 324 |
| Ditto, Fisher Street | Group of four figures under an arcade. Found 1855 | Arch. Mus. 7 |
| Ditto, Fisher Street | Tile with G VIII., vases, pottery | Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 219; A. J. xlix. 199 |
| Ditto, Gallows Hill | Cemetery, urns, lachymatory, inscribed sepulchral monument, ashes, bones, vases, pottery, antique gem. Found in 1829 | G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 29; A. JE. o. s. ii. 419; J. i. 322; Arch. Mus. 11; A. J. iii. 76 |
| Ditto, Gallows Hill | Sepulchral monument to a Greek citizen interments | C. and W. xii. 365 |
| Ditto, Gaul | Tank of oak, pitcher with green glaze, coins, sandals | A. JE. o. s. ii. 313; J. i. 331; Arch. Mus. 9 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| <i>Roman—cont.</i> | | |
| Carlisle, Grapes Inn cellar | Altar | H. ii. 652; J. i. 329 |
| Ditto, Grey Street, London Road | Cemetery, cist with glass vase and bones. Found 1863 | A. J. xxi. 88; xxxviii. 295 |
| Ditto, near London Road | Head in stone, probably from a sarcophagus: an "enamelled vase with bones," said to have been found with it, 1878 | A. J. xxxvi. 177; C. and W. iv. 89 |
| Ditto, London Road | Stone with serpent coiled round it | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 142 |
| Ditto, Market Place | Gold coin of Vespasian | Proc. S. A. n. s. ix. 327 |
| Ditto, Murrell Hill | Sepulchral slab, female figure with child and fan, road, vase, pottery, glass. Found 1878. | A. J. xxxvi. 177; B. A. A. xxxv. 193; C. A. vii. 232; A. J. E. n. s. xii. 295; Proc. S. A. N. iii. 14; Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 206, 537 |
| Ditto, New Markets | Group of <i>Dea Matres</i> , lamp, whetstone, pottery, enamelled brooch, sandals, blank altar, corbel with carved head, a few coins | Proc. S. A. N. iii. 367; Proc. S. A. n. s. xii. iii. 168, 423; C. and W. x. 275; xi. 100; A. J. xlvii. 267; B. A. A. xlii. 197 |
| Ditto, New Markets | Seahorse in bronze, now in British Museum, large number of silver coins, surreptitiously got by dealers | Personal information |
| Ditto, The Sands | Millstone | A. J. E. o. s. i. Catalogue 3 |
| Ditto, Scotch Street | Gold ring with intaglio of paste | A. J. xvii. 182 |
| Ditto, ditto | Two altars, carved figure, pillar. Found 1787 | A. ix. 229; x. 138; J. i. 325 |
| Ditto, Sewell's Lane | Two <i>praefectura</i> or vases of bronze, now in British Museum. Found in 1804 | G. M. L. Romano-British; 27; J. i. 326 |
| Ditto, Spring Gardens, Bowling Green; Lowther Street | Inscribed sepulchral slab, found 1885 | A. J. xlii. 282; A. J. E. n. s. xi. 127; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 25; Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 273; C. and W. viii. 317 |
| Ditto, Victoria Place | Mortarium: amphora, perfect | Arch. Mus. 10, personal information |
| Ditto, West Walls | Fibula | A. J. E. o. s. i. Catalogue 5 |
| Ditto, in or near | Gold rings, one with cornelian intaglio, other with an onyx | Arch. Mus. 8 |
| Ditto, in or near | Massive penannular ring, copper-gilt | Arch. Mus. 11 |
| Ditto, ditto | Pottery, objects of metal, rings, fibulae, bronze needle, lamp, Samian ware, urns, querns; found in sewage works 1855, also horse shoes, coins and anvils | Arch. Mus. 7; Proc. S. A. n. s. iv. 47 |
| Ditto, ditto | Gems | L. clxxxvii; Hou. 435; Leland, <i>Itin.</i> vii. part i. 79 |
| Ditto, ditto | Pottery, with potter's marks | A. J. E. n. s. xiii. 198; Proc. S. A. N. iii. 259 |
| Ditto, ditto | Pottery, with <i>graffiti</i> inscription | A. J. xxxix. 367 |
| Ditto, ditto | Seal box-lid with phallic emblem | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 262 |
| Ditto, Tullie House | Fibula and medal of Trajan. Found 1743 | J. i. 329; H. ii. 651 |
| Ditto, ditto | Bear's head in stone, pottery, double row of stock-ades, forty feet apart with platform of oak between; bronze bowl | Proc. S. A. n. s. xiv. 37; C. and W. xii. 344 |
| Ditto | Triclinium, with inscription MARTI VICTORIE | William of Malmesbury; Camden; J. i. 328; H. ii. 659 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|--|
| | Roman— <i>cont.</i> | |
| Carlisle, Aglionby's House. | Inscribed stone. | H. ii. 650. |
| Ditto, Middleton's House. | Inscribed stone. | H. ii. 650. |
| Ditto, English Street, opposite Bush Hotel. | Large brass ornament. | H. ii. 651. |
| Carlisle, Old, near Wigton, 29. S.W. | Station, inscribed altars and stones, miscellaneous antiquities, roads. | H. ii. 490-10; N. and B. ii. 144-47; L. cxlii-iii.; clxxxv-vi; W. 267; Hou. 448; Br. and Br. 196-99; Hut. 230-36; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 29-32; A. J.E. o.s. i. App. 5 and Catalogue 4; H. N. 234; I. B. 54; B. R. i. 112, ii. 276; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 158; L. S. 417-28; B. A. A. iii. 42; C. and W. iii. 64; Corp. 80-3, 212. |
| Castletands or Cambeck Fort, Walton, 17. N.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp, inscribed altars and stones, miscellaneous antiquities. | H. i. 102-119; N. and B. ii. 483-5; L. cxxxviii-ix., clxxxv., clxxxvii; W. 694-5; Br. and Br. 126-7; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 34-5; D. S. 62-3; H. N. 211; C. A. iv. 148, etc.; B. R. i. 197; ii. 258-61; I. S. 96; A. xi. 63-71; A. J.E. o.s. ii. 89; C. and W. i. 204; L. S. 211-38; Corp. 151-8; F. 91. |
| Ditto, ditto, 17. N.E. | Gems. | L. S. No. 477; C. and W. iv. 526; Arch. Mus. 8. |
| Carrieway House, 31. N.W. | Road. | C. and W. iii. 77. |
| Cheator Road, 67. S.E. | Road. | C. and W. iii. 339-40; W. 374; J. iii. 35, 51. |
| Cochigate or Canchigate, 49. S.W. | Road. | L. cxxxvi.; C. and W. iii. 79. |
| Cockermouth, 54. N.E. | Altar, pottery, roads. | L. cxxxvii., clviii., clxxxi.; J. iii. 35; C. and W. iii. 343, iv. 135; A. J.E. o.s. vii. 89-1; Corp. 90. |
| Cold Fell 72 N.W. & S.W. | Camp? | C. and W. iii. 337, 340. |
| Croome Crag, 12. S.E. | Written rock. | L. cxxxviii.; W. 689; A. J. xiii. 494; L. S. 203-4; Corp. 141, 150. |
| Corby Castle, 24. N.W. | Altar. | I. S. 96; W. 194. |
| Cowchase, 49. N.E. | Road. | L. cxxxvii.; C. and W. iii. 79. |
| Croby on Eden, 17. N.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian. | H. ii. 576; W. 157-8. |
| Ditto (High) 17. S.W. | Road. | L. cxxxiv. |
| Cross Canonby Churchyard, 35. S.W. | Inscribed altar, road. | L. cxxxvi.; C. and W. iv. 323-4; A. J. xxxvi. 154; H. i. 262-3, 297, 302. |
| Crowdunelle Beck, 60. N.W. | Written rock. | Hw. 97; I. S. 750. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|--|
| Roman. <i>—cont.</i> | | |
| Cunninggarth, near Wigton, 29 S.W. | Inscribed and carved stones (one a copy of the Hermes of Praxiteles?) | G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 32; Proc. S. A. N. iii. 232, 250; C. and W. x. 283, Proc. S. A. N. s. xii. 348 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Carlisle, Annetwell Street | Stockading | B. A. A. xxvii. 526, xxxiv. 260; C. and W. iii. 134, iv. 91 |
| Ditto (Castle) | Brooch with Anglo-Saxon inscription | A. J. E. o. s. i. Catalogue, 5 |
| Ditto (Cathedral) | Runic inscription | A. J. E. n. s. iii. 65-8 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Daere, Studfold Brow, 58 S.E. | Mound and bones | W. 531 |
| Dalston, 23 S.W. | Earthworks known as "The Bishop's Dyke" | H. ii. 448; W. 161; C. and W. vi. 271 |
| Dalston Hall, near, 23 S.W. | Tumuli, so marked on Ordnance Map, but proved to be natural | C. and W. ix. 117 |
| Dean, 62 N.W. | Parallel trenches | C. and W. iii. 345 |
| Ditto, Parkhill, 62 N.W. | Tumuli (2, archery butts?) | H. ii. 104 |
| Dovenby Hall, near, 45 S.E. | Three oval-shaped earthworks | W. 287 |
| Dunmallet, or Dunmallard | Hillfort | W. 779; Hou. 252; C. and W. i. 158; West, 159 |
| Ullswater, 66 N.W. | | H. ii. 222-3, Proc. S. A. N. s. xiii. 218; Hou. 329, 301 |
| Dunmailraise, 76 N.W. | Cairn of stones | Hut. 181; A. ix. 225 |
| Dunwalloght Castle, 32 N.W. | Earthworks, <i>see</i> Churew | |
| Dyke, the Bishop's, <i>see</i> Crosby-on-Eden and Dalston | | |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Daere, Fluskew Pike, Silver Field, 58 N.W. | Stone coffins, urns, bones | H. i. 477; W. 529; Br. and Br. 163; J. ii. 260; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 36-7; Arch. Mus. 15 |
| Ditto, Yamonside, Fluskew Hill, 58 S.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circles | C. and W. i. 167 |
| Dalston, Chapel Flat, opp. to Braeken How, 30 N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle, barrow, cist | H. ii. 452; N. and B. ii. 323; W. 161; Br. and B. 184 |
| Ditto, The Toddlehill, 31 N.W. | Tumulus, urns, ashes, bones | H. ii. 444 |
| Dean Moor, 62 S.W. | Stone Circle. <i>See</i> Studfold Gate. | W. 162 |
| Dearham, 45 N.W. and S.W. | Stone implement, unpolished celt | Proc. S. A. N. s. viii. 492 |
| Devoke Water, 83 N.W. | Cairns, tumuli | C. and W. iii. 251 |
| Distington, 61 N.E. and S.E. | Stone hammer, spear-head | Proc. S. A. N. s. viii. 491 |
| Drigg, 82 N.W. | Stone axe | Proc. S. A. N. s. viii. 491 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| ROMAN. | | |
| Dearham, 15 N.W. | Inscribed stone. Found 1881. | A. J. xlii. 145. |
| Denton, Over, 12 S.E. | Inscribed altars and stones. | Proc. S. A. N. s. ix. 60; A. J. xxxix. 358; xli. 180; Corp. 141-4. |
| Denton, Nether, 12 S.E. | Camp, pottery, coins, miscellaneous antiquities. Found 1867. | Proc. S. A. N. s. iv. 45; C. and W. i. 88. |
| Dorothy, Hall, near, 45 S.E. | Road. | L. cxxxvi; W. 287-8. |
| Drakelike's Castle, see Stanwix Drakelike's. | | |
| Drumburgh, 15 S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities. | H. ii. 486-8; N. and B. ii. 214; W. 151; L. exl. Br. and Br. 191; Hut. 249; D. S. 85; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 239; B. R. i. 109, 157; ii. 266; L. S. 98; C. and W. i. 269. |
| Dun- | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities. | H. N. 223; L. S. 264-266; Corp. 164; F. 83. |
| Dun- | Inscribed stone. Found 1859. | Arch. Mus. 9. |
| Dudlon Sands, 88 and 90. | Road. | C. and W. iii. 71. |
| Dunmallet, or Dunmallard, 1 Boswater, 66 N.W. | Fort (?) and road. | C. and W. iii. 79. |
| Dykesfield, see Burgh upon Sands. | | West's Guide to the Lakes, 150. |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Denton Hall, 18 N.E. | Moated mound and base court. | C. and W. vi. 195. |
| Denton, Over, 12 S.E. | British village. | D. S. 56. |
| Dacre, Fluskew Pike, or New-beggen Mo.; Silver Field, 58 N.W. | Silver fibula with triquetra ornaments. Found 1785. Also silver rings. | H. i. 477; W. 529; Br. and Br. 163; J. ii. 200; Arch. Mus. 15; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 36, 37; G. M. 1785, 347; A. J. vi. 70; Clarke's Survey of the Lakes. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Emmott, opposite to Mayburgh, 58 N.E. | Tumulus. | Hut. 97-8. |
| Easby, Great, 18 N.W. | Camp. | O. S. |
| Emmottale Water, 68 S.E. | Cairns. | C. and W. iii. 248. |
| Ewaringg, near Dearham, 45 S.W. | Site of castle. | H. ii. 263. |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Eaglesfield, near, 54 S.E. | Unpolished stone celts. | C. and W. iii. 344. |
| Edenhall, Oxhouse Oaks, 50 S.W. | Stone and bronze hatchets. | J. ii. 424; W. 538. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Pre-Roman. | | |
| Edmond Castle Lodge, 17, S.E. | Cist, skeleton, urns. | C. and W. vi. 479. |
| Egremont Common, 72, N.E. | Tumuli and megalithic remains. | H. ii. 25; Hut. 219; J. iii. 21. |
| Ehenside (Gibb) Tarn, 72, S.E. | Stone and wooden implements, bones, earthenware. | A. xlv. 273. |
| Elfa Hills, Hutton, 39, S.W. or 49 N.W. | Trenches, bones, urns. | H. i. 512; W. 565; A. ii. 438. |
| Ellenborough, 44, N.E. | Tumulus. | N. and B. ii. 112; Br. and Br. 296; A. ii. 54. |
| Elva Plain, 55, N.W. | Stone circle. | C. and W. xi. 246. |
| Eske Dale, 83, S.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle, see Burnmore. | B. A. A. xxxiv. 35; C. and W. v. 55; x. 271. |
| Ditto | Bronze spear-head. | B. A. A. ix. 79. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Eaglesfield, 54, S.E. | Road, ring of fine twisted gold. | H. ii. 106; L. cxxxvii.; W. 297; C. and W. iii. 343. |
| Egremont, 72, N.E. | Camp, roads. | C. and W. iii. 72, 79, 337-39, iv.; F. 66. |
| Ellenborough (Maryport), 45, N.W. | Camp, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous remains, roads, cemetery. | H. ii. 269-84; N. and B. ii. 109-12; L. cxlii-b (cxxxv); W. 325; Hut. 453; Br. and Br. 292-5; I. B. 49; I. S. 98-100; A. ii. 58; x. 140, 42; Proc. S. A. ii. s. iv. 495; B. R. i. 109, 112; ii. 279; A. J. E. n.s. v. 139, vi. 184-95; A. J. xxxvii. 329, 341-3, xxxviii. 278; C. and W. i. 175, v. 237; H. N. 238; L. S. 429-452; Corp. 84-90; F. 68-9. |
| Ditto | Altar, now at Whitehaven. Found prior to 1559. | J. iii. 368. |
| Ditto | Inscribed and sculptured stones, the serpent stone, interments, urns, pottery, glass, pavements. Found 1889. | Proc. S. A. ii. s. viii. 394; A. J. xxxvi. 329, 341-3, xxxviii. 278; C. and W. v. 237. |
| Ditto | Painter's palette. | B. A. A. xxxvii. 81. |
| Ditto | Antiquities from, exhibited. | Arch. Mus. 11. |
| Ditto | Road to Papcastle. | C. and W. i. 169. |
| Ditto, Netherhall, 45, N.W. | Small camp. | W. 325. |
| Ditto ditto 45, N.W. | Road. | O. S. |
| Embleton, 55, N.W. | Enamelled sword, see Wythop Mill. | A. J. xiv. 92; C. A. ii. 453; C. and W. i. 221, iii. 740. |
| Ennerdale, 68. | Road. | |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Egremont Castle, 72, N.E. | Earthworks, older than the Norman Castle. | H. ii. 19-20; L. cxvii; Hut. 214-5; J. iii. 33; Br. and Br. 225. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| EARTHWORKS | | |
| Furness Moor, 73. N.W. | Tumulus, with ditch | C. and W. iii. 248 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Farlam, Kirkhouse, 18. S.W. | Cists and urns | W. 676; W. 151; D. S. 85 |
| Fisher's Cross, Port Carlisle, 15. N.W. | Tumulus | |
| Fluske Common, <i>see</i> Dacre | | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Fairbank, 49. N.E. | Road | L. cxxxvii.; C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Flimby, Rischoy, 44. S.E. | Foundations | C. and W. v. 124; A. J. xxxvii. 344 |
| Foldsteads, <i>see</i> Kirkhampton, 22. N.E. | | |
| Frisington Park, 68. N.W. | Road | L. cxxxvii.; J. iii. 35; C. and W. iii. 339 |
| EARTHWORKS | | |
| Geltsdale, The Gairs Terraces, The Green Terraces, Talkin Head Wood, 25. N.E. and S.W. | Artificial terraces | C. and W. vi. 457-61 |
| Geltsdale Middle, 18 S.W. | Tumuli | C. and W. vi. 480 |
| Geltsdale, Cold Fell, 25. N.E. | Tumulus | O. S. |
| Gillalees Beacon, The Park, 8. S.W. | Twin barrows | A. J. xi. 11 |
| Ditto, Tower Brow, 8. S.W. | Tumulus and cairn | A. J. xi. 14, 18 |
| Gifferthwaite, 69. S.W. | Cairns and enclosures | C. and W. iii. 248 |
| Grassmoor, 63 S.W. | Cairn (?) | C. and W. iii. 247 |
| Graystock, Woundel Cairn, 57. S.E. and 65. N.E. | Cairns | H. i. 413; W. 550 |
| Ditto, Berrier Hill, 57. N.E. | Camp, rectangular | O. S. |
| Ditto, Wallawaygreen, 57 S.E. | Fort | O. S. |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Garlands, near Carlisle, 23. S.W. | Cinerary urns, food vessels, incense vessels, stone implements, flint arrow-head. Now in Carlisle Museum | Personal knowledge |
| Gelt Bridge, Castle Carrock, 25. N.W. | Cairn, cistvaen, skeleton. Opened 1775 | C. and W. vi. 470; W. 671; H. i. 180 |
| Ditto, Leafy Hill, 25. N.W. | Stone cist, skeleton, urns | C. and W. vi. 471 |
| Ditto, near Leafy Hill, 25. N.W. | Cairn, interment, flint knife. Opened 1865 | C. and W. vi. 473 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Pre-Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Geltsdale, near Written Rock, 18. S.W. | Bronze celt | C. and W. vi. 474 |
| Gillalees Beacon, Tower Brow, 8. S.W. | Pit dwellings | A. J. xi. 16 |
| Gosforth, 78. | Stone axe, copper battle axe | J. iii. 295 |
| Grey Yauds, <i>see</i> Cumwhitten | Stone hammer | D. S. 79; Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 493 |
| Grinsdale, Commons, 23. N.W. | | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Gaitscale, 80. S.W. | Road | C. and W. iii. 338 |
| Gelt Valley, 18. S.W. | Written rock No. 1 | H. i. 138-42; N. and B. ii. 495; L. cxxxiii. clviii. clxxx; W. 649; Br. and Br. 130; Hut. 263-5; I. B. 58; B. R. ii. 267; H. N. 298; L. S. No. 469; Corp. 158 |
| Ditto, Pigeon Clint Rock, 18. S.W. | Written rock No. 2 | H. i. 138-42; L. S. No. 470; Corp. 158 |
| Gilsland Station, 13. S.W. | Centurial stones, three. Found 1884 | A. J. xlii. 144 |
| Glasson, 15. S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian | W. 152; L. S. No. 529; Corp. 164 |
| Gowbarrow Park, 65. S.E. | Road | L. cxxxvi; W. 549; C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Graystock, 57. S.E. and 65. N.E. | Road from Redstone Camp between the Mell Fells to Ambleside | H. i. 412; W. 549, 552; Br. and Br. 164; J. ii. 387; L. cxxxvi; C. and W. iii. 78, 243 |
| Ditto, Mell Fells, 57. S.E. | Smelting hearth | W. 550; Br. and Br. 164; J. ii. 386 |
| Grinsdale, 16. S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian | H. ii. 518 |
| Ditto, Common, 23. N.W. | Quarry used by the Romans | W. 168 |
| | Two square camps with mounds before each of their four entrances | D. S. 79; H. N. 300 n. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Hackmoor Hills, 59. N.W. | Cistvaen | O. S. |
| Hallbank Gate, 18. S.E. | Tumulus | C. and W. vi. 480 |
| Hallsteads, 48. S.E. | Camp | O. S. |
| Harescough Castle, Penwick, 40. N.E. | Earthworks | O. S. |
| Harras, 12. S.E. | Camp | D. S. 53 |
| Ditto | Long barrow | Personal knowledge |
| Hartside, Benty Hill, 41. N.E. | Tumulus, Old Anthony's Chair | O. S. |
| Hayton, Brampton, 17. S.E. | A mound, 12 feet high, 100 feet diameter at top, circular entrenchment | H. i. 150; W. 677; Clark's Military Architecture, i. 357; C. and W. vi. 466 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|--|
| Earthworks— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Hayton, Brampton, Netherton, 18. S.W. | Tumulus (destroyed), three gold torques found <i>circa</i> 1790 | H. i. 151 |
| Hesket-in-the-Forest, 31. S.W. | Four small tumuli | H. i. 505 |
| Hindscarth, 69. N.E. | Large cairn | C. and W. iii. 248 |
| Holm Cultram Abbey, 28. N.W. | Mound and ditch | W. 231 |
| How Mill, 24. N.E. | Great tumulus (? natural) | C. and W. vi. 470 |
| Hutton Common, Collinson's Castle, 39. S.W. | Square fortification of 100 yards each side, mill stones | H. i. 512; W. 565; J. ii. 43 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Hallguard Farm, Birdsawald, 12. S.E. | Perforated stone hammer | A. S. I. 200 |
| Hesket Newmarket, Gillfoot, 38. S.W. | Barrow, burnt bones, stone implements, pieces of flint, stone beads | W. 225 |
| Holm Cultram, Highlaws, and Southerfield, 28. N.W. | Stone implements, celts | Arch. Mus. 5 |
| Holm Cultram, Southerfield, 28. S.W. | Bronze spear-head | Arch. Mus. 6 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Hale, 72. S.E. | Road, inscribed stone. Found 1883 | A. J. xli. 179; C. and W. iii. 340, vii. 150 |
| Halsteads near Mable Cross, 48. S.E. | Camp | C. and W. iii. 243, 246 |
| Hardknott Castle on Hardknott Fell, 79. S.E. | Camp, roads, parade ground, miscellaneous antiquities excavated in 1892 | H. i. 569-70; L. cxlviii.; W. 411-12; Br. and Br. 235-6; Hon. 471; J. iii. 184; C. and W. i. 71, iii. 79, 243, 250, 251, 337, 338, viii. 68, xi. 67, xii. 375; Corp. 77, 80; F. 60, 63 |
| Dunro, 79. S.E. | Inscribed stone | Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225; n.s. xiv. 42; Corp. 77, 80 |
| Haslehill near Lancaster, 12. S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian | L. cxxxiii. |
| Harrington, 61. N. | Inscribed altar. Found 1885 | A. J. xliii. 288; A. Æ. n. s. xii. 287; C. and W. ix. 294 |
| Hartside, 41. N.E. | Road | C. and W. iii. 70 |
| Hesket-in-the-Forest, 31. S.W. | Inscribed stone | Corp. 212 |
| Hesket Newmarket, 38. S.W. | Road | W. 221 |
| High Crosby, <i>see</i> Crosby-on-Eden | | |
| Highhouse, 12. S.E. | Road, castellum | L. cxxxiv. |
| Highwall Town, 11. S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, Mile Castle | H. i. 74, 75 |
| Holm Cultram, 28. N.W. | Road | W. 238; C. and W. iii. 72, 77 |
| Hutchberry, <i>see</i> Brigham | | |
| Honestead near Watchcross, Irlington, 17. S.W. | Blank altar | H. i. 122 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Howgill, Walton, 12. S.W. | Inscribed stones and altar | L. clviii. clvix. clxxxii.; L. S. No. 409; Corp. 141, 143 |
| Hutton Moor, 49. N. | Road | C. and W. iii. 78 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Headwood nigh Newtown of Irthington, 17. N.E. | Mound and base court | D. S. 70 |
| Hesket Lane near The Court Thorn, 31. S.W. | Tumulus, opened 1822. Sword, spears, axes, bridle, pommel of a saddle, ivory comb [Anglo-Saxon] | G. M. L. Archaeology, ii. 174- 75 A. Æ. o. s. ii. 106 Arch. Mus. 13 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Ireby, Overwater, 47. S.W. | Large camp or enclosure | C. and W. iii. 243, 245, vi. 511 |
| Ireby, Thistlebottom, 37. S.E. | Square camp | O. S. |
| Isell, The Grey Barrow, between Blinderake and Redmain, 46. S.W. | Tumuli | W. 362 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ireby, S.W. | Stone hammer, thumb and finger stone | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 493 |
| Irton, 78. and 79. | Flint spear-head, polished stone axe | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| Irton Fell, 78. and 79. | Stone implement, unpolished celt | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 492 |
| Irving River, between Naworth and Lanercost, 12. S.W. | Bronze socketted celt. Found 1877 | Personal information |
| Irthington, 17. N.E. | Flint spear-head | A. S. I. 316 |
| Ditto | Bronze palstave of adze form | A. B. I. 85 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Ireby [Irby], 37. S.W. | Square camp | L. cxlviii.; W. 244; Hon. 448 |
| Irthington, 17. N.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp at the Nook? altars, coins, seal, pottery | W. 679; Corp. 151 |
| Ditto, Buckjumping, Red- hill, Newtown of Irth- ington, and Whiteflat, 17. N.E. | Road, cuttings through hills | D. S. 70; L. S. Nos. 455-64; F. 90 |
| Irthing River, 12. S.E. | Inscribed rock, (?) same as Coombe Crag | L. cxxxiii. cxxxiv. clvii. clxxxviii. |
| Ivegill, near, 38. N.E. | Camp, coins, one of gold | W. 166 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|--|
| POST ROMAN. | | |
| Irthington, the Nook, 17, N.E. | Moated mound and earthworks | D. S. 67-9 |
| Ditto, the Mill, 17, N.E. | Moated mound | D. S. 79 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Keswick, Castle Crag, Shoulthwaite, 64, S.E. | Fortified hill | H. ii. 154; C. and W. iii. 247 |
| Ditto, Borrowdale Castle Crag, 79, N.W. | Fortified hill, leaden vessels, iron pot, etc. | H. ii. 154, 164, 176 |
| Keswick, Castle How, 65, N.E. | Fortified hill (see Bassenthwaite Lake) | H. ii. 154 |
| Ditto, Castlet, 64, N.W. | Fortified hill | H. ii. 154 |
| Ditto, Faleon Crag, 64, S.W. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 247 |
| Ditto, Latrig and Skildaw, 56-64 | Tumuli | H. ii. 155 |
| Ditto, Roe Castle, 79, N.W. | Fortified hill | H. ii. 154 |
| Kirkland, 51, S.W. | Terraces, known as "banging-walls of Mark Antony" | H. i. 258; C. and W. viii. 49; J. ii. 450 |
| Kirklington Hall, near, 11, N.W. | Earthworks, moat | O. S. |
| Knight's Hill, Southernby, Castle Souerby, 38, S.W. | Foundations | H. ii. 433 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Keswick, Burns Moor, 64, N.E. | Perforated hammer head of granite | A. S. I. 201 |
| Keswick, Castle Riggs Stone Circle, 64, S.E. | Megalithic remains, stone circle, stone implements | H. ii. 191-3; N. and B. ii. 80; L. cxxviii.; Br. and Br. 238-9; Hou. 265; Hut. 159-61; G. M. L. Archaeology, ii. 23; I. B. 48; Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225, n. s. xii. 91-2 |
| Ditto | Megalithic remains, stone circle, stone implements | B. A. A. xxxiv. 23; C. and W. i. 218, iii. 247, v. 50, x. 271 |
| Ditto, 64, N.E. | A second stone circle, now gone | Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225; I. B. 48 |
| Ditto, 64 | Bronze palstave with ribs | A. B. I. 93 |
| Ditto, 64 | Celt of greenstone | A. S. I. 87 |
| Ditto, 64 | Large celt | A. S. I. 107; Proc. S. A. n. s. iii. 225 |
| Ditto, 64 | Stone celts (9), perforated implements (6) | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| Kilbarnegill, 62, S.W. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| Kirkandrews-on-Eden, the Common, 23, N.W. | Three circular enclosures and urns | H. ii. 521-2; W. 179 |
| Kirkbeck River, Bewcastle, 8, N. | Stone implement | A. J. xi. 8 |
| Kirkbride Church, 21, N.E. | British pottery | W. 248 |
| Kirkowald, 41, S.E. | Perforated stone axe | A. S. I. 178 |
| Ditto, The Castle, 41, S.E. | Stone hammer | A. .Æ. o. s. i. catalogue 3 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Pre-Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Kirkoswald Old Park, 40. S.E. | Large cairn of stones, incense vessel, remains of stone cist | and W. xii. 275 |
| Kirksanton, near Milloom, the Standing Stones, 88. S.W. | Megalithic remains, tumulus | H. i. 530; W. 408; C. and W. i. 278; J. iii. 180; W. 151; D. S. 85 |
| Knock's Cross, Port Carlisle, 14. N.E. | Tumulus | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Kellbarrow, 49. S.W. | Road | L. cxxxvi; G. and W. iii. 79 |
| Keswick, 64. N.W. | Station and roads, millstones, lachrymatory, pavements, inscribed stone | H. ii. 155, 176, 179; L. clx-clxxxiv; Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225; C. A. iv. 152, etc.; C. and W. iii. 78, 169, 189; iv. 328; West's Guide to the Lakes |
| Ditto, Castle Crag, Borrowdale, 70. N.W. | Fort, or outpost, quern, coin, stones for <i>balista</i> | Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225 |
| Ditto, Castle Rigg Fell, 64. S.E. | Pottery | C. and W. i. 220 |
| King's Stables, <i>see</i> Poltross Burn | | |
| Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, 16. S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian. Mile Castle, coins (large number of denarii) sculptured stones, altar | H. ii. 520; W. 170-171; L. clviii, clxxxi; D. S. 79 |
| Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, Kirksteads, near Cobble Hall 23. N.W. | Station, pottery, glass, bricks, masonry, carved stones, altar, coins, miscellaneous antiquities | C. and W. i. 148-49; iv. 323; W. 171; Proc. S. A. N. D. 237; L. S. No. 508; Corp. 162-63; E. 86 |
| Ditto, near Kirksteads, 23. N.W. | Coins (1,100 denarii, principally Constantine and Diocletian) | W. 170 |
| Kirkbampton Church, 22. N.E. | Inscribed stone | W. 173; L. S. No. 517; Corp. 162-63 |
| Ditto, Foldsteads, 22. N.E. | Enclosures, double ditches and rampart, altar, inscribed stone | W. 173; B. A. A. vi. 149; L. S. No. 518; C. and W. iii. 77; Corp. 162-63 |
| Kirkbride Church, 21. N.E. | Camp and road, inscribed altar, pottery | W. 248; C. and W. iii. 77; L. S. No. 530; Corp. 77 |
| Kirkland, Leath Ward, 51. S.W. | Road, Maiden Way, square camp in Bank Wood | H. i. 258; J. ii. 450; C. and W. iii. 70; L. cxxxv, cxxvii; L. cxxxiii; D. S. 86 |
| Kirkland, Solway Firth, 15. N.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian | |
| Kirklington Church, 11. N.W. | Roman stones | W. 684 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| King Moor, 16. S.E. | Gold ring with runes | A. Æ. o. s. i. 136; Arch. Mus. 14 |
| Kirkbride Church, 21. N.E. | Anglo-Saxon beads and ornaments | W. 248 |
| Kirkoswald, 40. S.E. | Triangular ornaments of silver, enriched with red paste; also 700 styces | J. ii. 296; L. cxxviii. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Lancroft Bridge, 18. N.W. | Tumulus (? if not natural) | O. S. |
| Lazonby Fell, 39. S.E. | Camp and fort | O. S. |
| Ditto, ditto, Castlerigg 39. N.E. | Fort, cairns | H. i. 289 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Lacra, 88. S.W. | Megalithic remains | C. and W. i. 278 |
| Lamplugh. Stockhow Hall estate, 68. N.W. | Stone circle, standing stones | J. iii. 83 |
| Ditto, Gatra, 62. S.W. | Circular enclosure | C. and W. iii. 346 |
| Ditto, Woodness, 62. S.W. | Stone hammer | C. and W. iii. 346 |
| Latterbarrow, 83. N.W. | Long barrows | C. and W. xii. 189 |
| Lazonby Fell, 39. S.E. | Grooved rock for sharpening celt. | A. S. I. 236; C. and W. vi. 495 |
| Langtown, 10. N. | Bronze flanged celt | A. B. I. 73 |
| Lawes Water, 62. S.E. | Stone hammer | Proc. S.A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Lamplugh, 62. S.W. | Road | L. cxxxvii.; W. 399; J. iii. 35, 84; C. and W. iii. 349, 345 |
| Lancroft, parish of, 12. S.E. & W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, camp | D. S. 58-59 n.; C. and W. i. 40-47 |
| Lancroft Abbey, 12. S.W. | Inscribed stone in the headway of the clerestory passage at the south-east of the transept. Found 1744 | G. M. 1744, 369; G. M. L. Romano-British. i. 33; H. i. 62; L. cli.; H. N. 208; W. 687; A. J. E. n. s. iii. 39; A. J. xv. 158; L. S. No. 361; Corp. 141, 214; F. 91 |
| Lancroft, Abbey Crypt, 12. S.W. | Inscribed altar | C. and W. i. 44; W. 687; A. J. xv. 159; L. S. No. 365 |
| Lancroft, Bridge, near 18. S.W. | Pier of bridge | Personal observation. |
| Lanerton, 12. S.E. | Inscribed stones | B. R. ii. 258; Corp. 141 |
| Lazonby Church, 49. S.W. | Road. Roman monuments from Plumpton used as "thorough stones" | H. i. 289; W. 6575; Bishop Nicolson's Visitation 113; Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 265 |
| Long, Craig, Naworth, 18. N.W. | Written rock | H. i. 141, 297; Hat. 256; B. R. ii. 269 |
| Linstock, 17. S.W. | Station (?) | C. and W. i. 86 |
| Long Strought, quarry in Borrowdale, 70. S.W. | Bloomery | Proc. S. A. o. s. iii. 225 |
| Langtown, 10. N. | Road | L. cxxxv. |
| Lawes Brow, 61. S.E. | Ditto | C. and W. iii. 346 |
| Low Street, 49. N.E. | Ditto | L. cxxxvii.; C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Low Wall, see Hawgill | | |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Lazonby, Castlerigg, 39. N.E. Liddell Moat or Strength, 6. N.E. | Moated mound, foundations Moated mound | H. i. 289 H. ii. 529; N. and B. ii. 471; W. 682; Br. and Br. 112; C. and W. ix. 404; Roy, plate xxiii. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Maiden Castle [Caer Thanock], foot of Ullswater, <i>see also</i> Saulby Fell, 66. N.W. | Hill Fort | Hut. 81-82 C. and W. i. 248 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Maryport, 45. N.W. Maughanby, <i>see</i> Addingham, 2nd stone circle Melmerby, 50. N.E. Melmerby High Scar, 41. S.W. & 51. N.W. Moresby Hall, 61. S.W. Millom, Sunkenkirk, stone circle, 86. S.W. Millom, Lowscapes, 88. S.W. Ditto, 88. S.W. Motherby, 58. N.W. | Cup-marked stone Hammer stone Enclosures Stone cists and skeletons Megalithic remains, stone circle Battle-axe, 13½ inches long Neolithic implement Megalithic remains, stone circle blasted away by steward of Duke of Norfolk | C. and W. ix. 435 A. S. I. 215 C. and W. vi. 488 W. 429 G. M. L. Archaeology, ii. 23 J. iii. 148 Personal knowledge, H. S. C. H. i. 413; J. ii. 386; Br. and Br. 164; Proc. S. A. n. s. iii. 225 Proc. S. A. n. s. xiv. 493 |
| Mowbray, 27. N.E. | Stone hammers, polished colts, stone adze | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Maryport, <i>see</i> Ellenborough Maiden Way, The | Road | A. Æ. o. s. iv. 36; A. J. xi. 1, 124, 217, 345. Also other authorities, <i>passim</i> |
| Mawbray, or Mawburgh, 27. N.E. | Camp, inscribed stones; road | H. ii. 346; L. cxxxvi. cxlvii. W. 236, 238, 422; Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 296, 395; C. and W. iii. 72, 337, iv. 318, v. 136; Corp. 90; F. 71; L. S. No. 963; A. J. cxxxvi. 425, cxxxvii. 149, 329, 343 |
| Mell Fells, <i>see</i> Graystock Melmerby, 41. S.W. | Road (The Maiden Way) | H. i. 229; L. cxxxvi.; J. ii. 313; C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Millhouse, Castle Sowerby, 48. N.W. | Road | W. 221 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded |
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| <i>Roman—cont.</i> | | |
| Millon, <i>see</i> S.E. | Road near | C. and W. iii. 71 |
| Money, Hobbs, near Harehill, 12 S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, additional entrenchments, coins | D. S. 58 |
| Moresby, 61, S.W. | Camp, inscribed stones, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 90-93; N. and B. ii. 47-48; L. cxxxvii., cxliv., cl-clxxxiv.; W. 421, 422, 440; Br. and Br. 214-5; Hou. 458; Hut. 222-223; I. B. 52; J. iii. 59, 368; A. J.E. n. s. v. 138; B. R. ii. 285; A. J. xxxvii. 341; L. S. 458-460; Corp. 83-84; F. 67 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altar and a bust in stone | Proc. S. A. n. s. ix. 62 A. J. xxxix. 357 |
| Mowbray, <i>see</i> Mawbray, 27, N.E. | | |
| Manchester, near Carlisle 31, S.W. | Camp and road | C. and W. iii. 77 |
| Manchester, near Ravenglass, <i>see</i> Walls Castle | | |
| Manchester Castle, near Ravenglass, on road to The Forge, 83, N.W. | Tile-kilns | C. and W. viii. 67 |
| Murray, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile E. of Birdswald, 42, S.W. | Inscribed altar | Corp. 141, 148 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Marport, South end of Castle Hill, 44, N.E. | Moated mound | Br. and Br. 297 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Naworth Castle Gate, Tower Tye, 18, N.W. | Circular entrenchment | D. S. 59 C. and W. iv. 547 |
| Newton Reigny, 49, S.E. | Camp | O.S. |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Naworth Castle, 18, N.W. | Bronze spear-head | A. B. I. 334 |
| Netherby, 6, S.E. | Three bronze spear-heads and three bronze pal-staves | Arch. Mus. 6 |
| Newtown of Mawbray, 27, N.E. | Polished celts | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 493, 94 |
| Newton Reigny, 58, N.E. | Tumuli, urns | W. 581 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Naworth Castle, at or near, 18, N.W. | Inscribed stones, road | H. i. 72, 92, 136, 297; I. B. 58; B. R. bk. ii. ch. iii. Corp. 141 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Roman—cont.</i> | | |
| Netherby, 6, S.E. | Station, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 533-40; N. and B. 469-71; L. cxlvi, cl-clxxxix.; clxxxvii-viii.; W. 628; Br. and Br. 99-106; G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 34; L. B. 57-8; B. R. ii. 271; L. S. 96; A. ix. 222, x. 139; A. J. xxxvii. 342; H. N. 249; L. S. 392-403; Corp. 165-68; F. 75 |
| Ditto | Inscribed altar | A. J. xlvii. 267 |
| Ditto | Silver fibula | L. clxxxvii. |
| Ditto | Antiquities from | Arch. Mus. 10 |
| Nunmery, 40, N.W. | Altar, now in Carlisle Museum | H. i. 186; L. S. No. 793 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Ormstead Hill, near Eamont Cottage, 58, N.E. | Cairn | H. i. 312 |
| Orton, 22, N.E. and S.E. | Ditch and rampart, enclosing the village | W. 175-76; Br. and Br. 186 |
| Ousby, 50, N.E. | Earthen ramparts, enclosing pentagonal area, an urn, foundations of walls | W. 584; J. ii. 259 |
| Overwater, <i>see</i> Ireby | | |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ousby, 50 or 51 | Perforated stone axe | A. S. I. 179 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Old Carlisle, <i>see</i> Carlisle, Old | | |
| Old Penrith, <i>see</i> Plumpton Wall | | |
| Old Wall, 17, N.E. | Inscribed stones | H. i. 121; Corp. 151, 214; L. clxx.; L. S. Nos. 432, 450, 356, 461, 463; H. N. 299 |
| Orthwaite Hall, 47, S.W. | Camp | W. 260 |
| Orton, 22, N.E. and S.E. | Roads and foundation | H. ii. 516; W. 175-76 |
| Oughterside Moor, 35, S.E. | Road | W. 208; C. and W. iii. 76 |
| Ousby and Ousby Fell, 51, N.W. and S.W. | Road (The Maiden Way) | L. cxxxv.; C. and W. iii. 70 |
| Oughterside Common, 35, S.E. | Road | L. cxxxvi. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Pardshaw Crag, White Causeway, 54, S.E. | Circular enclosure of earth, earthworks | C. and W. iii. 344 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| Earthworks— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Penrith Common, 49 S.E. and 50 S.W. | Square enclosures, 20 yards each way. Cistvaens | H. i. 321 |
| Plumpton Mill Hill, 49 N.E. | Cairns | H. i. 490 |
| Ponsonby In Fell, 78 N.W. | Camp | H. i. 593; L. cxlvii.; J. iii. 280; C. and W. iii. 250, vii. 82 |
| Pykethwaite Fell, Christenbury Crag, 4 N.E. | Camp | G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 38 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Penrith Beacon, 50 N.W. | Polished greenstone celt | A. S. I. 95 |
| Plumpton, Penrith, 39 S.E. or 40 N.E. | Perforated stone axe | A. S. I. 178 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Papcastle, 54 N.E. | Station, inscribed stone and altars, roads, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii. 108, 256-8; N. and B. ii. 104; L. cxxxvi., cxxxvii., cxlii., clxxxix.; W. 292-3, 301; Hon. 457; Hut. 228-9; Br. and Br. 210-1; I. B. 51; A. J. xxxvii. 341; C. and W. i. 169, 173, iii. 76, 79, 246, 342, iv. 113, 136; L. S. 555-7; Corp. 84, 90; F. 62 |
| Ditto. | Bronze statuette | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 263 |
| Ditto. | Samian ware, charred wheat | Arch. Mus. 11 |
| Penrith, 58 N.E. | Roads | C. and W. iii. 75 |
| Penrith Castle, 58 N.E. | Station (?), masonry (?) | H. i. 317, 318 |
| Pikehill, near Lanercost, 12 S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, Mile Castle | C. and W. i. 214 |
| Pikeless Gate, Caldbeck, 37 S.E. | Road | W. 221 |
| Plumland, Ewe Close, Ward Hill, 46 N.W. | Camp | W. 365 |
| Plumpton Wall, or Old Penrith, 39 S.E. | Station, inscribed altars and stones, miscellaneous antiquities | H. i. 312, 477-90; N. and B. ii. 429-3; L. cxxxv., cxxxvi., cxxxvii.-ix., cxliii.; W. 575, 576, 577; Hut. 197-8; Hon. 445; Br. and Br. 169-70; G. M. L. Romano-British i. 36-37, C. and W. i. 328, iii. 68, 69, xi. 59; Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 267; J. ii. 461-5; A. ix. 220; A. J. xii. 227; A. J. E. n. s. i. App. i. 1, ii. 265; B. R. i. 197, 111, ii. 272; West's Guide, 143; L. S. 404-11; Corp. 77-80 |
| Ditto. | Gold fibula | L. clxxxviii. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Poltross Burn, near Gilsland Railway Station, 13. S.W. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, Mile Castle, called King Stables, bridge approaches, deep cuttings | H. i. 65; L. cxxxviii; C. and W. iii. xxiii. xxv. ix. 163; D. S. 50; B. R. i. 152; Proc. S. A. n. s. xi. 209; A. Æ. n. s. xii. 160 |
| Port Carlisle, 15. N.W. | Inscribed altar | W. 151; H. N. 227; L. S. No. 521 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Peeb, 63. S.W. | Moated site | C. and W. iii. 247 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Rose Castle, 30. S.W. | Two square camps | H. ii. 432, 433; N. and B. ii. 323; C. and W. iii. 71 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ravenglass, 82. S.E. | Stone axe | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| Red Dial, Wigton, 29. S.W. | Perforated stone axe or hammer | A. S. i. 179 |
| Redhills, Penrith, 58. N.E. | Cup-marked stone, interment, burnt bones | C. and W. vi. 110; Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 535; Proc. S. A. S. n. s. iv. 438 |
| <i>Roads, Pre-Roman, in Cumberland.</i> | | H. and N. and B. <i>passim</i> ; L. cxxix-cxxxvii; F. 6 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Ravenglass, <i>see</i> Walls Castle | | |
| Redstone Camp, <i>see</i> White-barrow | | |
| Rickerby Park, 23. N.E. | Interment in oak and lead coffin in stone vault, found Nov. 1873 | Personal knowledge and Carlisle Papers, Nov. 1873 |
| <i>Roads, Roman, in Cumberland</i> | | H. and N. and B. <i>passim</i> ; L. cxxix-cxxxvii; W. 3; A. Æ. o. s. iv. 36; F. 26; B. R. bk. iii. ch. ii. |
| Rose Hill, Gilsland, 13. N.W. | Centurial stones | A. Æ. n. s. xi. 121; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 8 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Salkeld, Great, 40. S.W. | Raise or cairn | H. i. 283; W. 620; Br. and Br. 148 |
| Ditto, Aikton Castle, 40. S.W. | Foundations | W. 620; Br. and Br. 148; J. ii. 271 |

| Locality | Name | Water-Reservoir |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|
| New York | Hudson River | Hudson River |
| New York | Hudson River | Hudson River |
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| New York | Hudson River | Hudson River |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Talkin Fell, Greenlea Cross, 18. S.E. | Tumuli | C. and W. vi. 489 |
| Thirlmere, Deergarth Wood, 70. N.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 248 |
| Thursby, Woodrigs or Kirksteads, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N.W. of church, 29. S.E. | Foundations | H. ii. 462-3 |
| Tongue How, 73 N.W. | Cairns and inclosures | C. and W. iii. 249 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Threlkeld Knott, Keswick, <i>see</i> Wanthwaite Crag | | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Tarraby, Carlisle, 16. S.E. | Inscribed altars, 1804 | G. M. L. Romano-British, i. 39, 40; I. B. 56; H. N. 300; A. $\mathcal{A}E.$ o. s. i. App. 4; L. S. No. 478; Corp. 159 |
| Ditto | Altar to Apollo, a sword | Between 1840 and 1850 |
| Threlkeld, Walthwaite, 57. S.W. | Road | Personal knowledge W. 552 |
| Thrup, Gilsland, 13. S.W. | Camp, road | D. S. 52; Corp. 141 |
| Thursby, 29. S.E. | Gold ring | Proc. S. A. o. s. iv. 129 |
| Ditto | Road | L. cxxxvi. |
| Todholes, Cleator, 67. S.E. | Road, millstones | J. iii. 35 |
| Torpenholme, on the Petterill, between Low Street and Plumpton Wall, 49. N.E. | Road, ford | C. and W. iii. 79 |
| Tryermain Castle, 12. N.E. | Roman stones | C. and W. iii. 177; Corp. 141 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Ulpha Fell, 83. N.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 251 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ullock, near, 62. N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle now destroyed, urns, incense cups | C. and W. iii. 345 |
| Unthank, Gamelsby Low Fell, 49. S.E. | Interment in cistvaen | W. 503 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|---|
| ROMAN. | | |
| Uldale, 47. N.W. | Road | W. 224, 260 |
| Uldale Common, 47. N.W. | Two camps | W. 260; C. and W. iii. 245 |
| Uldale, Orthwaite Hall, 47. S.W. | Camp, bronze tripod | W. 260 |
| Ullock, 62. N.W. | Road | C. and W. iii. 345 |
| Underheugh, 12. S.E. | Inscribed stone | Corp. 141, 150 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Warwick Knowe, 24. N.W. | Earthworks | H. i. 152, 153; W. 188; Br. and Br. 131 |
| Watch Hill, Troodermacn, 12. N.E. | Circular entrenchment | D. S. 57 |
| Westward, The Heights, 29. S.E. | Trenches and encampment | W. 268; A. J.E. n. s. i. 132 |
| Whitehall, 36. S.W. | Circular and square entrenchments | H. ii. 361; W. 263 |
| Woodhall, The Druid's Grove, 48. N.E. | Barrow | C. and W. iii. 245 |
| Weary Hall, Bolton Pasture, 36. N.E. | Matted enclosure | H. ii. 364 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Wanthwaite (Wallthwaite) Crag, Thelkeld, 64. N.E. and 65. N.W. | Wall enclosures, hut circles | C. and W. i. 217, iii. 247 |
| Wanthwaite Crag, 64. N.E. | Stone celt | O. S. |
| Wastwater Scree, 78. N.W. | Flint arrow-head | Arch. Mus. 5 |
| Wetheral, 24. N.W. | Stone implements | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 492 |
| Whitbeck, Standing Stones Hall Foss or Force, 85. S.E. | Megalithic remains, stone circle | H. i. 553; W. 497; Br. and Br. 233; Hou. 471-2; J. iii. 121 |
| Ditto, Gutterby, Kirk-stones, 87. N.E. | Megalithic remains, two stone circles, large cairn near | H. i. 554; W. 497; Br. and Br. 232; G. M. L. Archaeology, ii. 23; J. iii. 122 |
| Ditto, Annaside, 87. N.E. | Megalithic remains, stone circle | H. i. 554; W. 497; Br. and Br. 232; J. iii. 121 |
| Wigton, 29. N.W. | Stone hammers and celts, bronze flanged celt | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 492; A. S. I. 196; A. B. I. 73 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Waberthwaite, 82. E. | Road and ford near the Church | C. and W. iii. 113 |
| Wallers or Wall Bowers, 12. S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian, road, camp | H. i. 74; L. cxxxiv. |
| Walls Castle, Ravenglass, 82. S.E. | Camp, villa, miscellaneous antiquities | H. i. 568, 571; W. 488; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 322; Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 357, ix. 61, xi. 219; J. iii. 219; C. and W. iii. 17, 23, 71, 337, vi. 216, ix. 296; F. 61, 64-5 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|---|
| <i>Roman—cont.</i> | | |
| Wallthwaite, Threlkeld, 57. S.W. | Road | W, 552 |
| Wampool Bridge, 29. N.E. | Road | L. cxxxvi. |
| Warth (Wath), Cleator, 67. S.E. | Road | L. cxxxvii.; J. iii, 35 |
| Watchetoss, 17. S.E. | The Great Barrier of Hadrian. Station, roads, miscellaneous antiquities | H. i. 121, 122; N. and B. ii, 485; L. cxxxiv, cxxxix; D. S. 72; H. N. 218; Br. and Br. 131; B. R. i. 107, 154; W. 681; L. S. 239 |
| Wath, Cleator, 67. S.E. | Road | W, 221 |
| Wath Brook, Cleator, 67. S.E. | Road | C. and W. iii, 339 |
| Waver Bridge Bank, 28. N.E. | Road | C. and W. iii, 76 |
| Wetheral, 24. S.W. | Inscribed rock | H. i. 162; W. 192; Hut. 258; A. i. 86, 97; L. S. No. 233; Corp. 160 |
| <i>West Coast of Cumberland</i> | Road round | C. and W. iii, 13-16, 70, 72 |
| Whincham, 88. S.W. | Road | C. and W. iii, 13 |
| Whitharrow, Redstone Camp or Stone Carron, 57. S.E. | Camp and road | H. i. 412; L. cxxxvi, cxxxvii, cxlv.; W. 549; J. ii, 386; Br. and Br. 164; C. and W. iii, 78, 79, 243, iv, 320; West's Guide, 141 |
| Whitbeck, 87. N.E. | Road | C. and W. iii, 13, 71, 73 |
| Whitchull, 36. S.W. | Road near | C. and W. iii, 70, 76 |
| Whitestones, <i>see</i> Stricklowath. | | |
| Whitrigg, 49. N.E. | Road | L. cxxxvii.; C. and W. iii, 79 |
| Wigton, 29. N.W. | Inscribed stones | H. ii, 473-477 |
| Willowford, Gilsland, 13. S.W. | Camp, road, bridge | H. i. 65, 72; D. S. 52; A. JE. n.s. xii, 163; B. R. i. 107, 152; C. and W. ix, 167; L. cxxxiv.; Corp. 141 |
| Wolsty, 27. N.E. | Foundations | C. and W. v, 258 |
| Workington, Burrow Walls, 33. N.E. | Camp, inscribed stones, miscellaneous antiquities | H. ii, 142, 260; W. 464; L. S. No. 905; C. and W. v, 22; Arch. Mus. 9; Corp. 84; F. 67 |
| Wormanby, 16. S.W. | Road | L. cxxxiv. |
| Wythrop Mill, 55. N.W. | Enamelled sword, same as entry under Embleton | C. and W. iii, 246 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Wetheral, 24. S.W. | Artificial caves | A. i. 84-6; W. 192; H. i. 160; Hut. 256 |

WESTMORLAND.

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|--|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Asby, Little, 22, S.E. | Earthworks | Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 22; Hw. 152; C. and W. xi. 384 |
| Ditto, Mask, 22, N.W. | Tumulus, human bones. Opened 1783 | Hw. 152 |
| Ditto, Gatherne Hall, 22, N.W. | Tumulus, human bones, a sword | Hw. 152 |
| Asby Sear, Great, Castlefolds, 22, S.W. | Camp and tumuli | O. S. |
| Ditto, Great, 22, N.W. | British Settlement | O. S. |
| Ditto, Little, 22, S.E. | Tumulus | O. S. |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ambleside, 26, N.W. | Grooved stone hammer | A. S. I. 211; A. J. x. 63 |
| Ditto, 26, N.W. | Swords, spear-head, and socketted cell | A. v. 115; A. B. I. 285, 465 |
| Askham Fell, 7, S.E. | Bronze palstave or adze, 1741 | C. and W. vi. 540 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Ambleside, 26, S.W. | Camp, coins, miscellaneous antiquities | N. and B. i. 188; W. 877; Hon. 192; Hut. 184.5; A. J. ii. 395; S. i. 241; C. and W. iii. 169, 243, 254; Corp. 72 |
| Ambleside, 26, S.W. | Inscribed stone | A. J. xxxix. 364 |
| Ditto, Borran's Ring | Square fort, coins, (?) if not the same as the camp at Ambleside | N. and B. i. 194; Hw. 213 |
| Askham Fell, 7, S.E. | Road | C. and W. i. 49 |
| <i>Antonine, 19th iter of</i> | | A. J. xxxviii. 169; B. A. A. viii. 35, xxxvi. 47; Watkin's Roman-Lancashire |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Appleby Castle, 15, N.E. | Earthworks | C. and W. viii. 382; S. i. 451 |
| Asby, Great, Saylebottom, 22, N.E. | Cairns, interments, iron knife | B. B. 386; Hw. 152 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Bampton Old Church, Codale, 13, N.W. | Octangular rampart, cairn in the middle | Hw. 133 |
| Bongate, Appleby, Maiden Hold, 9, N.W. | Encampment and small fort | W. 723 |
| Brackenber Moor | Tumuli | O. S. |

| Locality | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded |
|--|---|---|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Beighton, Knygge Scar, 14 N.W. Duns, Laverham Scar | British settlement. Megalithic remains, stone circle. | Hw. 133. Hw. 133. |
| Beigham, Mowbray Farm, 1 S.W. | Cist, bones, pottery. | A. xlv. 411; Proc. S. A. n. s. vi. 279. |
| Brough under Stainmore, Brough Hill, 16 S.E. | Bronze implements. | A. B. i. 53; N. and B. i. 606; Hw. 159. |
| Barton, Clawthorpe, 47 S.W. | Neolithic implements. | Lonsdale Magazine, i. 291. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Brough Bridge, <i>see</i> Leek. Brough Bridge. Bows, Mear. Brough, 4 S.W. | Small station. <i>See</i> Maiden Castle, Stainmore. Station, road, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities. | A. J. xix. 358. H. i. 295; N. and B. i. 8, 389-390; W. 784; Hut. 49; I. B. 45-46; A. JE. n. s. i. App. 3, n. s. v. 139- 140; B. R. ii. 297; S. ii. 68; Proc. S. A. n. s. ii. 60; L. S. 412-415, 471, 472; Corp. 73, 74. |
| Brough under Stainmore, 16 S.E. | Station, roads, coins, leaden seals. | N. and B. i. 527; W. 728; Hut. 21-22; Proc. S. A. n. s. iii. 222-3; iv. 129, n. s. iii. 256, vii. 19, 142; C. A. vi. 117-129; A. J. xs. 181, xxiii. 62; B. A. A. xlii. 297; Hw. 158; S. ii. 318; L. S. 412. |
| Brough under Stainmore, the Church, 16 S.E. | Inscribed stones (one Latin, one Greek). | A. J. xxxviii. 196, 282, xlii. 145; C. and W. v. 285, 291, vii. 171, 295; A. JE. n. s. xlii. 358; Proc. S. A. N. i. 154, ii. 3, 251; B. A. A. xlii. 294. |
| Barton, the Quamps, 17 S.W. | Foundations, mill-stones. | G. M. L. Romano-British, ii. 344; Hw. 239. |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Beigham, 4 S.W. | Engraved circle of gilt metal, Anglo-Saxon. | A. J. iv. 63. |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Crosby Ravensworth, Harber- wain, 14 S.E. | Interments. | Hw. 148. |
| Cunewick Hall, Skelsmergh, (<i>formerly</i> Skelsmergh Hall), 31 S.W. | Mounds. | S. i. 191. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|--|---|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Casterton Hall, Kirby Lonsdale, 47, N.E. | Silver fibula or brooch of the Iron Age | A. J. vi. 69; Proc. S. A. n. s. xi. 293; Proc. S. A. n. s. ix. 141 |
| Clifton Cross, 3, S.E. | Interments in cists | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 388; C. and W. 79 |
| Crackenthorpe, Machell's Bank, 9, S.W. | Pits and urns with burnt bones | N. and B. i. 351-52; Hw. 84; S. n. 23 |
| Crook, 38, N.W. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 491 |
| Crosby Garrett, 23, S.W. | Bronze armlet | A. B. i. 387; B. B. 386 |
| Ditto | Tamulus, interments in stone cists | G. M. L. Archaeology, i. 148 |
| Ditto | Cairns and interments | B. B. 386-93 |
| Ditto, Raiset Pike, 29, N.E. | Long barrow, interments | B. B. 510-13 |
| Crosby Ravensworth, 14, S.E. | Bronze spoons of Late Celtic period | A. J. xxvi. 62 |
| 15, S.W. and 21, N.E.* | | B. B. 397 |
| Ditto, Dale Moor, same, and 22, N.W. | Cairn, pottery, unburnt bones, beads (flat discs) | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 214 |
| Ditto, David Circle, 14, S.E. | Megalithic remains, three concentric stone circles | A. J. xxvii. 200 |
| Ditto, Gaythorne Plain, 22, N.W. | Bronze javelin head | B. B. 396 |
| Ditto, ditto, 22, N.W. | Tamuli, bones, cist | A. J. xxvii. 203 |
| Ditto, Hollin Stump, Oddendale Seal House, 21, N.E. and 22, N.W. | Cairns and interments | B. B. 396-400 |
| Ditto, Pendourick, 21, N.E. | Tamulus of stones, human bones | Proc. S. A. S. iv. 444; C. and W. vi. 178; Hw. 148; W. 763; Proc. S. A. S. iv. 445; C. and W. vi. 178; Hw. 147 |
| Ditto, Oddendale, Ewe Close, 21, N.E. | British settlements | O. S. |
| Ditto, Howarles, 22, N.W. | British settlements | O. S. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Chilburne, 8, N.E. | Inscribed stones | A. J. n. s. xii. 289, xiii. 185-89; Proc. S. A. N. ii. 231; H. J. xlix. 122; Proc. S. A. n. s. xi. 210; C. and W. ix. 284 |
| Clifton, 3, S.E. | Inscribed stone and altar, bronze skillet; altar found in 1845 | W. 791; G. M. L. Romano-British i. 32; S. n. xxxvi. i. B. 46; L. S. Nos. 769-816; Corp. 73-4 |
| Crackenthorpe Common, 9, N.W. | Camp | N. and B. i. 351; Hw. 102; Hw. 82; S. n. 23; B. Plate xvii. C. and W. 332 |
| Crawdundle Wath, 1, S.E. | Written rock | N. and B. i. 371; B. B. i. 299; Hw. 96; S. n. 83; L. S. No. 750; Corp. 73-4 |

* See also Harbyrnigge. This neighbourhood abounds in remains, and it is difficult to identify those marked on O. S. with those named in the books.

| <i>Locality.</i> | <i>Nature of Discovery.</i> | <i>Where Recorded.</i> |
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| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Dutton Church, near, 9, N.E. Dunmail Raise, 18, N.E. | Camp: tumuli Cairn | O. S. N. and B. i. 149; Hon. 329-330; Hut. 181; Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 218; C. and W. iii. 253; Hw. 223 |
| Eselsdale Tarn, 18, S.E. F. H. Foot Farm, Little Lang- dale, 25, S.E. | Cairns Terraced hill (a law ting?) | C. and W. iii. 253 Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 219; C. and W. xi. 1 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Grantlands, or Grantlands, near Roodbeck Hall, Orton, 22, S.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle. See Orton | N. and B. i. 491; Hon. 163; Proc. S. A. S. iv. 443; C. and W. vi. 177, 183; Hw. 223 |
| Grasmere, near, 25, N.E. Grummerkehl, see Shap | Ditto | Hw. 223 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Grasmere | Road | C. and W. iii. 169 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Haweswater, the 'Giants' Graves, 83, S.E. | Long mounds or barrows (? if not bracken stack bottoms?) | A. J. xviii. 36; C. and W. iii. 252 |
| Haycock, in, Botham, the Castle Hill, 46, N.E. | Circular earthwork | N. and B. i. 227 Hw. 228 |
| Howgill Green Castle, 5, N.E. | Circular fort | N. and B. i. 388; W. 755; Hw. 94 |
| How Town, Ellswater, 13, N.W. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 252 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Huckthorpe Farm, 8, S.E. | Barrow, urn, cist | C. and W. ii. 11 |
| Hurburrough, 14, S.E. | Bronze halbert | A. B. i. 270; B. B. 397; Proc. S. A. n. s. iii. 258; Arch. Mus. 6 |
| Hurburrough, Iron Hill, 14, S.E. | Barrow, interment, bones, &c. | A. J. xviii. 36 |
| Ditto, Langdale, 14, S.E. | Fortified village | A. J. xviii. 37 |
| Ditto, Moor, near Wither- slack, 14, S.E. | British village | A. J. xviii. 37 |
| Threasham, or Heversham, Moor End, 42, S.E. | Stone hammer | A. S. i. 179; A. B. 124; Hw. 226; N. and B. i. 213 |
| Holington Peat Moss, 38, S.W. | Bronze dagger | Proc. S. A. n. s. ii. 370 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Pre-Roman—continued.</i> | | |
| Helton Dale, Ulleswater, 7. S. E. and 13. N. E. | Bronze blade, nearly 20 inches long | Arch. Mus. 6 |
| Holborn Hill, 22. N. E. | British settlement | O. S. |
| Hugill High House, Windermere, 33. N. W. | British settlement | C. and W. vi. 86; xii. (in the press) |
| <i>ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Helton Fell, 7. S. E. and 13. N. E. | Road | C. and W. i. 49 |
| High Street, 13. N. and S. and 29. N. and S. | Road | C. and W. i. 71; ii. 32; iii. 169, 252 |
| Hincaster, 42. S. E. | Station | C. and W. vi. 201; Hw. 225; West's Guide, 181 |
| Hornby Hall, 4. W. | Road | C. and W. iv. 392 |
| Howgill Green Castle, 5. S. E. | Inscribed altar | N. and B. i. 388; Hw. 94; W. 755 |
| <i>EARTHWORKS.</i> | | |
| Kendal, Castlesteads, Helm Hill, 39. S. W. | Earthworks | W. 865; Hou. 366; I. B. 41; Hw. 265; S. i. 101; West, 179 |
| Ditto, Coneybeds, 39. S. W. | Earthworks | W. 865; Hw. 265; S. i. 101 |
| Ditto, Halse Fell, 38. N. E. | Semicircular camp, now gone | Hw. 197 |
| King Arthur's Round Table, 3. S. E. | Circular earthworks | H. i. 308-10; N. and B. i. 414; W. 789; Hou. 244-5; Hat. 96-91; B. B. 381; I. B. 43-4; Proc. S. A. n. s. xii. 91, 92; R. S. M. 128; C. and W. x. 271, xi. 187; S. ii. 133; Hw. 111; West, 167 |
| Kirkby Stephen, Croglin Castle, 23. S. E. | Earthen ring or enclosure | C. and W. v. 67 |
| Ditto, ditto, High Park, 39. N. W. | Entrenchment | O. S. |
| <i>PRE-ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Kirkby Lonsdale, near, 47. N. E. | British Settlement | C. and W. vii. 111 |
| Kirkby Stephen, Ashfell | Barrows | B. B. 382 |
| Windy Hills, 39. N. W. | | C. and W. i. 22 |
| Ditto, Mallerstang, 39. E. | Chairs | B. B. 383 |
| Ditto, Wiseber, 39. N. W. | Barrow with subsequent Roman interment | B. B. 384 |
| <i>ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Kirkby Lonsdale, 47. N. E. | Inscribed altar found in 1984 camp, road | A. J. xxix. 399; W. 887 |
| Kirkstone Hill, 19. S. E. | Road | L. xxvii. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Roman—cont.</i> | | |
| Kirkby Thore, 9, N.W. | Station roads, inscribed stones, miscellaneous antiquities | N. and B. i. 379-80; W. 752-3; Hon. 163; Hut. 41, 2; G. G. M. L.; Romano-British, ii. 345; Proc. S. A. n. s. iv. 128; S. ii. 54; A. J. E. n. s. v. 140; B. R. ii. 298; Hw. 89; A. xxxi. 279; C. and W. ii. 245, iii. 68-9, 70; A. J. xiv. 75, xv. 87, xvii. 59, xix. 279, xxxix. 302; Arch. Mus. 11; L. S. 385-91; Corp. 73-4 |
| Ditto, 9, N.W. | Road (The Maiden Way) | L. cxxxv.; Hw. 8, 91; N. and B. i. 8, 380; Hut. 41 |
| Ditto, Burwens Hill, 5, S.W. or 9, N.W. | Small camp | Hw. 91 |
| <i>POST-ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Kendal Castle, 38, N.E. | Earthworks, older than the castle | W. 838; Hon. 234; L. B. 40; Hw. 199; C. and W. ix. 178 |
| Ditto, How Hill, 38, N.E. | Mounded mound | N. and B. i. 83; Hon. 234; Hut. 195; L. B. 40; Hw. 197; West. 183 |
| Kendal Vicarage, 38, N.E. | Mounded mound | Personal knowledge |
| Kirkby Lonsdale Vicarage, 47, N.E. | Mounded mound | W. 887 |
| <i>EARTHWORK.</i> | | |
| Lowther Bridge, 3, S.E. | Circular earthwork, now gone | H. i. 310; Hon. 245; C. and W. vi. 444 |
| <i>PRE-ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Laurel Wood, Clifton Dykes, 28, N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circles, urns with burnt bones | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 389; C. and W. v. 96 |
| Loughrigg Tarn, 26, S.W. | Stone celt | Proc. S. A. n. s. vi. 438 |
| Lowther Woodhouse, 7, N.E. | Settlements, village | C. and W. xii. [in the press] |
| <i>ROMAN.</i> | | |
| Low Burrow Bridge, Tebay, 28, S.E. | Station | W. 765; Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 39; C. and W. vii. 78, 79, 90, viii. 1; Hw. 255 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Measandbeck, 13. S.E. | Cairns, standing stones, fort | C. and W. iii. 252 |
| Mickleden, 25. N.W. | Cairns and enclosures | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| Milbourne Green Castle, <i>see</i> Howgill | | |
| Middleton, 44. N.W. | Tumuli | W. 895 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Mallerstang, 39 or 36 | Cairns, long mounds [? bracken stack bottoms] called Giant's Graves | C. and W. i. 25 |
| Mattersdale (or Martindale, 12. S.E.) | Stone celt, unpolished stone sinker, winged celt of bronze | C. and W. vii. 87 |
| Mayburgh, 3. S.E. | Circular enclosure of stones | H. i. 310-2; N. and B. i. 414; W. 780; Hw. 246-8; Hut. 92-3; B. B. 381; R. S. M. 127; Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 91, 92; S. ii. 137; Hw. 112; West. 167; C. and W. vi. 492, x. 271, xi. 187 |
| Ditto | Polished stone celt | C. and W. iii. xxi |
| Moor Divock, Askham, 7. S.W. & S.E. | Megalithic remains, stone circles, cairns, star-fish cairns | A. J. xviii. 32; B. B. 400; Proc. S. A. S. iv. 446; C. and W. i. 241, 164 iii. 251, vi. 189, vii. 323; West. 159 |
| Morland, 8. S.E. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n. s. vii. 492 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Malden Castle on Stainmore | Fort, coins | Hw. 162; W. 734; C. and W. v. 69; Hut. D; Leland, also Gent. Magazine, 1862 |
| Malden Way, <i>The</i> | Road | A. J. E. v. s. iv. 36, and various works, <i>passim</i> |
| Middleton, 43. N.E. | Milestone | O. S. |
| Moor Divock, Barton Fell | Road | C. and W. i. 161, ii. 32 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Newbiggen Moor, Loscars, 5. S.W. | Camp | O. S. |
| Ditto, Moorland Head, 5. S.W. | Camp | O. S. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Natland, <i>see</i> Watercrook | | |
| Newbiggen Moor, 5. S.W. | Road (The Maiden Way) | C. and W. iii. 79 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|--|--|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Oddendale, <i>see</i> Crosby Ravensworth | | |
| Orton Sear, Castlefolds, 22 S.W. | Enclosure and fort | W. 763; Hw. 150 |
| Orton, Grantlands or Gameslands, 22 S.W. | Tumulus | W. 762-3 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Orton, 21 S.E. and 22 S.W. | Cairns and interments; subsequent Anglian interments | B. B. 394-96 |
| Ditto, Raissgill Hall, 22 S.W. | Tumulus, cistvaen, skeleton | Hw. 150 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Orton, 21 S.E. | Jewels of date of Petilius Cerealis, found 1847 [<i>see</i> next entry] | W. 763 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Orton Sear, 21 S.E. and 22 S.W. | Silver fibula and torque of Saxon period | B. B. 397; A. J. ix. 90; Proc. S. A. o. s. ii. 167 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Patterdale, 12 S. | Road | Hw. 219; C. and W. iii. 169 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Pendragon Castle, 30 S.E. | Earthworks older than Norman Castle | W. 750; Hnt. 198-99; Hw. 177 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Raisbeck, 18 E. | Cairns | Hw. 223 |
| Ravenstonedale, Rasate (Rasett), 30 N.W. | Tumuli, skeletons | W. 767; Hw. 180; S. ii. 269 |
| Ray Cross, Stainmore, 24 N.E. | Camp. | W. 735; Hnt. 13-16; C. and W. v. 79; Roy. Plate xvii.; A. J. vi. 350; Hw. 163-64 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|--|--|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ravenstonedale Common, Har- digg, 29. S.E. | Barrow, interment | B. B. 393 |
| Ravenstonedale, Rotherbridge, 30. N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle | W. 767; Hw. 180; S. ii. 269 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Ray Cross, Stainmore, 24. N.E. | Inscribed stone | Hw. 164; Hut. 13 |
| Redlands Camp, <i>see</i> Cracken- thorpe | | |
| Rydal, 14. N.W. | Urn with "ashes and other Roman remains" | Hw. 220; West. 77 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Sleggill-in-Newby, 14. N.E. | Interments, two skeletons with brazen rings on their arms | Hw. 143 |
| Shap Wells | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 253 |
| Stainmore, <i>see</i> Ray Cross | | |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Selside, Whitwell Folds, 34. N.W. | Stone celt | Proc. S. A. n. s. xi. 230 |
| Shap, near, 14. S.W. | Stone celts, stone ring, jet ornament | Arch. Mus. 5 |
| Ditto, Gunmerkeld, 14. N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle | A. J. xviii. 32; W. 807; B. B. 382; B. A. A. xxxv. 368; Hw. 140; Proc. S. A. S. iv. 443; C. and W. iv. 537; vi. 177 |
| Shap, Karl Lefts and the Guggleby Stone, 14. S.W. and 21. N.W. | Megalithic remains, stone circle, and avenue | N. and B. i. 477; W. 807; G. M. L., Archaeology, ii. 72-5, 321-5; B. B. 381; B. B. 42; A. J. i. 389, xviii. 24; Hw. 139; R. S. M. 129; West. 169; Proc. S. A. n. s. x. 314 |
| Ditto, Ralfland Forest, 21. N.W. | Tumuli | O. S. |
| Ditto, Stanirase, Selsit- raise, 13. | Cairns, urns, interments | A. J. xviii. 33 |
| Strickland, Great, near Brad- ley, 8. S.W. | Neolithic implements | Personal knowledge, H. S. C. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Sandford, 16. S.W. | Road and tumuli | W. 772 |
| Scots Rake, 19. S.E. | Road | O. S. |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|--|--|
| Roman— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Shap, The Brins, 14 S.W. | Coins, gold and silver | H. N. 254 n. |
| Stainmore, Blackmoor Gate, 16 S.E. | Forged Image, with inscription | A. J. xlv. 128; C. and W. xi. 296 |
| Ditto, 17. and 24 | Road | N. and B. i. 8; W. 734 |
| Ditto, <i>see</i> Maiden Castle | | |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Trotbeck, Spying How, The Raise, 26 S.E. | Cairn, cistvaen, human bones | N. and B. i. 188; Hw. 217; S. i. 276 |
| Ditto, Waudel Raise, 19 S.E. | Cairn | N. and B. i. 188; Hw. 115; S. i. 176 |
| Trostermount-on-Ulleswater, 7 S.W. | Enclosure (a cranege?) | C. and W. i. 160 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Tebay Fell, 28 N.E. | Bronze spear-head, 1891 | Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 349 |
| Temple Sowerby, 4 S.E. | Stone hammer | Proc. S. A. n. s. viii. 492 |
| Trotbeck, near Windermere, Chapel Ridding, 26 S.E. | Neolithic implement | Personal information, H. S. C. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Tebay Gorge, 28 S.E. | Road through | C. and W. iii. II. 70, 170, 187 |
| Temple Sowerby, 4 S.E. | Milestone, <i>in situ</i> | Hw. 92 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Tebay, Castle How, 28 N.E. | Matted mound | W. 765; Hw. 150 |
| Ditto, Greenholme Castle How, 28 N.E. | Ditto | W. 765 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Wareop, 16 S.W. | Castle, foundations | N. and B. i. 606; Hou. 15; Hw. 155 |
| Wareop, Coupland Beck, Sandford, 15 N.E. | Encampments | W. 772; Hw. 156; S. ii. 345 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Wareop, Coupland Beck, Sandford, 15 N.E. | Tumuli and urn, opened in 1766. A subsequent Anglo-Saxon interment | N. and B. i. 609-10; Hut. 27-28; B. B. 385-6; A. iii. 273; Hw. 156; S. ii. 343; W. 772 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|--|--|
| Pre-Roman—<i>cont.</i> | | |
| Whinfell Tarn, 34. W. Windrigg Hill, 14. N.E. | Bronze spear-head Tumulus | Proc. S. A. n. s. xii. 227 O. S. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Wareop, 16. S.W. Watercrook, near Kendal, 38. S.E. | Station and road Station, inscribed stones and altars, miscellaneous antiquities | W. 769 W. 865; Hou. 102, 366; Hw. 202; S. i. 100; West. 179 I. B. 39-41; B. R. ii. 300 Proc. S. A. n. s. xiii. 265 Proc. S. A. N. iii. 280; L. S. No. 819; Corp. 72 N. and B. i. 625; Hw. 220 |
| Windermere, Curwen's or Belle Island, 32. S.E. Winderwath, 4. S.E. | Villa Road and ford | N. and B. i. 400; C. and W. iv. 292 Proc. S. A. n. s. xii. 322 |
| Winton Fell, Kirkby Stephen, 23. E. Woundale, 19. S.E. | Romano-British gold armlet Road | C. and W. iii. 169 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Yanwith Wood, Castlesteads, 7. N.E. | Circular fort with triple en- closure, burial place | C. and W. iii. 252 Hw. 110 |

LANCASHIRE—NORTH-OF-THE-SANDS.

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|--|---|--|
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Aldingham (parish), Baycliffe, 22. N.W. Ditto, Gleaston, 22. N.W. Ditto (parish), Gleaston Castle, 22. N.W. Ditto, near the "Moat," and Colt Park, 22. N.E. Ditto (parish), Roosebeck, 22. S.W. Ditto (parish), Seales, 22. N.E. | Sepulchres (period uncertain) Neolithic implement Bronze celt Sepulchral urns Neolithic implement Sepulchral urn with burnt bones, interment, old ditch | Jos. 96 L. M. iii. 383; Cam. (G.ugh) A. V. 196 A. B. I. 44 W. F. 389 Far. ii. 17 W. F. 392 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|--|
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Aldingham, Aldingham Moat, 22 N.E. | Moated mound and moated square enclosure | Lanc. iv. 645; W. F. 389; C. and W. iii. xxx.-i., ix. 409; A. xxxi. 452 |
| Ditto (parish), Roosbeck, 1870, 22 S.W. | Interments (seven skeletons in two rows; feet of one row against heads of the other) | Fur. ii. 17 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Banishhead Moor, on south side of Walney Sear road between Coniston and Torver Beck, 4 N.E. | Cairns, walled enclosures, ring mound | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| Birkrigg Common, near Urs-wick, "Appleby Slack," 16 S.E. | Enclosure and tumulus | A. xxxi. 459 |
| Blawith, 7 N.E. | Mounds of scoriae (Bloomery) | Barb. 20 C. and W. viii. 86 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Barrow-in-Furness | Neolithic implement | Lanc. and Chesh. Ant. Soc. v. 328 |
| Birkrigg Common, near Urs-wick, Sunbrick, 16 S.E. | Megalithic remains | A. xxxi. 459 Barb. 22 |
| Broughton-in-Furness, 6 S.E. | Neolithic implement | Lanc. iv. 691 G. M. L. Arch. ii. 4 Lanc. and Chesh. Ant. Soc. iii. 215 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Cartmel (parish), summit of Hampfell, 12 S.E. | Foundations | C. and W. viii. 264 |
| Ditto (parish), Hampfell Hall, 12 S.E. | Artificial mound, (?) barrow | St. 474 |
| Ditto (parish), Holker Bank, 17 N.W. | Heaps of stones, circle of loose stones | St. 254 |
| Ditto (parish), Hoshara Hill, 17 N.W. | Heaps of stones | St. 254 |
| Colton (near), Bethercar Moor, 7 N.E. | Scoriae (Bloomery) | Information |
| Coniston Hall, field called "The Spring," and in Old Deer Park, 4 N.E. | Mounds of scoriae (Bloomeries) | C. and W. viii. 87 |
| Coniston Lake (near), Bethercar Moor, 14 miles east of Water Park, 7 N.E. | Cairn | O. S. |
| Ditto, at mouth of Moor Ghyll, Torver Back Common, 4 S.E. | Heaps of scoriae (Bloomery) | C. and W. viii. 86 |
| Ditto, Nappingtree, near Hoathwaite, 4 S.E. | Scoriae (Bloomery) | C. and W. viii. 86 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Earthworks—cont.</i> | | |
| Coniston Lake (near), west of the foot of, near Stable Harvey Moss, 7. N.W. | Cairn | O. S. |
| Coniston, Scrow Moss, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of the copper mines, 4 N.E. | Walled enclosure | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| Ditto, Foul Scrow, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of copper mines, 4. N.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Cartmel (parish) | Neolithic and bronze implements | St. 250, 255 |
| Ditto, Aynsome? 12. S.E. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. viii. 266 |
| Ditto, Aynsome Lane, 12. S.E. | Urn and bone ashes | St. 251 |
| Ditto (parish), Ayside, Newby Bridge, 12. N.E. | Neolithic implements | A. S. I. 178; C. and W. viii. 266 |
| Ditto, new burial ground, Dec. 1889, 17. N.E. | Urn and bone ashes | Personal knowledge |
| Ditto (parish), Yew Tree Field, Allithwaite, 1834, 17. E. | Sepulchral urn | Lanc. iv. 718; R. L. 215 |
| Ditto, Kirkhead, near Allithwaite, 17. S.E. | Cavern, neolithic implements, bones, pottery | Barb. 12 |
| Ditto, Cark, 17. W. | Bronze celts and miscellaneous objects, Roman coin | A. B. I. 168; A. J. xxv. 324 |
| | Neolithic implements | C. and W. ix. 203 |
| | | Lanc. and Chesh. Ant. Soc. v. 327 |
| | | St. 250 |
| Cartmel (parish) Town dykes at Flookburgh, 17. S.W. | Neolithic implements | C. and W. viii. 265 |
| Ditto (parish), Flookburgh, 17. S.W. | Bronze palstaves | C. and W. ix. 203 |
| Colton, Rusland, 8. W. | Neolithic implement | |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Cartmel (parish) | Miscellaneous antiquities | Lanc. iv. 717 |
| Ditto, Broughton, 12. S.E. | Coin | Lanc. iv. 718; R. L. 243 |
| Ditto, Castlehead, 13. S.W. | Stronghold, coins, miscellaneous objects | Lanc. iv. 717; St. 204; Barb. 21; R. L. 215 |
| Ditto, near Walton Hall, Upper Holker, 17. N. | Hoard of coins in pot | Lanc. iv. 717; St. 244 |
| | | R. L. 234 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Cartmel, Castlehead, 13. S.W. | Coins (styca) | Lanc. iv. 717; St. 4. 204 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Dalton, churchyard, 16. S.W. | Remains of fosse and rampart, supposed Roman camp | Lanc. ix. 660; W. F. 343; R. L. 216 |

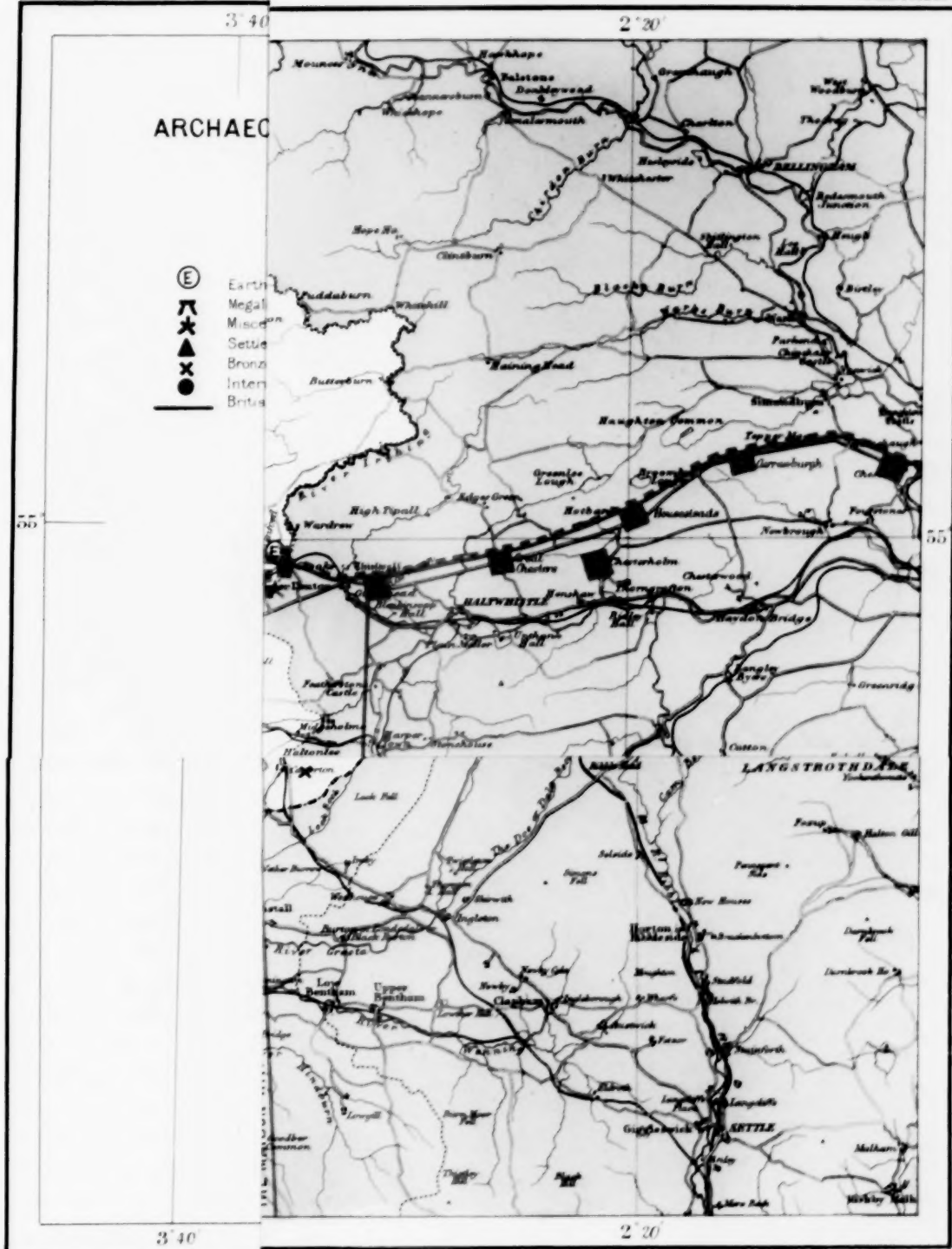
| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|--|------------------------------|
| Earthworks.— <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Dunmerdale Cuckleybeck Fell, a little below Trongate | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| Dunmerdale Fell, 2½ miles north of Broughton in Furness, 6. N.E. | Settlement, stone wall enclosures and cairns, standing stone | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| Ditto, 3 miles north of Broughton in Furness, 6 N.E. | Large heap of scoriae (Bloomery) | C. and W. viii. 86, iii. 254 |
| Dunmerdale Fells, between Stanton Ground and Hollow Moss, 3 S.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Dalton, Black Hagg (half a mile west), 15. S.E. | Copper ? weapons | W. F. 345 |
| Dalton (parish) Landale, 16. S.W. | Neolithic implement | A. xxxi. 452 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Dalton, Elliscliffe, 16. S.W. | Coins and skeletons | Lanc. iv. 667 |
| Ditto (Goldmire), May, 1893, 15. S.E. | Paved road | W. F. 9 R. L. 216 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Furness (exact locality unknown) | Bronze armlet | Personal knowledge |
| Ditto | Bronze celt | Personal knowledge |
| Grange-over-Sands, 17. N.W. | Neolithic implement | Personal knowledge |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Grange-over-Sands, Merlewood, 17. N.E. | Bone Cave, with Northumbrian stycas and Roman pottery | C. and W. xii. 277 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Hawkshead Hall, High Park, 3. N.W. | Rampart | C. and W. ix. 201 |
| Hawkshead (parish), Monk Coniston Moor, 5. N.W. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Hawkshead (parish), Bank Ground, on east side of Coniston Lake, 4. N.E. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. ix. 204 |
| Ditto, Borwick Ground, 1891, 2. S.W. | Neolithic implement | Personal knowledge |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---|--|
| Pre-Roman — <i>cont.</i> | | |
| Cheniston Lake, the Castle (or Yewfield Castle), 2. S.W. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. ix. 263 |
| Hawkshead Hall Estate, the Frith, 5. N.W. | Cairn with interment and flint knife | C. and W. ix. 262, 497-8; Proc. S. A. 2 S. xi. 229 |
| Hawkshead (parish), Syke Side, 2. S. W. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. ix. 264 |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Hawkshead (parish) | Coin | Personal knowledge |
| Ditto, east side of Satter- thwaite, 5. S.W. | Road (supposed Roman) | Lanc. iv. 704; A. J. xxv. 337; R. L. 85 |
| POST ROMAN. | | |
| Hawkshead, Out Dubs, foot of Esthwaite Lake, 5. S.W. | Six felt hoods (date uncertain) | C. and W. ix. 265 Proc. S. A. 2 S. xi. 231 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Kirkby, Ashlack Hall, 11. N.W. | Scoriae (Bloomery) | C. and W. viii. 91 |
| Kirkby (parish), Coal Ash, Grizebeck, 11. N.W. | Remains of enclosure | Barb. 20 |
| Ditto, High Haume, near Ireleth, 16. W. | Mound and Neolithic implements | Lanc. iv. 691; Barb. 20; W. F. 345; L. M. iii. 383; A. xxxi. 453 |
| Kirkby Ireleth (parish), Heathwaite and Woodland Fells, Tottlebank Moss, Stone Rings, Great Burney, 7. S.W. | Settlement and Cemeteries. Large and small walled enclosures, cairns, pits, platforms, whetstone | Barb. 24 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Kirkby Ireleth, Heathwaite | Interments, with fragment of a stone ring | A. xxxi. 452 |
| Ditto, Fell; Kirkby Moor, near Gill-house Beck, 11. N.W. | Remains of stone circle, cairn, fist, neolithic weapon | A. xxxi. 450; Barb. 23 |
| Ditto (parish), High Haume, 16. W. | Neolithic implements | L. M. iii. 383; Lanc. iv. 690; Barb. 20 |
| Ditto, near Ireleth Mill, 16. N.W. | Urns | Barb. 30 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Lowick, Goathwaite Moor, 11. N.W. | Ring mound | Barb. 23 |
| PRE ROMAN | | |
| Lowick, near Knapperthaw, 11. N.E. | Remains of megalithic circle | Barb. 23 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
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| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Pennington, The Castle Hill, 16. N. W. | Moated enclosure | Lanc. iv. 669; Whit. ii. 404; W. F. 407 |
| Ditto, Ella Barrow, and Coninger Wood, 16 N. W. | Mound (tumulus?) | Lanc. iv. 671; W. F. 408; A. xxxi. 452 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Page Bank, between Leece and Rampside, 22 S. W. | Bronze dagger | Personal knowledge |
| Pennington, The Castle Hill, 16. N. W. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. ix. 503 |
| POST-ROMAN. | | |
| Pennington, Coninger Hurst, 16. N. W. | Tomb, sword (period uncertain) | Barb. 20 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Rusland and Graythwaite (be- tween), Cinder Hill, 8. N. W. | Scoriae (Bloomery) | Information |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Rampside Churchyard, near Barrow, 22. S. W. | Neolithic implement | Lanc. and Chesh. Ant. Soc. v. 328 |
| Roose, near Barrow-in-Furness, 21. E. | Cairn with interment and urns | A. J. iii. 68 |
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Seathwaite, Long House Close, half mile east of Tongue House, 4. N. W. | Walled enclosures | C. and W. iii. 25 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Stainton, on south side of road between Stainton and Dalton, 16. S. W. and 22. N. W. | Sepulchral urns and a bronze weapon | Fur. ii. 37 |
| Ditto, near Dalton (Urs- wick parish), 22. N. W. | Urn | Barb. 31 |
| Ditto, near Dalton, 22 N. W. | Two stone celts and an iron implement, found in an old iron working | Barb. 31 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where recorded. |
|--|--|--|
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Torver, Bleaberry Haws, 4. S.W. | Rampart, ring mound, small stone circle, cairns | C. and W. iii. 254, ix. 499 |
| Ditto, Hare Crag, three-quarters of mile west of Little Arrow Farm, 4. S.E. | Ring mound | Personal knowledge |
| Ditto, Low Common, one mile west of mouth of Torver Beck, 4. S.E. | Cairns | C. and W. iii. 254 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Torver, 4. S.E. | Neolithic implement | C. and W. ix. 203 |
| Ditto, Bleaberry Haws, 4. S.W. | Cairns, cist, flint flakes, pottery, bone instrument, interments | C. and W. ix. 502 |
| EARTHWORKS. | | |
| Ulverston (Mount Barrow), 16. N.E. | Tumulus | Lanc. iv. 686; W. F. 9 |
| Ditto (parish), Osmotherly Common, 11. S. | Enclosure (now destroyed) | R. L. 226 Barb. 20 |
| Urswick, Holme Bank Estate, 16. S.E. | Camp, near Appleby Slack, Birkrigg | Barb. 20 |
| Ditto (Little), "The Stone Walls," 16. S.W. | Rectangular and circular wall foundations | Lanc. iv. 652; W. F. 396; Barb. 17; C. and W. iii. xxvii.; A. xxxi. 449 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Ulverston, 16. N.E. | Neolithic implement | Peel Park Mus. Manchester; C. and W. ix. 204 |
| Ditto | Neolithic implement | Personal knowledge |
| Urswick (Little), near "The Stone Walls," 16. S.W. | Bronze instrument, sword (?), rings | Barb. 18; C. and W. iii. xxvii. |
| ROMAN. | | |
| Ulverston, in the town and below the mill, 16. N.E. | Coins | Lanc. iv. 686 |
| Ditto, Red Lane, near Mountbarrow, formerly called "The Street," March 7, 1774. 16 | Paved road | Lanc. iv. 686; W. F. 9; C. and W. iii. 71; R. L. 85 |
| Ditto, near Conishead, 16. E. | Coin found c. 1800 | Evans; Furness and Furness Abbey (1842), 119 W. F. 9 |
| Urswick (parish), under Bardsea Park wall, 16. S.W. | Pavement | |
| Ditto (Little), 1798, 16. S.W. | Coin | Lanc. iv. 651; W. F. 10 |

| Locality. | Nature of Discovery. | Where Recorded. |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| EARTHWORK. | | |
| Woodlands, between Broughton and Coniston, 7. W. | Mounds of scoriae (Bloomery) | C. and W. viii. 86 |
| PRE-ROMAN. | | |
| Woodlands, Bridgend, and Nether Bolton Farms, 7. N.W. | Neolithic implements | Personal knowledge |
| Wray, High (near Ambleside), 2. S.E. | Neolithic implements | C. and W. ix. 204 |



Prepared by permission from the Ordnance Survey

London: Stanford's (Map) Estate

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND AND LANCASHIRE NORTH OF THE SANDS.

Scale of Eng. Miles

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

PRE-ROMAN



- Earthworks, ramparts, ditches, &c.
- Megaliths, Remains of stone circles, &c.
- Settlements, Enclosures, &c.
- Stone weapons, &c.
- Interments, &c.
- British workings

ROMAN

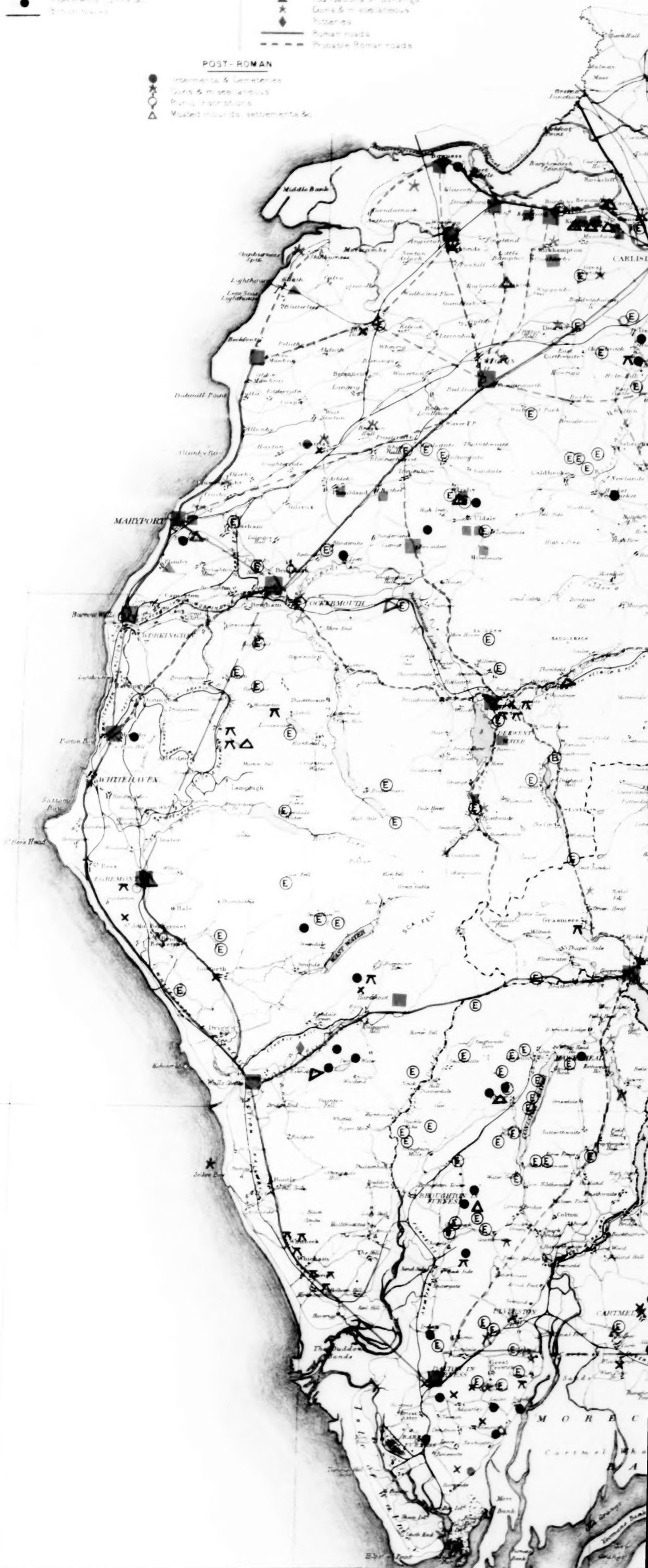


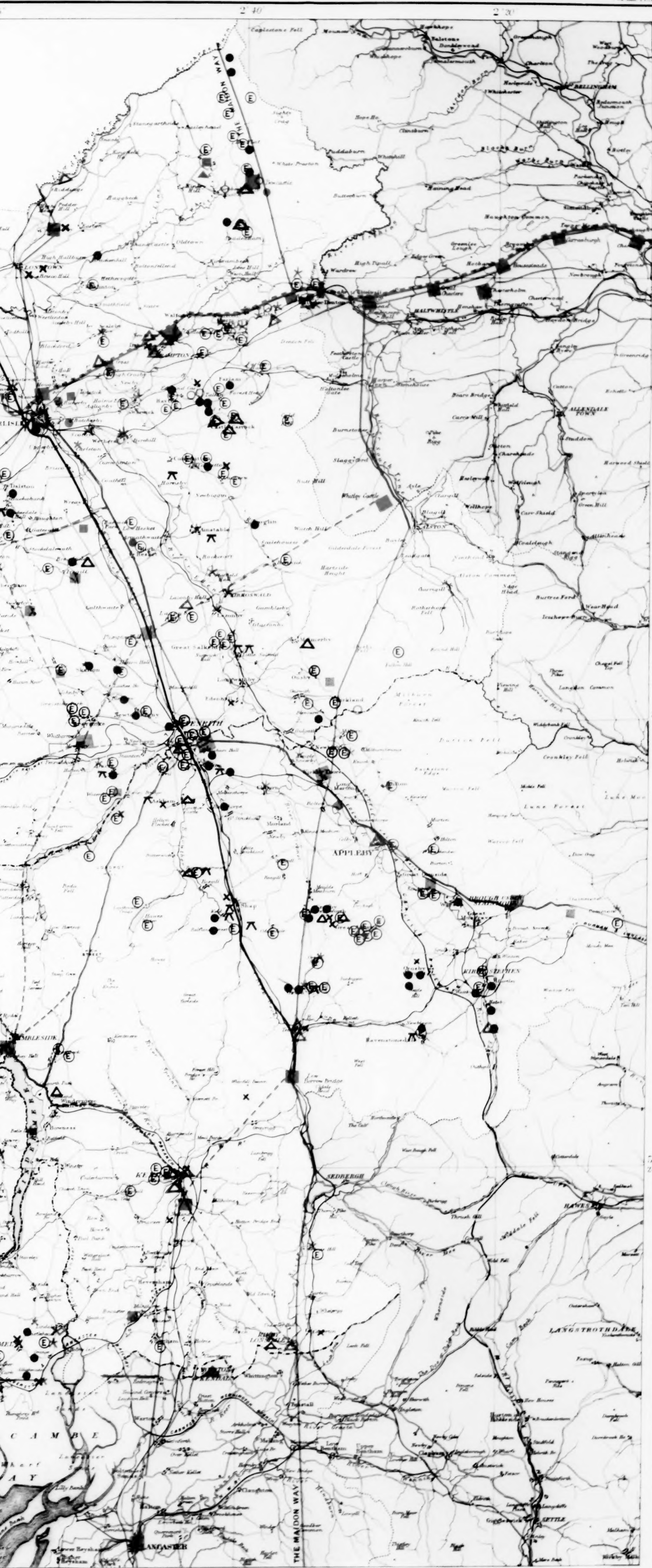
- Walls, &c.
- Castles
- Inscribed Rocks
- Interments & Cemeteries
- Foundations of buildings
- Coins & miscellaneous
- Pottery
- Roman roads
- Probable Roman roads

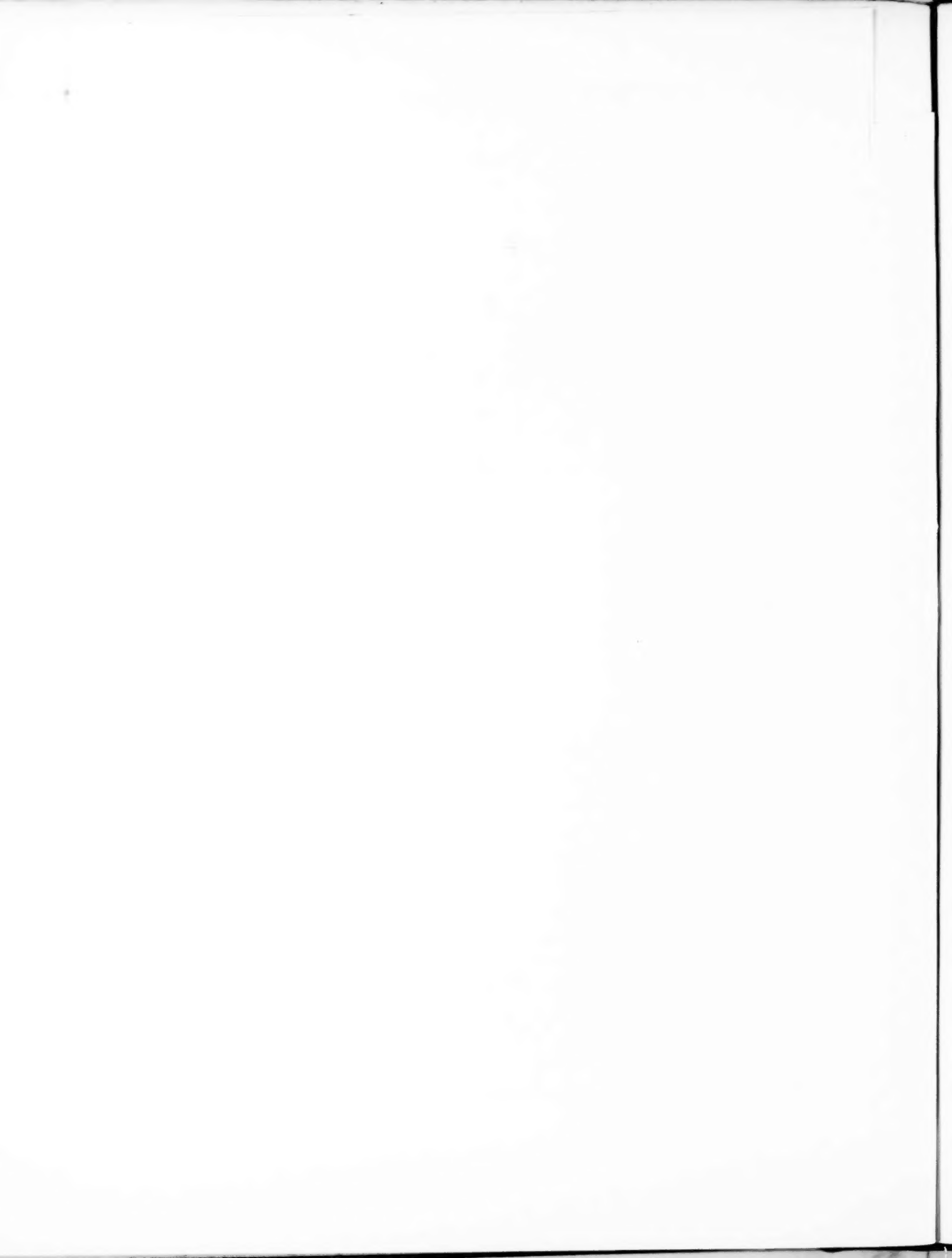
POST-ROMAN



- Interments & Cemeteries
- Coins & miscellaneous
- Runic inscriptions
- Matted mounds, settlements, &c.







XXII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1892.* By
GEORGE E. FOX, Esq., F.S.A., and W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.,
Assistant-Secretary.

Read February 23 and March 2, 1893.

WE have the honour to bring before the meeting to-night the record of the third year's excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester.

The work achieved during the course of the past year has been:

1. The thorough examination of the entire square, *Insula IV.*, of which the *forum* and *basilica* form the greater part. This has produced a larger variety of objects from the trenches and rubbish pits on its northern side than has ever previously been found, and has brought to light at its south-eastern angle evidence of exceptional importance as to the existence of Christianity in the city.

2. The working out of portions of *Insulae V.* and *VI.* These lie directly east of *Insula IV.*, and are covered, with the exception of a narrow strip on the western side, by the pasture land attached to the farm. As the hedge bounding this land runs at only a short distance from *Insula IV.*, it was thought well to excavate quite up to it. By so doing we were enabled to trace the line of street forming the eastern side of the *forum Insulae*.

3. A commencement was made upon the large *Insula* No. VII. lying due south of *Insula IV.* Here a house of some size and importance was found not far from the north-west corner, which appeared to be connected with that described by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., in *Archaeologia*, Vol. I. It showed curious traces of alterations and rebuildings that render its plan peculiarly confused and intricate. It has yet to be studied and elucidated.

4. A considerable portion of ground to the north of the baths was trenched, and such discoveries as were made recorded.

5. A thorough examination of the system of drainage of the baths themselves

was carried out, and produced interesting results. The excavations showed the manner in which the waste water from the different chambers was utilised to flush the drains and sewers. These were traced for some distance to a singularly constructed sluice-gate in the city wall. The system of drainage has been planned and possibly a model will be made of the gate.

The account of these discoveries, together with those in *Insula VII.*, and in the land north of the baths will form the substance of a report to be communicated to the Society at a later date. In the present paper it is proposed to deal only with the explorations conducted in *Insulae IV., V. and VI.*

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE *FORUM* AND *BASILICA*.

By GEORGE E. FOX, F.S.A.

In describing the discoveries of the past season, it will be best to begin with *Insula IV.*, that which contains the *forum* and *basilica* of the Roman city.

Between the years 1867 and 1873, the Rev. J. G. Joyce, F.S.A., whose explorations at Silchester are well known, excavated the buildings constituting this group, and gave an account of his discoveries in papers contributed to *Archæologia*.^a

But his account, although an admirable and important contribution to our knowledge of the site, was not of a sufficiently detailed character, as to the different structures, to entirely satisfy the requirements of the present time. The minor objects of antiquity received, perhaps, somewhat undue attention, and so little value was placed on the architectural remains of both *forum* and *basilica*, that they were for the most part left by their discoverer to perish from exposure to rain and frost on the spot where they were turned up in the excavations. No adequate plans were published of the buildings, nor were sufficient illustrations given of their remains.

Under such circumstances it has been deemed advisable to properly plan the *basilica* and *forum*, whose foundations, left exposed since their discovery five and twenty years ago, are becoming less and less distinct year by year, and also to gather together the architectural fragments still visible, unhappily far too few, and place them with the other collections at Reading, thus rendering them easily available for study.

The results of our work on this portion of the city have now to be described.

^a Vol. XLVI. p. 349 *et seq.*

The *forum* and *basilica* occupy, as has been said, the greater portion of *Insula* IV. (See plan, Plate XLI.) A space 96 feet wide by 386 feet long lies to the north of the compact mass of buildings, and between it and a street on the south is a similar space of the same length but 128 feet wide. On the east a third space occurs, with a length of 278 feet and a width of 76 feet, divided from *Insulae* V. and VI. by a street running north and south. On the west side, the *basilica* and its dependencies abut on the great main street running from the north to the south gate.

The *forum* proper consists of an open area about 142 feet long from north to south, by 130 feet wide from east to west. On three sides, north, east, and south, this area is lined by ambulatories; the west side is bounded by the wall of the *basilica*, and here the ambulatory is wanting. Behind the ambulatories, and sheltered by them, lies a line of chambers, mostly rectangular in plan, but with some amongst them notably differing from that form. External to all occurs another ambulatory, which surrounds not only the *forum* but the *basilica* and its dependencies also, being broken, perhaps, by the projection of the north and south ends of the latter building. Thus it will be seen that the various offices and chambers of the *forum* lie between two lines of ambulatories, an inner and an outer one.

The roofs of these ambulatories were, presumably, supported by columns. The sleeper or foundation walls to uphold such supports exist, and the bases of columns have been found, such as would be placed on these walls.

One of these, an Attic base, discovered on the line of the sleeper wall of the outer ambulatory close to the north-east angle of the *basilica*, is figured on Plate XXXVII. fig. 3, and Plate XXXIX. fig. 13. Although lying near its proper position (*i.e.* on the wall), it was not *in situ*. A fragment of a Doric capital, found in the *forum*, which, from the agreement of its size with its base may have belonged to one of the columns of the ambulatories, is also figured on Plate XXXVII. fig. 2. Pieces of drums fitting these bases have been dug up in the *forum*.

The foundation wall of the colonnade of the ambulatory, though traced in its entire circuit, is now in great part buried under the foot of the spoil heaps thrown up in the excavation of the *forum*. But the supporting rubble foundation for the columns of the inner ambulatory that formed the boundary of the open area has remained uncovered since it was first dug out.

A careful examination of this wall on the north and south sides of the *forum* area showed that at intervals of 14 feet 5 inches from centre to centre there were

either masses of ashlar lying upon and built into it, or gaps in its surface, now filled with earth, from which similar ashlar work had been extracted. The natural inference from these facts was, that the masses of stone with the alternating gaps showed the places where once stood the columns forming the colonnade of the north and south ambulatories. If, therefore, 14 feet 5 inches be taken as representing the distance from centre to centre of the columns, and the diameter of the shafts at 1 foot 10 inches or 1 foot 11 inches as given by the existing bases, an intercolumniation of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ diameters will be the result. Such a space between the points of support was far too wide to be bridged by stone architraves, and the conclusion inevitably follows that these were of timber, as well as the other portions of the entablature supported by them.

The irregular way in which these columns are set out in relation to the divisions of the buildings behind them is noteworthy of remark, but classical examples may be found in which the dispositions are almost as irregular. It is possible that the inner ambulatory of the *forum* was rebuilt at a late date, as fragments of the bases of large columns with mortar adhering to them, such as might have adorned the principal gateway, were dug out from the rubbish of the foundation walls (Plate XXXIX. fig. 15).

The height of the columns, including base, shaft, and capital, could scarcely have been less than 15 feet 6 inches. The width of the inner ambulatories was 16 feet. The outer ambulatories had an average width of 12 feet 6 inches, but the ambulatory which lines the great street on the west was 15 feet wide.

The columns on the inner ambulatories, as has been noticed, stood on massive stones which rested on or were partly incorporated with the rubble supporting wall. The outer edges of these stones towards the open area formed a curb, and were joined together by other stones, making the curb a continuous step from 9 to 12 inches in depth towards that area. A certain number of these curb stones are lying in the south ambulatory, where perhaps one is still *in situ*. The floor of the ambulatories was doubtless laid flush with the curb stones, which showed as a border to it. In all probability this floor was of brick, or laid with *opus signinum*, for there still remains at the west end of the north ambulatory some cement base. Elsewhere, both in the ambulatories and in the chambers, not a vestige of flooring remains.

Hitherto the description given has had reference more particularly to the inner north and south ambulatories, but that forming the east side requires special notice. It is longer than the other two, and its colonnade was compli-

cated by the insertion of some structure of the description of a triumphal arch, forming the main entrance into the area of the *forum*. A massive substructure of rubble concrete 41 feet long and 5 feet wide breaks the line of this inner colonnade, and a similar mass 49 feet long by 5 feet wide, ranging with it, equally interrupts the outer one. These masses of foundation are not placed in the centre of this side of the *forum*, but about 5 feet to the south. This divergence from symmetry in the plan was probably caused by an enclosure to accommodate the main entrance to the direction of a principal street which ran in a straight line up to this point from the east gate.

A spacious vestibule appears to have been constructed between these masses of foundation, interrupting the line of chambers lying between the two ambulatories. If it was adorned with columns, which is possible (for the base of one of a simpler character than those already mentioned was dug up here); it must have formed with the gateways a handsome entrance to the *forum*.

Conjecture as to the superstructure supported by the masses of concrete on the line of the colonnade of the inner ambulatory would be idle, but some sort of hint is afforded by certain footings attached to the outer foundation, which seem to imply that the gateway erected here, facing down one of the principal streets of the city, had some architectural pretensions, and was decorated with columns and other features. A base of Attic character, evidently originally attached to a wall, and showing part of a shaft 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, lay in the *forum* (Plate XXXIX, fig. 12). It might have formed a part of this gateway, for it was too small to have been one of the columns from the *basilica*. Nor is it impossible that the most perfect of the Doric capitals unearthed by Mr. Joyce at the south gate of the city and figured in our first report on Silchester* may have served as the capital to some shaft decorating this entrance. It had certainly been used as the capital of some half-column, and did not belong to the south gate, where it was found with other architectural fragments.

To return for a moment to the plan of the inner east ambulatory, the colonnade of which was interrupted by one of the gateways. From the massive foundations of the latter to the southern end all the stones which once supported the columns have been swept away, but between the gateway and the northern end occur three heavy masses of ashlar of different forms, lying at regular intervals upon the line of the foundation wall. They have scarcely the appearance of supports to columns, and if the spacing of these latter was arranged in some different

* *Archæologia*, lxi, pl. xxxii.

way from that employed in the north and south colonnades, it might be surmised that these fragments of ashlar formed the groundwork of pedestals of statues or other monuments, and that the largest and most northern of the three might be the remains of steps to a tribune in the north-east corner of the *forum* area. But all here is a matter of conjecture.

The *forum* area was trenched but not excavated by Mr. Joyce, who regretted that he could not entirely clear it. At the same time he noted that his trenches revealed nothing of interest. A considerable portion of this area was examined last year with the hope of finding fragments of inscriptions, and the pedestals or remains of statues, and also to ascertain the method of drainage. In both instances that hope was not fulfilled, though some curious facts came to light. No remains of statues or inscriptions were found, nor any gutter stones or drains along the lines of the colonnade. The trenches, however, showed that the whole area, like the streets, had been covered by a mass of gravel over 2 feet in thickness, whose upper surface lay from 9 to 12 inches below the floors of the surrounding ambulatories. Beneath this gravel was a mortar bed 5 inches thick. It seemed as if there had been an intention to floor the area in a more solid manner than it was found possible afterwards to carry out. This fact may partly account for the barrenness of the soil in objects of interest. The surface layer, about 2 feet thick, overlying the gravel was full of *débris* of brick, but contained scarcely anything else. Two pits or wells were found in the area. One near the north-east angle, about 15 feet deep, appeared to have been stoned with flints, but this could not be ascertained with accuracy. Many flints were found in the bottom, also a fragment or two of coarse pottery, an iron *stylus*, and some bones, principally of dog, though there were some of sheep, and one of pig.

The second pit was not far from the middle of the area. It had the same depth as the first and seemed to contain traces of wooden framing. The only objects found in it were two jaw-bones of an ox. It is evident that these pits could have been sunk only at the latest period of the city's existence, when the *forum* was probably already in a ruined condition.

Whatever the method of drainage may have been (and on this point Mr. Joyce gives us no information nor does he record any discoveries), there was no doubt as to the manner in which the water was carried away from the area. A depression in the ground between the foundations of the gateways on the east side of the *forum* indicated the presence of a drain at this spot. Excavation showed that its course to the street outside lay in the centre line of the gateways, and that it terminated in the roadway just in front of the great entrance. This termination

FIG. 1

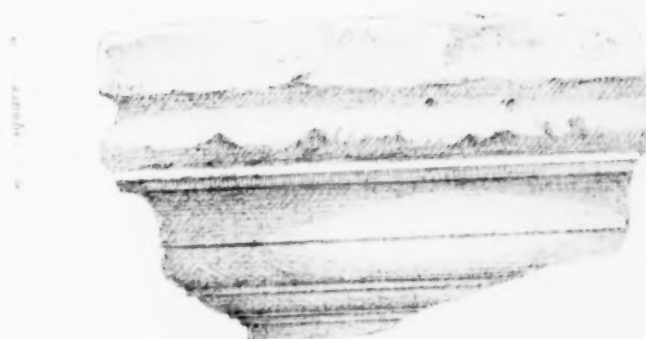
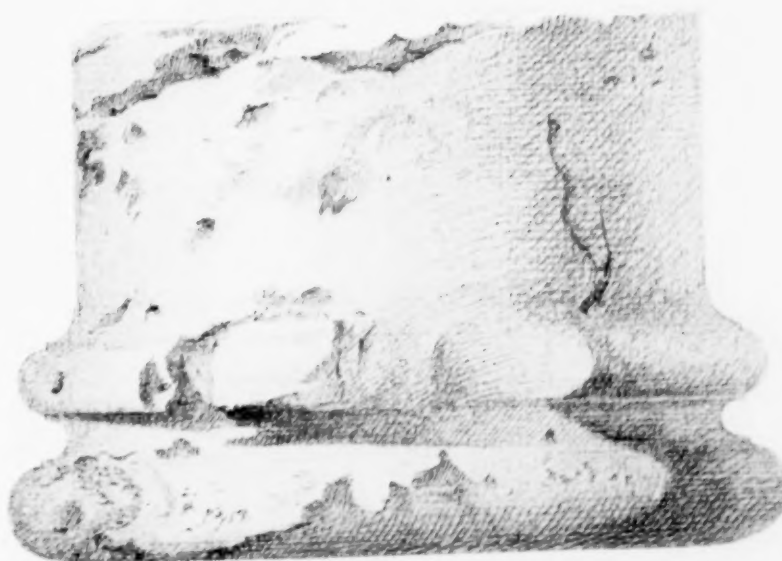


FIG. 2

FIG. 3



Scale of 12" 0 2 4 6 8 10 Feet

George E. Fox del 1893

was formed by a large stone^a having in it a rudely cut semi-circular hole 15 inches high and 17½ inches wide, slightly splayed inwards. The drain coming from the *forum* area and ending in this manner was 2 feet 9 inches square, and formed of massive stones of varying dimensions. From the measurements given it will be seen that it was of considerable capacity. Its depth from the floor of the ambulatory above was 3 feet 5 inches.

Outside the stone with the semi-circular aperture in it the drain was continued down the street running eastwards from the *forum* as a trench in the roadway, roughly 2 feet deep and of the same width. When found this trench was filled with loose stones and rubbish. This seems to point to the fact that the actual drain was of wood, which has long since perished. It was traced, with the street in which it ran, as far as the hedge of the pasture land east of the *forum*. Similar trenches have been noticed running down the middle of other streets, and this is apparently the only system of drainage employed in the city.

Before passing to other matters it may be noted that the base of the column (Plate XXXIX. fig. 14) was found lying loose in the soil, near the head of the stone drain.

Having described the area, the gateways, and the ambulatories of the *forum*, it is necessary now to deal with the ranges of buildings lying between the ambulatories. A reference to the plan (Plate XL.) will show that these ranges^b are divided by cross walls into a number of chambers, for the most part rectangular. On the south side, however, are two apsidal chambers alternating with square ones. The eastern of the two has a width of 23 feet 3 inches; the western is a foot broader, and both are 27 feet deep. What were these chambers? From the position they occupy it does not seem likely that they were temples. It is more probable that, with the three square rooms with which they alternate they were used by the governing body of the city as offices of some sort, or courts connected with the *forum*.

A more interesting question is, what were these apsidal chambers like when complete?

To form any clear idea of their original state the method of lighting them must be determined. This once settled, all else will follow.

The fragments of the columns of the ambulatories indicate for them a height of about 15 feet 6 inches, and a definite measurement gives the width of the inner

^a This stone was 3 feet 6 inches wide, 2 feet 9 inches high, and 6 feet 5 inches thick.

^b These ranges of chambers are 31 feet, 29 feet 6 inches, and 32 feet 6 inches wide on the north, east, and south sides respectively.

ambulatories at 19 feet from the wall to the curbstone of the area, the measurement of the outer ambulatories being somewhat less. So great a width would render it impossible to light the chambers in question in any adequate way from the ambulatory, even supposing that they opened widely upon it. The alternative course therefore suggests itself of their being lighted from above, and the way of doing this has now to be considered.

Taking the height of the ambulatory columns, and adding as much to it as may be necessary for a cornice or entablature and for the slope of the roof, a height of more than 26 feet will be the result, and this before room for window openings can be obtained. If space for these latter be added the ceilings of the chambers would be raised to a height quite disproportionate to their known width and breadth.

Again, a reference to the plan will show that the axes of the chambers in question are perpendicular to the *forum* area, their apses being at the end opposite to that area. The semi-domes of the apses, the height of the roof line of the outer ambulatory, and the abutment of the roof of the adjoining chambers east and west, render it impossible to place windows on any side except the north, and here a sloping roof to the inner ambulatory would be in the way.

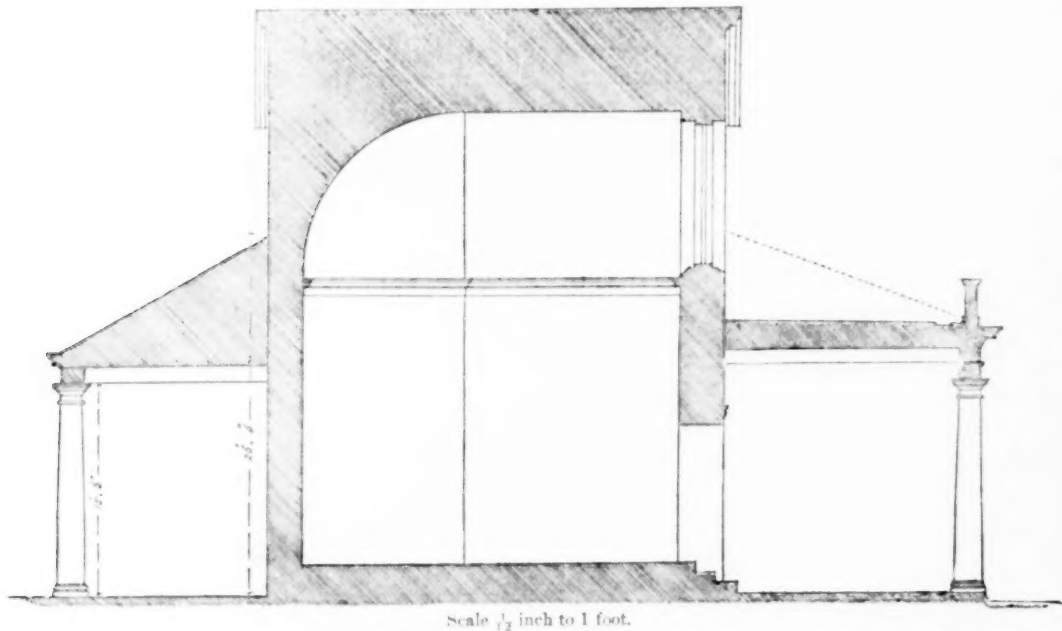


Fig. 1. Diagram showing probable way of lighting the apsidal chambers of the *forum* at Silchester.

Taking all these obstacles into account, it will be found that one course only is open by which they may be overcome, and that is by giving the inner ambulatory a terraced roof. (See section, fig. 1.) The apsidal chambers would then present gables to the *forum* with, possibly, semi-circular windows in them following the line of the vaults, for it is presumed that the chambers would be vaulted. The alternating rectangular rooms were roofed in a line parallel to the ambulatories, and would be lighted by square openings looking upon the terraced roof of the inner ambulatory. They would probably be filled with wooden frames to contain the glazing, after the usual fashion, certainly for important buildings during the Romano-British period. It has been thought advisable to go into some detail on the question of lighting as it is one having an important bearing on a large class of buildings in Britain from the first to the fifth century.

The ranges of building constituting the north and east sides of the *forum*, with some exceptions, are cut up into spaces nearly square in form, the largest of which measures 22 feet 9 inches by 24 feet 10 inches. It is quite possible that these were shops.^a Their discoverer, Mr. Joyce, not only called them so, but endeavoured to identify the trade carried on in each by the objects dug up in them.

Without going as far as this, but granting the probability of these enclosures being shops, the difficulty of lighting them, as with the offices or courts, again arises. This difficulty is not, however, so great as on the south side, for it is quite probable that the shops fronted both ambulatories, and thus had a through light. The shops at the north-east and south-east corners could, according to the plan, only open on the outer ambulatory.

It is conceivable that there was an upper story throughout to serve for storage or dwelling-places to the proprietors. The rooms in this story would be lit by grated and shuttered openings looking on to the terraced roof of the inner ambulatory, and access to them would be obtained by wooden stairs from the shops below. The shop fronts in the ambulatories possibly generally resembled the well-known examples in Pompeii and Rome; but from existing indications were perhaps more of the same character as the shops to be seen in the ruins of the little *forum* of the Montenegrin town of Doclea,^b with masonry counters ranging in the same line with the general face of the ambulatories, and showing at one end a narrow gap for entrance.

^a From the few hitherto found in the city, it might be conjectured that the *forum* would be well supplied with shops, more so than in towns where they constitute a more marked feature than they do at Calleva.

^b See a paper by M. Ch. Buls, in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, v. 189-192.

It should be noted that the walls of all three ranges of buildings were of flint rubble bonded with brick, and varying in thickness from 2 feet 3 inches to 3 feet 7 inches. They were quite capable of sustaining an upper story, as well as the heavy roof, which was covered either by large Roman tiles or hexagonal stone slabs. The roofs in all probability, on all three sides, showed a continuous ridge, broken only by the gateways and the gables of the apsidal chambers, and coinciding in height with the aisle roof of the *basilica*, against which they abutted at its north and south ends.

In the centre of the northern range one of the square chambers is divided by a cross wall, and has a recess in the west wall of each division. The northern recess was 5 feet wide and 2 feet 5 inches deep; the southern, 6 feet 5 inches wide, with the same depth as the other.

The next compartment to the west of this is more than half filled by an apse 15 feet 4 inches deep and 23 feet wide, opening on the inner ambulatory. The foundation wall crossing this opening is of sufficient width to have supported columns, as large as those of the colonnades, to uphold the architrave bridging the opening. This apse, if it was roofed by a semi-dome, may have been lighted from above, much in the same manner as the two apsidal chambers on the opposite side. It may, however, have been covered by a flat ceiling, but if so the arrangement would have been both ugly and dark. If the apse contained a statue, as is quite possible, a light from the top would have been a necessity. Perhaps we may look on this structure as an *eredra* due to the munificence of some prominent citizen or patron of the city.

Three more spaces yet demand description. Two abutting on the *basilica* at the ends of the north and south wings; one next the vestibule between the great entrance gateways. The former have much the appearance of subsidiary entrances to the *forum*. The doors to the *basilica* are situated at this end of the inner ambulatories, and these passages would serve as a ready means of access to either *basilica* or *forum* from the outside. The southern passage measures 26 feet 9 inches in length by 17 feet 4 inches in breadth, and has traces of the jambs of a doorway in its south wall. The northern passage is 1 foot 9 inches less in length and breadth than its fellow. A roadway led up to it from the main street on the north.

The last space remaining to be mentioned is that north of the vestibule between the main gateways on the east side. This has a length of 23 feet with a breadth of 7 feet 7 inches. From its proximity to the main entrance, and the great drain beneath it, it was at one time thought to have contained the latrines

of the *forum*, but excavations showed no signs of such use. If the inner ambulatory had a terraced roof, the stairs to it might with much likelihood be placed at this spot.

Having now completed the examination of the *forum*, it is time to take up the subject of the *basilica* attached to it.

This great building lies north and south, and occupies the whole width of the *forum*. Its eastern wall bounded the *forum* area; its western was lined by a range of chambers and halls, which were limited by the return of the outer ambulatory, that here borders the great street running from the north to the south gate of the city.

The *basilica* had the form of a long rectangular hall, 233 feet 6 inches in length by 58 feet in width. At each end was a semi-circular apse, 27 feet 9 inches wide by 18 feet 2 inches deep. The total internal length of the edifice amounted therefore to 269 feet 10 inches.

In the centre of the western side was another apse, 38 feet wide, segmental in form, and with its ends prolonged so as to give a depth of 33 feet 3 inches. It must have formed a quasi-transept. The floor of this apse is raised 2 feet 7 inches above that of the main hall, and access was obtained to it by a flight of three steps, originally extending the whole width of the opening. Some stones of this flight still remain, but have slipped forward on their foundations. The apses north and south had also raised floors at a level of 2 feet 5 inches above the main pavement. Instead, however, of being entered by the same arrangement of steps as in the central apse, the floors were carried forward as rectangular projections, making an addition of 5 feet 3 inches to the depth of each apse, and extending nearly its full width. These projections were supported by low walls 2 feet thick, doubtless supporting open balustrades or *cancelli*, and having at the ends steps giving access to the raised floors.

The fabric of the *basilica* and its dependencies is of two dates. The discoveries of Mr. Joyce established the fact that this great hall with its annexes had been burnt down at some period during the Roman rule impossible now to determine, but probably a late one. It seems, however, that the rebuilding was on the former lines, and that with the exception of alterations within the main walls of the *basilica*, the original plan was not departed from. Examination showed that the rubble masonry above the concrete foundations of the whole western range was of very poor character, not to be compared with that of the north or south apses, or the east wall of the *basilica*, which are all evidently parts of the older work. Fragments of this older work were also visible on the western

side. In the excavations made here a solid concrete foundation was come upon exactly similar to that found under the wall of the eastern side, where the masonry is of the older date, thus proving the reconstruction on the old lines.

The concrete foundation, which is in every instance of the same composition, in one place, at the south-west angle of the *basilica*, exhibited the impress of the first tile course on which the walls were erected. Like all the other buildings of the city, the walls consisted of flint rubble with bonding and lacing courses of tiles. The great east wall of the *basilica* had a thickness, at the floor level, of 5 feet, and was the most substantial and thickest piece of masonry on the site, probably on account of its unbuttressed length. The corresponding west wall was less in thickness, possibly from its having the abutment of the partition walls of the various chambers on this side.

These chambers must now be described. The western apse of the *basilica* occurs exactly in the centre of the range. The two divisions north and south of it are respectively 36 feet and 28 feet wide, being nearly square. The second and third on the south side are unequal in width, the most southern being the smaller. In this chamber was found the bronze eagle, probably rightly supposed by Mr. Joyce to have been a legionary one.^a

The most northern division was a fine hall 61 feet 7 inches long, which may have been used as a corn exchange or market of some kind, with its entrances from the main street through the western ambulatory. All the chambers here noted have the same breadth east and west, viz. 29 feet 6 in.

To return to the *basilica*. It is to be presumed that this great hall was covered by a wooden roof, as its walls were not calculated to sustain a vault. But a space of 58 feet, the width between the walls, would scarcely have been bridged by one roof at the period in which this building was erected. The problem to be solved is, therefore, what has been the internal arrangement of this great area. It is evident what that arrangement was in the second period of the building's existence, but less so in the first. The usual plan of a central nave, divided by colonnades from aisles on each side, is indicated by the position of the apses at each end, and excavations were undertaken to see if proofs of such a plan could be obtained. Such proofs would mainly consist in finding the remains of the sleeper walls of the colonnades.

With this end in view a first trench was dug close against the north wall. It revealed a solid platform of rubble 5 feet wide, close to that wall and on both

^a See *Archæologia* XLVI. 364.

sides of the apse. The western mass had no great depth and may have been part of the layers of a floor, but the corresponding one on the east went deep down. In these masses nothing could be detailed on either side of the apse to indicate the starting points of the foundation walls of the presumed colonnades. Three other trenches at intervals along the west side showed nothing, but a fourth, at a spot south of the centre, afforded better results, as a fragment of the wall could be traced.

A trench was then cut at the foot of the south wall, and here something definite was obtained. Masses of flint rubble appeared of much the same proportions as at the northern end, but a ragged projection of the western mass revealed the starting point of the sleeper wall on that side. At the same time, in the angle formed by this projection with the face of the rubble mentioned was a long groove showing where the setting-out stake for this wall had been planted. This groove was 9 feet 9 inches from the western wall and proved that the foundation of the colonnade started exactly from the springing point of the apse, as was to be expected.^a

No traces of the corresponding sleeper wall of the eastern colonnade could be found, but as the foundation wall for the colonnade or arcade of the later building lay close to its presumed position, it may have been destroyed when this latter was constructed.

Besides the evidence obtained by these excavations, and the inference to be drawn, from the position of the apses in the centre of each end, that this *basilica* had double colonnades, the corroborative facts may be cited, that in two important instances in this country this arrangement prevailed. The sleeper walls of similar colonnades exist in the *basilica* of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter); and in a like building discovered at Chester in 1863-4, a number of the bases of a double colonnade could be easily traced, some of which were *in situ*.

Taking it therefore for granted that the *basilica* of *Calleva* as first erected had a nave and aisles, the next task is to ascertain what, if any, remains exist of the superstructure, and what deductions may be drawn from them. Unhappily these are but scanty. They may have been more abundant when the site was first excavated, but in the space of five-and-twenty years exposure to the weather has

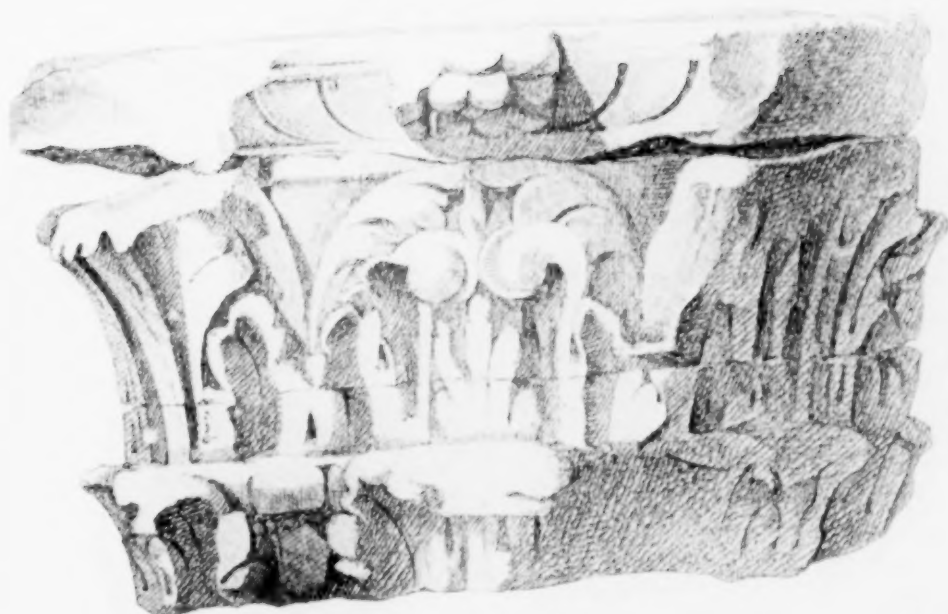
^a Traces of other setting-out points were found not far from this spot, one against the inner face of the south wall of the *basilica* at a point 19 feet west of its south-east angle, and another at the north-west angle of the passageway adjoining the *basilica*, in the southern range of buildings of the *forum*.

reduced many to shapeless masses from which no information can be drawn. Scattered, however, here and there within the area of the *basilica* were various fragments of shafts and bases and capitals, which from their size can only have been portions of the columns of the colonnades. From among these have been collected part of the lower and upper drums and pieces of the torus mouldings of



Fig. 2. Conjectural restoration of a capital from the colonnades of the *basilica* at Silchester.
($\frac{1}{4}$ linear or 1 inch = 9 inches.)

the base of one column. The lower drum shows a diameter of 2 feet 10 inches. The remains of a fine Corinthian capital unearthed in 1867 from this spot (Plate XXXVIII.), which after much exposure had found a resting place in the little museum on the site, added to the fragments mentioned, allow of a fairly



SIDE

VOLUTE

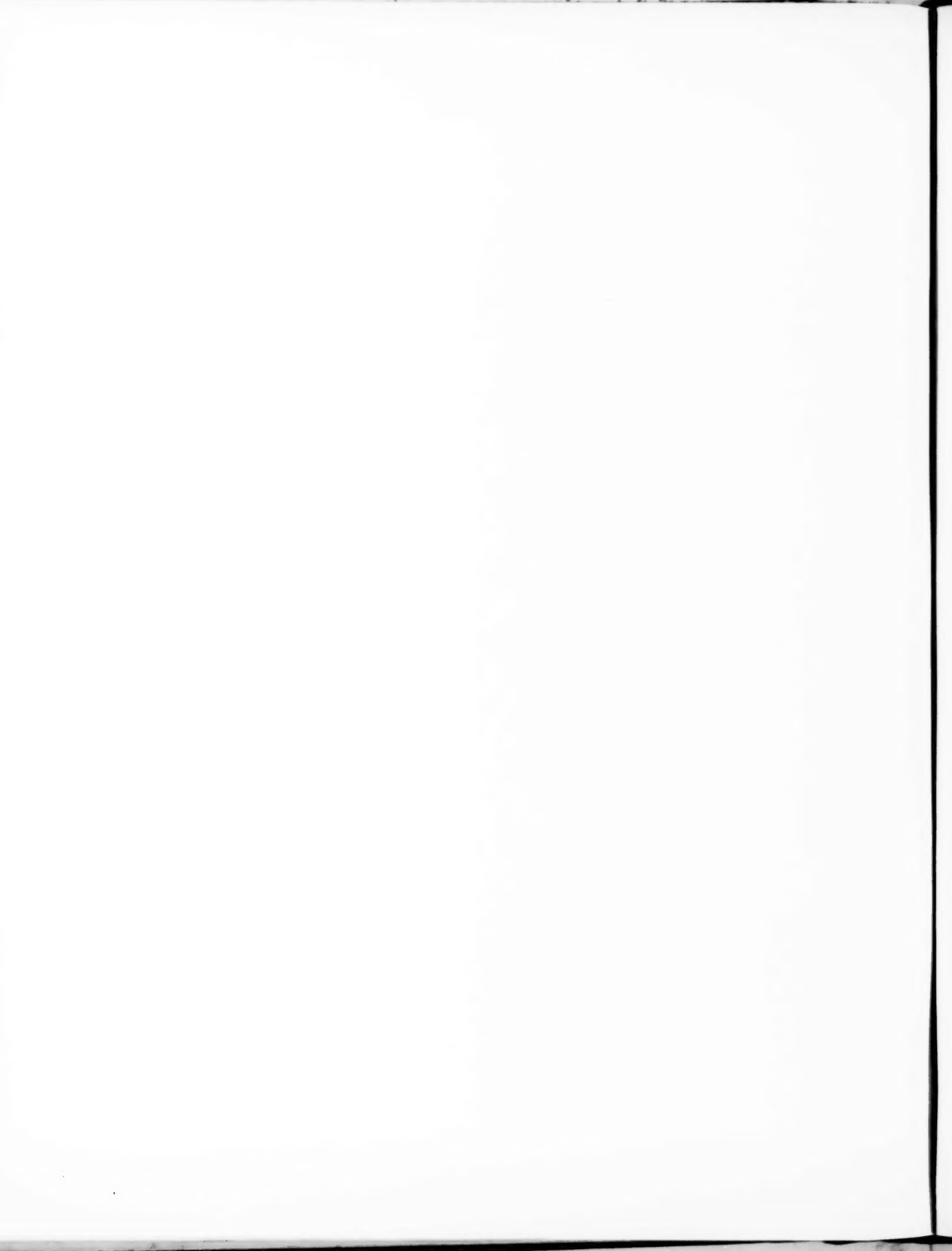


FRONT



George E. Fox del. 1895

SILCHESTER.—CAPITAL FROM THE BASILICA.



correct estimate being made of the height of the columns of the colonnades to which they all belonged. That height may be taken with some degree of certainty at 27 feet. If to this be added an entablature such as would have been supported by these columns, a height of 33 feet 9 inches is obtained. Again, in all likelihood the entablature would be carried round both the north and south apses, and if, as was most probably the case, the apses were covered with semi-domes, their altitude must be added to the previous measurements, thus making in all 47 feet. This height would not allow of sufficient wall space above the colonnades for windows, for it was only by means of a row of windows on each side, in fact a clerestory, that such a building could be effectively lighted. It follows then that the walls above the colonnades must have been raised sufficiently to meet this necessity. Taking all these measurements together, the nave of the *basilica*, from the floor to the tie-beams of its roof, which roof probably was hidden by a coffered ceiling, would have reached a height of about 57 feet. This would have been within 2 or 3 feet of twice the width of the nave. It may be mentioned, that the proportions of the width of the nave to the aisles is roughly that given for *basilicæ* by Vitruvius.

Another point, as important as any of the preceding, should be noticed, viz., the relation of the central apse to the body of the *basilica*. There can be no doubt that it opened in its full extent, certainly in the later period, upon the area, and must have been lighted from it, the surrounding buildings preventing its illumination in any other way. If this was the case, it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that a transept formed by the interruption of the aisles and colonnades was formed in the centre of the building. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. By it a flood of light could be admitted to the great apse from large windows in the opposite wall, and the floor space enlarged at a point where it would be much required.

It is clear, too, from the position of its three apses, that the building was never devoted to one purpose only. Each of the smaller apses, with a portion of the nave and aisles screened off in front of it, may have served the purpose of a court of justice; the central one, with a screen on the top line of its steps of ascent, as a *curia* for the governing body of the city, and the space in front of it, formed by the transept and part of the nave, as a place of assembly of the citizens on occasions of political importance. The position of the doors of the *basilica* tend further to strengthen this conjecture, as they are situated at the ends of the inner ambulatories of the *forum*, and open into the eastern aisle of the *basilica* at a short distance from the north and south apses. There is no doubt of

their position, for although the southern one can scarcely be traced, a portion of the threshold of the northern one still remains in place.

Thus far the *basilica* and its annexes, in their earlier state, have been under consideration. Their later one must now claim our attention.

It is impossible to say at what period the partial destruction of this great mass of buildings took place; but, judging from the badness of the masonry in the reconstruction, and the clumsy planning of the single re-erected colonnade or arcade, the reconstruction must have taken place at a comparatively late period of the Roman rule.

The halls and chambers on the western side appear to have arisen again on the old foundations; but the interior of the *basilica* received considerable modification. The western colonnade was not rebuilt. Its sleeper wall even seems to have been rooted up. The eastern colonnade shared the same fate. Then after this clean sweep of all the internal arrangements, the foundation wall, 4 feet 6 inches wide, of a new colonnade or arcade was laid on the eastern side at a distance of 15 feet 2 inches from the east wall. On this was erected the new colonnade, which was in all probability composed of such columns of the old building as may have escaped destruction, and thus the width of the *basilica* was redivided into one wide nave with a single aisle on its eastern side. The sleeper wall of this later colonnade yet exists unbroken in its entire length, and lying bedded upon it, near the south end, is a solitary stone, the only one left of the long line that formed a solid continuous base for the columns to stand upon. The upper surface of this slab gives the floor-level of the altered *basilica*.

It will be seen by a reference to the plan (Plate XLI.) that the re-constructed colonnade encroaches upon the eastern curve of both north and south apses. To meet this difficulty the northern apse, and probably the southern one also, was rebuilt, but in rectangular form and smaller. The foundations on the north show a width of 23 feet 9 inches by a depth of 18 feet 9 inches. The floor remained at the raised level and the rectangular projection in front was rebuilt but shortened in its length to work in with the altered plan. The triple division of the area appears to have been maintained.

There can be little doubt that the materials, as far as they were sound, of the older structure, were re-used in the new building. All the fragments of capitals found on the site, except one perhaps, belonged to the earlier building, for their freely carved leafage is far superior to any foliage that could have been executed, say in the time of Constantine or later. It is possible that not all the capitals required for the new work were forthcoming, as a fragment of one looking like

a clumsy copy of the older examples lay in the farmyard, where it served as a horse block until rescued from that service. (Plate XXXVII. fig. 1.)

Did the re-erected columns of the *basilica* support arches or architraves? If the rebuilding took place at a late period, it may be that the former were adopted. A hint that buildings thus constructed may have existed in Britain is given by a rude relief found at Maryport, in Cumberland, and figured in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.^a

Arched construction had many advantages. The columns could be spaced more widely and their height also reduced without lowering the required height of the building. The long lines of mouldings in architraves and cornices could be dispensed with, and what architectural divisions in the way of the latter were needed could be run in stucco on cores of brick, a method for which early precedent was forthcoming.^b It may be that the builders of the restored *basilica* of *Callera* acted on these reasons, and their doing so may partly account for the paucity of moulded stonework discovered in its remains.

As in the earlier so in the later building, a clerestory probably was the means adopted for lighting it, nor can there be much doubt as to the way in which the window openings were filled in either case.

The delicate framed lattice work of the earlier time, comparable in effect to medieval tracery, had given place to framed boarding pieced with circles or other patterns. In both cases the openings were unglazed.^c The roof was probably of the simplest construction capable of bridging the enlarged nave, and with timbers unconcealed by the coffered work of an earlier date.

It has been supposed that the *basilica* had galleries, but it is extremely doubtful if in either its earlier or later state this was the case. There are no traces of staircases in any part, and more than one would have been requisite. If to a colonnade supporting the roof of such galleries be added a clerestory which would still be needed to give a proper amount of light, a height altogether disproportionate to the breadth of the nave would have been the result.

The preceding account would be incomplete if such facts were not added as bear on what may be called the adornment of the building.

^a P. 452, No. 901.

^b See for a notice of examples of this kind of work on various buildings in Rome, *Ancient Rome in 1885*, by J. H. Middleton, first edition, chap. xii. p. 403.

^c An interesting example of the continuation of this latter mode of filling window openings may be found in William of Malmesbury's account of the church erected by Paulinus at York in the earlier half of the seventh century.

The *basilica* of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter) had the floors of its aisles laid with panels of coarse mosaic, the nave being paved with small bricks in herring-bone fashion, the well-known *opus spicatum*. Mr. Joyce, in his excavations, does not appear to have met with any mosaic in the area of the *basilica*, he only mentions a concrete floor, which may have been a bed for such paving as that of which a small portion still remains in place towards the northern end. This consists simply of plain square red tiles evidently of the latest work. The northern apse was floored with the usual red tile *tesserae* 1 inch square, some of which were turned up in our excavations. The same sort of flooring formed the paving of the great hall at the north end of the *basilica* and that of the central apse. Patches of it are still to be seen in both places. The chamber south of the central apse may have had a floor of *opus signinum*. In the southern apse, at the time of its discovery, fragments of plain mosaic of fine white stone *tesserae* were found by Mr. Joyce, the remains, no doubt, of the floor of the earlier tribune.

More noteworthy than these floors were the traces of marble wall linings. To quote the words of their discoverer, "the fronts of the tribunals," *i.e.* of the north and south apses, "were faced by slabs of polished Purbeck marble, secured in place by small iron clamps, and in all probability bearing inscriptions. Some small pieces of this polished Purbeck marble remained fixed against the vertical face of the tribunal at the south end, the iron clamps when first exposed retaining their hold."^a And again, speaking of the central apse, he says, "There were found within it small pieces of fine white marble sawn in thin slabs, imported from the Continent, which formed a *dado* or facing to the apse. The iron clamps also by which the corners of such slabs had been secured were likewise discovered."^b

A fragment of white marble was preserved in the little museum on the site, together with parts of a thin band, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, of Purbeck marble, which showed from their having been mitred that they were relics of a border to some rectangular slab. Both the Purbeck and the white marble were of the same thickness, *viz.*, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. With them were preserved also the iron clamps mentioned. These were four-pointed stars or crosses of iron varying in size. Of the most perfect that have been preserved, one measured from point to point $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, another 6 inches. In the smaller example the limbs or rays tapered considerably in width from base to end, but very little in the larger. The centre of each was pierced by a hole, through which the nail was driven to fasten it. These stars were apparently flat on both sides.

So rude are they that it is difficult to believe that they could have served for

^a *Archæologia*, LXXI, 359.

^b *Ib.* 361-2.

the purpose mentioned by Mr. Joyce, and as he does not say that they were found in place, it seems more probable that they had served for some other purpose than as fastenings of the marble wall lining. He makes no mention of the form of those holding the Purbeck marble slabs of the south tribune, which were actually found in position. Unfortunately no representation apparently exists of what must have been an interesting fragment of constructed decoration.

Portions of Purbeck marble mouldings preserved in the little museum seem to have come from the same spot, as similar pieces were dug up there in 1890. These no doubt were a part of the base and other mouldings of the south tribune. They are rudely worked, and evidently belong to the later state of the *basilica*. (Plate XXXIX. figs. 9, 10, 11.)

Besides the marbles mentioned by Mr. Joyce, it is conceivable that the fragments of green and white marble, possibly from the Pyrenees, found in *Insula* I. and II., were pieces broken from slabs with which the apses of the *basilica* were adorned. Relics from this edifice and from the *forum* are sown broadcast over the site, and have been discovered even at the gates of the city.

All the fragments of marble and the clamps spoken of have now been deposited in the collection at Reading.

Colour was certainly largely used upon the walls of the *basilica* and its annexes. In excavations made in 1890 around the northern apse, a considerable quantity of painted wall plaster was dug up. In the many specimens then turned over, the preponderance of plain light red and ochreous yellow grounds was marked, and after these colours, of white. Fragments of yellow and green painted draperies also occurred, and some of a drab uncoloured plaster with pinkish white lines upon it. At the same time the hollow angles of the central apse yielded other examples of painted plaster. In these there was a preponderance of plain pale salmon red and pale blue grounds, and next in quantity of green. These finds indicate clearly enough that at both these points of the building the effect of the marble decoration was supplemented and heightened by the use of a considerable body of colour.

With these remarks the relation of our researches made to elucidate the structure of both *forum* and *basilica* may be brought to an end, although a few more words of description must be added as to the objects found in the latter.

In 1890, in excavations carried on about the northern apse of the *basilica*, there was found, lying just beneath the turf which covered the floor, a fragment of bronze of somewhat interesting character. It is part of a flat band, 6 inches

long, showing at its upper end, where it has been broken, a decided forward curve. At the lower end, which is rounded, between broad flat fillets bordering the band, is a lion's head in relief, of good workmanship, having beneath it two scrolls with a flower between them. A small hole over the right-hand scroll and beneath the lion's mane seems to be accidental and not for fastening the band to anything. The width of the band, including the bordering fillets, is from $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the thickness of the ground between them, on which is the lion's head, is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

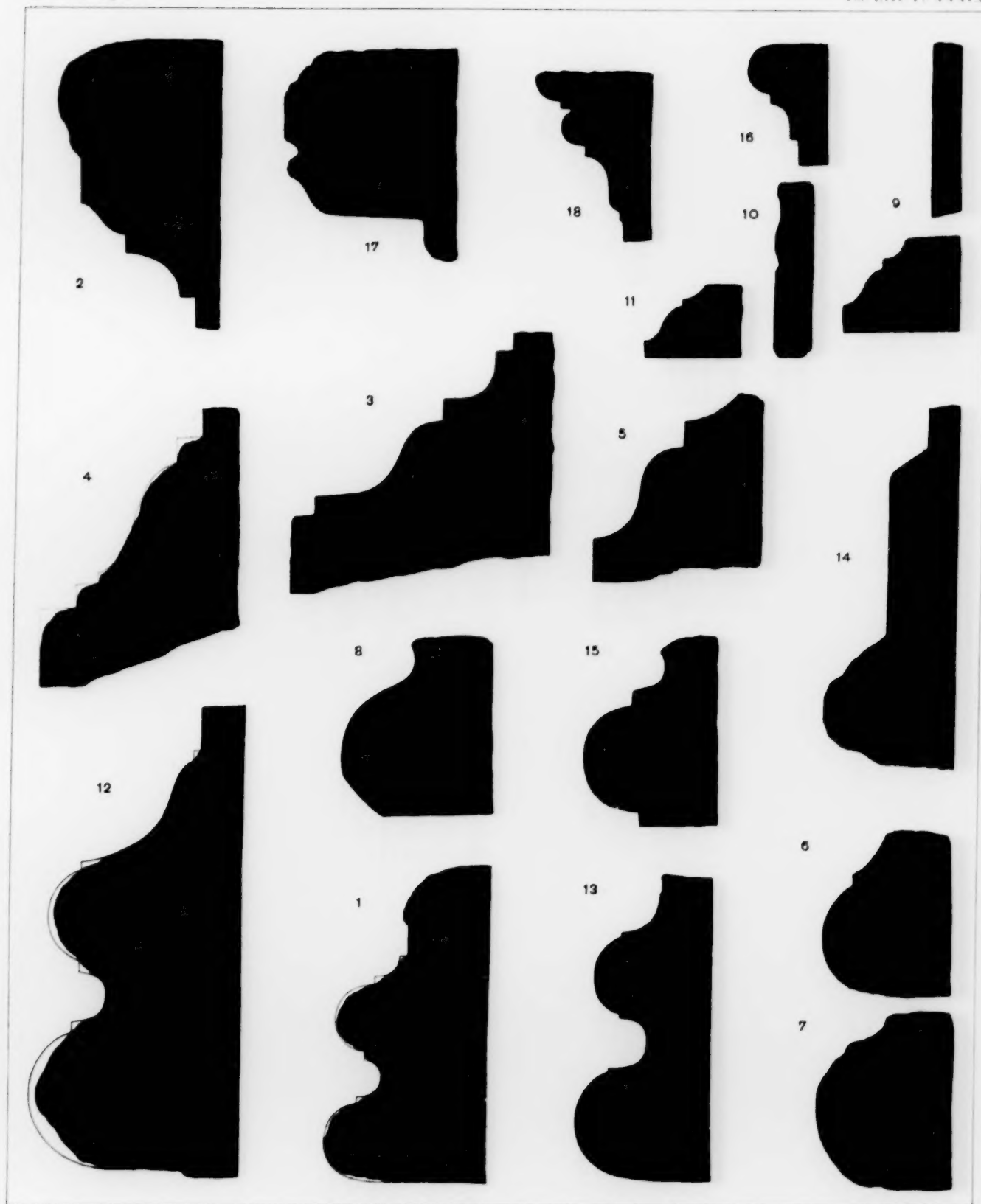
Another object, also of bronze, was found the following year in clearing away a mass of stones and rubbish at the south end of the *basilica*. This is a portion of the Corinthian capital of a small pilaster. It is 3 inches high, and must originally have been $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the upper part, from volute to volute. The abacus consists of a small fillet with an ovolo moulding beneath it. The body of the capital is formed by two rows of leaves, the upper being the larger, and having two leaves only between the volutes. The lower row has three leaves of rounded form with central veins, and was terminated by an acanthus leaf at each end, only one of which remains. Beneath this row is a little roll moulding and fillet.

What gives a peculiar interest to the fragment, however, is that it has received in part if not wholly a thin plating of silver or white metal, the two upper leaves between the volutes being still covered by this plating, and a trace of it being also visible on the lower mouldings. The bronze has an average thickness of $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch. From the flatness of treatment in the composition, and its decorative character, it looks as if this capital might have been applied to some object, in fact the form of both these bronze fragments rather suggest their employment as part of the ornamentation of some seat of state, kept in the *basilica*, which perished in its destruction.

An antique relief representing a throne, now preserved in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, suggests the manner in which metal work of this description might be applied for purposes of decoration.

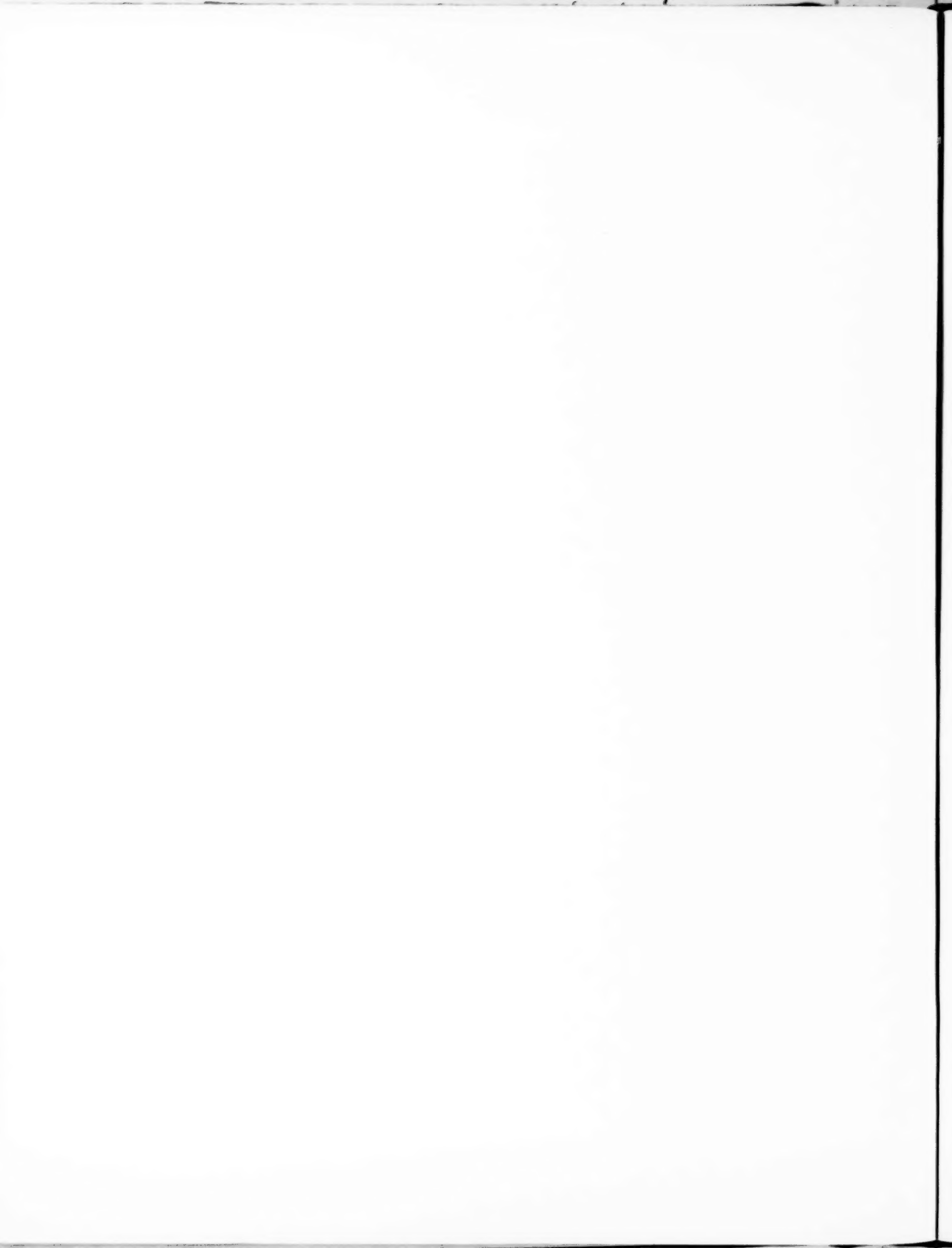
Amongst the various fragments of stonework scattered over the area of the *basilica*, part of the base of an altar or pedestal may be noted. It still lies near the northern doorway. Exposure to the weather has reduced it to a wreck, and it has not therefore been included with the other fragments in the collection at Reading. (Plate XXXIX. fig. 4.) The same may be said of a large stone lying near it showing a sinking in its face for the insertion of some tablet.

Mr. Joyce records the discovery "close to the steps forming the ascent to the *curia*," the central apse of the *basilica*, of part of a colossal head, broken in two,



SILCHESTER.—SECTIONS OF MOULDINGS AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS
FROM THE BASILICA AND FORUM.

$\frac{1}{4}$ linear.



of which only the brow and some locks of hair above it remained.* He considered that it belonged to the statue of some emperor, but a careful examination seems to show that it appertained to a female figure wearing a mural crown. Other pieces of what may have been the same statue, exhibiting lines of drapery, were recovered last year. All the pieces show that the statue had been broken in ancient times and afterwards carefully riveted together again. From the character of the work the statue might well have belonged to the earlier *basilica*, and, although injured in the destruction of the building, have been recovered from the ruins and pieced together again.

From the size of the figure and from the mural crown, may we not see in these scanty relics the remains of a statue of the Genius of the city? What more likely or fitting place for such a statue than the council chamber of the city which that Genius was expected to guard and with whose existence she was identified.

EXPLANATION OF SECTIONS OF MOULDINGS ON PLATE XXXIX.

From the *Basilica*.

- Fig. 1. Base of a column; diameter of shaft $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Fig. 2. Perhaps the cornice of a pedestal.
- Fig. 3. Part of a base.
- Fig. 4. Base of a pedestal; side of the die $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Fig. 5. Fragment of a large base.
- Figs. 6, 7, 8. Fragments of the base of a large column.
- Figs. 9, 10, 11. Details in Purbeck marble.

From the *Forum*.

- Fig. 12. Base of a column.
- Fig. 13. Base from outer colonnade.
- Fig. 14. Fragment of a base found near the drain.
- Fig. 15. Fragment of base from the rubbish of the sleeper wall of the inner colonnade.
- Fig. 16. Fragment of the astragal of a large column.
- Fig. 17, 18. Parts of capitals found in *Insula IV*.

* *Archaeological Journal*, xxx. 24.

THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE *BASILICA* AND *FORUM*.*By* W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

It has already been explained that the *basilica* and *forum* abut on the west side upon the main street connecting the north and south gates, and that on the north, east, and south sides they are surrounded by a broad belt of hitherto unexcavated ground. It has now been ascertained, despite the difficulty caused by the huge spoil banks which surround the great central block of buildings, that besides the main street on the west side, the *basilica* and *forum* were completely isolated by other streets, about 27 feet wide, on the north, east, and south; those on the north and south being also extended eastward to meet the street bounding the *insula* on that side. The strips of land thus cut off were subdivided by other streets: that on the north at about one-third of its length by a street leading direct to the north entrance into the *forum*; that on the east in the middle of its length by a main street leading apparently direct from the east gate to the *forum*; while that on the south seems to have had a similar division to that on the north, though not so distinctly marked. It is quite possible that both the north and south strips had a second street further east, and so were divided into three sections each of nearly equal size.

The first section of the north strip was entirely occupied by a large house, arranged as usual round three sides of a square which faced northwards. The western wing contained a hypocaust, but has been almost entirely destroyed, as has the corridor forming the south side. The eastern wing contained at least two sets of chambers, but as little else is left than the foundations, it is difficult to say anything about them. The courtyard contained several interesting features. A little to the north of its centre was uncovered a small oval hearth or furnace, close to which was a layer of burnt earth that yielded a number of pots; further west was a well, which, like most of those found at Silchester, had been lined with wood, and near the corridor on the south were patches of concrete paving that may represent some destroyed chamber or chambers. From a pit (c) 22 feet deep that lay under the west side of the eastern wing of this house were recovered the fragments of a large globular amphora. The neck and handles of this had at some time been broken off, and the opening ground down to make a new lip.

The traces of buildings in the long strip forming the rest of the north side are

very scanty. A few lumps of ironstone on the northern edge, and two broken lines of similar lumps at right angles to the street certainly represent walls, but it is impossible to ascertain the plan or extent of the building to which they belonged. At the north-east corner are the foundations of a building or enclosure 50 feet long and about 27 feet wide. But though this strip yielded few traces of buildings, it was simply riddled with pits, besides containing two more wells. The pits were no fewer than thirty-one in number, and from them have been obtained the larger proportion of the earthenware vessels found last year, as well



Fig. 3. Part of an antefix found in *Insula IV*. $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

as some interesting miscellaneous objects. Among the latter was a small bronze figure, perhaps of an infant Hercules, and a bowl of the same metal; part of an antefix with a rudely executed face (fig. 3), which evidently belonged to a small building of some importance; and an iron screw wrought with a thread and ending in

a point in the same way as a recent well-known patent. There seems to be no doubt as to the Roman origin of this screw, since it was found at a depth of 6 feet in the same pit which yielded at a higher level the little bronze Hercules and many fragments of pottery. From one of the two wells was obtained a bronze handle, two perfect and three other pots, a lead weight and a steelyard weight. A point of interest arises with respect to these two pots which were found together. One is hand-made and composed of the rude paste filled with grains of calcined flint. The other is wheel-made and of good form, but of similar paste to the ruder one. This vase shows signs of having been mended, two holes in it being stopped with some composition.

From another pit as many as thirty-nine necks of flasks or bottles of various sizes were recovered.

Among the architectural fragments found on this side may be noted three pieces of Purbeck marble, which, although met with in different places and at considerable intervals of time, all fit together and form part of a large slab with moulded edge. If this slab bore an inscription, it is unfortunate that no traces of the lettering remain on the portions recovered.

The northern of the two sections of the eastern strip had at its upper end the foundations of a small oblong house, which apparently contained four shops, one at each corner, with a room between. South of this appeared traces of other buildings, but with the exception of part of a tiled floor they were of very indefinite character.

The southern section not only contained no buildings, but the trenches brought to light no important objects of any kind, except one charming little bronze figure representing a winged and seated Victory or Genius holding up her dress on her lap as if to receive gifts or offerings.

The centre of this side of the *insula* is underlaid by an extensive bed of oyster shells, from 18 inches to 2 feet thick. This bed is 50 or 60 feet wide, and extends eastward from near the *forum* entrance for at least 100 feet. The streets at this point are laid upon it.

That so extensive a deposit cannot have been accumulated as refuse seems to be proved by the entire absence of pottery or other foreign substances, and since it is unquestionably artificial and not a fossil oyster bed, it ought to be possible to suggest a reason for its presence here. Looking to the fact of the streets being laid upon it and its consequent early date, and also its near proximity to the great mass of buildings forming the *basilica* and *forum*, may we not see in this layer of oyster shells the remains of a still larger deposit brought here for conversion into lime? Although it does not seem to have been the usual practice among the Romans to calcine oyster shells for this purpose, such an operation would yield a very pure lime; and it is quite possible that since the white marble used for fine stucco or plaster work could not be obtained in Britain, the fine lime from oyster shells was used in its place. This adaptability of the Romans to the resources of the country in which they found themselves is so well known that the substitution of oyster shells for broken marble would be just as likely as their use of Purbeck marble for decorative purposes.

Before leaving the bed of oyster shells, it may be interesting to quote a passage from Mr. Joyce's description of the *forum*.^a Speaking of one of the shops at the south-east corner, he says: "Here deep in the floor everywhere, outside it in the ambulatory, and extending from it up to the very corner of the exterior wall on that side, is a great bed of oyster shells underneath the level. It is the accumulation one would suppose of many generations of deceased oysters, and must be seen to be fully credited." Mr. Joyce deduced from this deposit that the

^a *Archæologia*, LXXXI, 355.

shop in question "was the favourite luncheon-bar of the *forum*, and the favourite food was oysters." It is, however, clear, from his description, that the bed of oyster shells forms part of that discovered last year, and is too deeply laid to have had any connexion with a shop; it will be noticed that Mr. Joyce does not mention the finding of any pottery or other remains intermingled with the shells.

The excavation of the strip of land south of the *forum* resulted in a discovery which was not only the most important made last year at Silchester, but may fairly be claimed as one of the most interesting yet made in Roman Britain. On the 10th of May, when driving a trench to find the southern boundary of the *insula*, the foundations of a small square chamber were uncovered, and next to it a semi-circular apse with a mosaic floor of good character. These were at first thought to be parts of a large house occupying the corner of the *insula*, but the further removal of the soil soon showed that such a house did not exist, and that the remains uncovered belonged to a small building that was complete in itself (fig. 4). The building stood east and west, and consisted of a central portion 29½ feet long and 10 feet wide, with a semi-circular apse at the west end. North and south of this were two narrow aisles only 5 feet wide, terminating westwards in somewhat wider chambers or quasi-transepts; the northern of these was the chamber first discovered, and was cut off from the aisle by a thin partition wall. The eastern end of the building was covered by a porch, 24 feet 3 inches long and 6 feet 9 inches deep, extending the whole width of the three main divisions. The total external length was exactly 42 feet. The walls average 2 feet in thickness, and were built of flint rubble with tile quoins.

The central division retains considerable portions of its floor of coarse red-tile 1-inch *tesserae*, with, just in front of the apse, a panel 5 feet square of finer mosaic (Plate XL.) formed of ½ inch *tesserae*. The design of this panel consists mainly of (1) four squares filled with black and white checkers, of which the grounds are counterchanged. Outside this is (2) a broad border of white edged with black and filled with lozenges made alternately of *tesserae* of red tile and Purbeck marble; and beyond this again is (3) an edging of white. The black *tesserae* are principally of lias limestone, but some of them appear to be mere shale; the white *tesserae* are composed of white lias and clunch. At the north end of the porch part of its pavement of 1-inch red *tesserae* remained, somewhat blackened by burning. In the other portions of the building no traces whatever of the flooring could be found.

About 11 feet eastwards of the building, and in line with its axis, is a foundation 3 feet 11 inches square, built of tiles, on the east side of which is a small shallow pit lined with flints. Around the tile foundation are the remains of a rough pavement of flints.

About 20 feet west of the building, and also in line with its axis, is a well, of which the lower portion retains its wood lining. The filling up of this well consisted chiefly of large flints, with some pieces of good *opus signinum*.

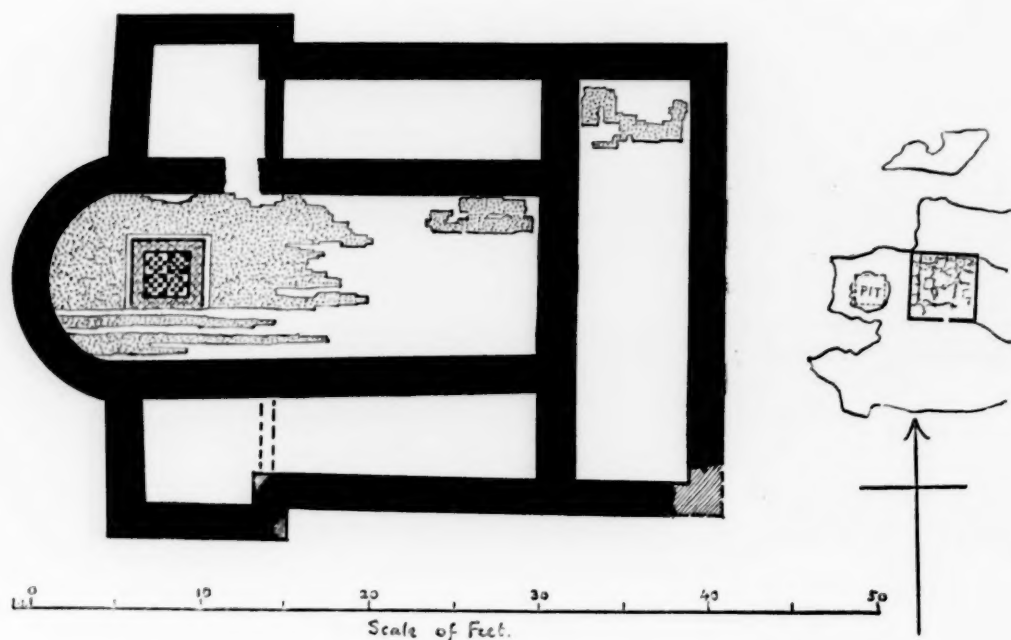
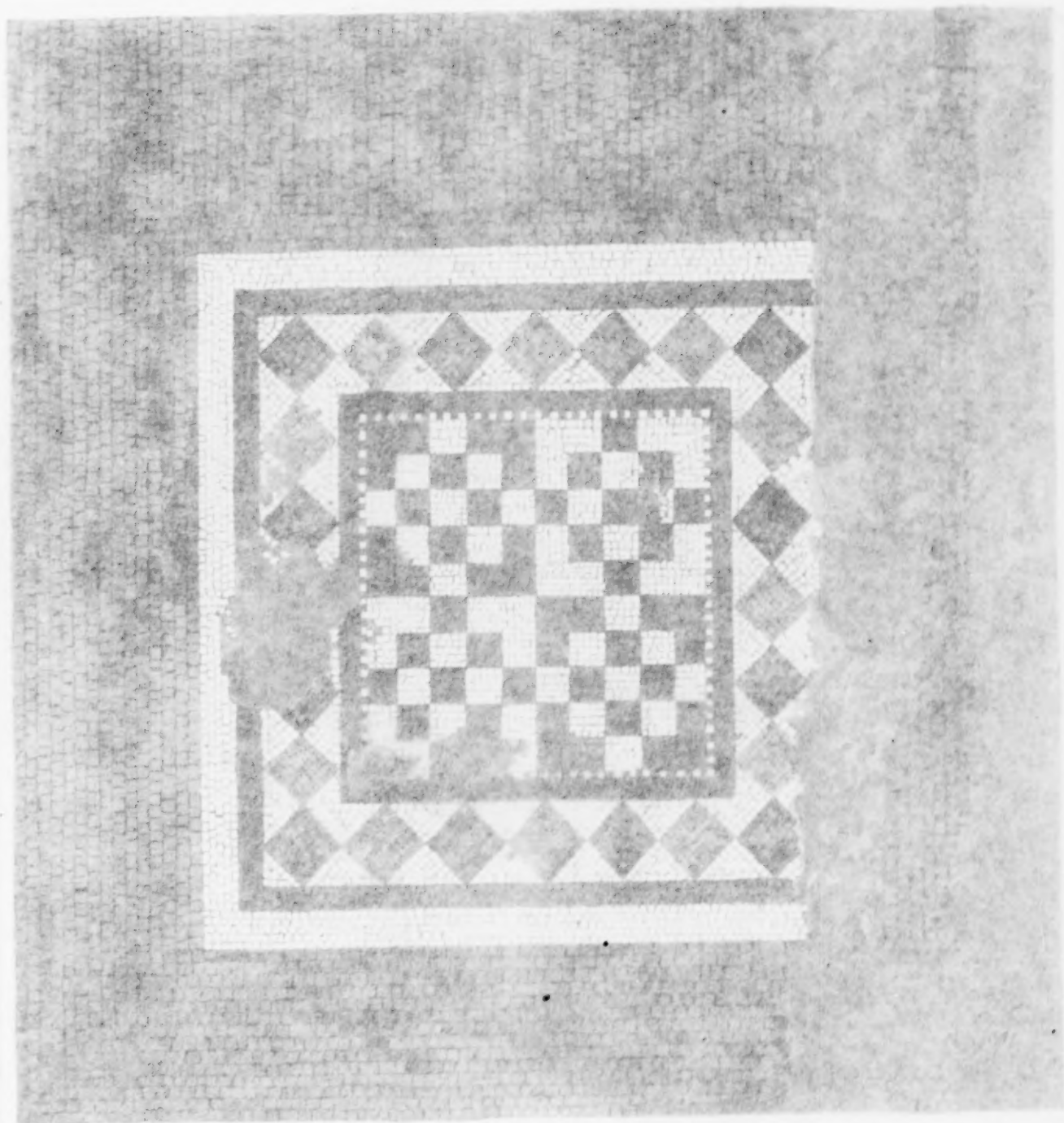


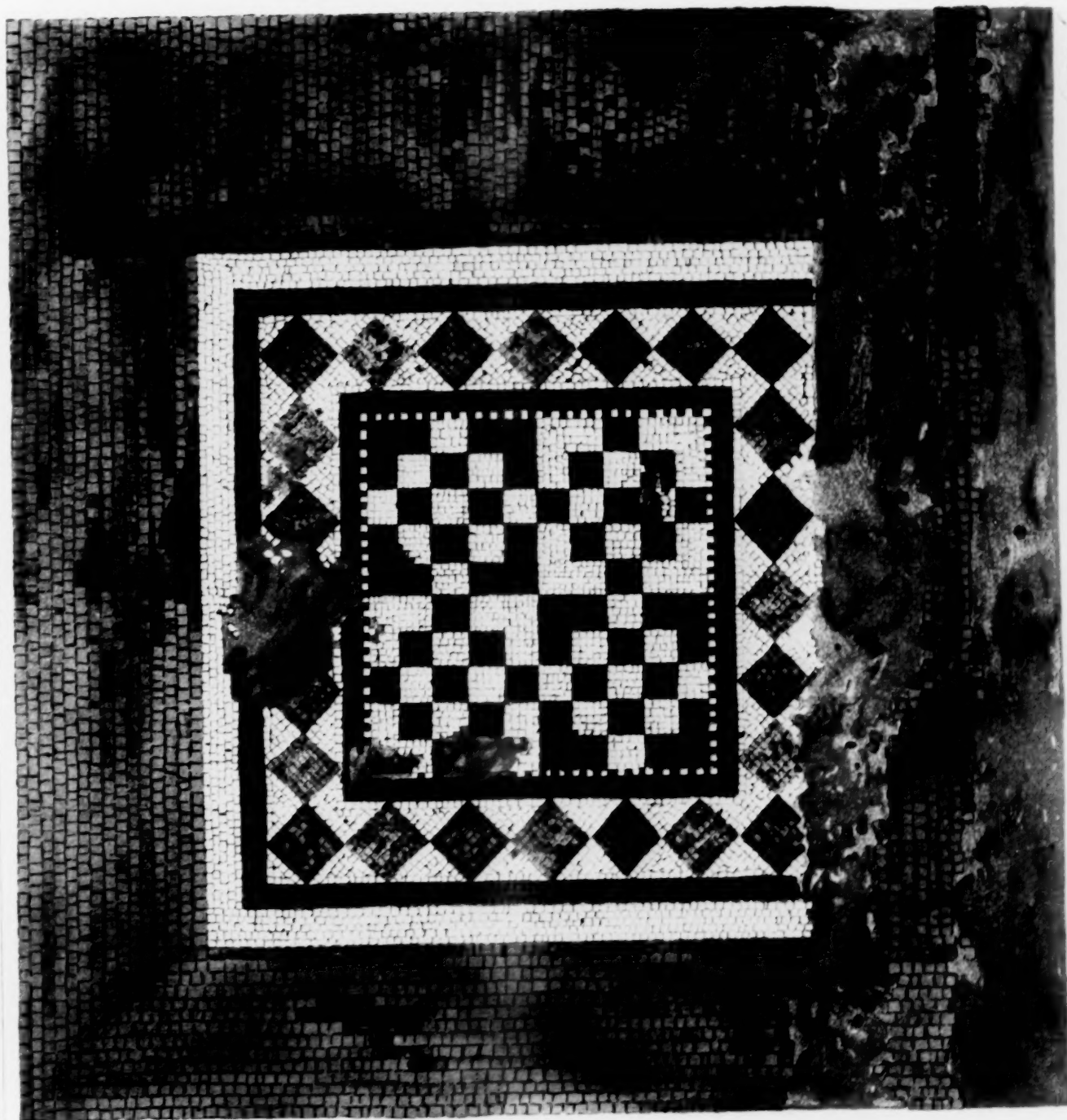
Fig. 4. Plan of church in south-east corner of *Insula* IV.

flooring, evidently the material of some building of which no other traces have been met with. Some distance from the top of the well three coins of Victorinus occurred, and near the bottom were found two small pewter cups of conical form.

From its possessing a nave and aisles and an apse, the building resembles to some extent the *basilica* not far off, but its small size precludes the idea that it







could have been put to any of the uses for which the *basilica* served. Moreover, its plan negatives the supposition that it was a domestic building, and equally so that it could have been a temple of any kind.

From a comparison of the plan and surroundings of the building with those of a similar character in Italy and other parts of the Roman empire, there seems to be little, if any, doubt that we have here a small church of the basilican type.

Despite its small size, to which reference will be made presently, the complete correspondence of all its parts with those of known churches of early date, preclude this building from having been raised for any other purpose.

Centuries of ploughing have wrought such havoc with the walls that only in the apse and in the north chamber does anything remain above the floor level, and here only to a height of some inches. Owing to the slope of the ground the rest of the walls are reduced to mere foundations. It is therefore somewhat difficult to say with certainty what were the arrangements of the building. It is very likely that the west end of the south aisle was cut off by a screen or party wall like that on the north, and there can be little doubt that the aisles were divided from the central portion or nave by piers and arches. The projecting chambers, or quasi-transepts at the west end of the aisles, seem not to have been altogether open to the central division, as there are traces on the north side of a doorway into the chamber there; they were probably shut off by dwarf walls with arched openings over and doors at one end. At the east end of the church were three doors opening into the nave and aisles from the porch or *narthex*, the east side of which was most likely an open colonnade. The church was probably lighted by a clerestory, with perhaps a west window or windows. That the walls were painted internally is proved by the finding of some remains of the coloured plastering, including a few fragments speckled in imitation of marble.

With regard to the uses of the building, there seems every likelihood that the nave and apse were reserved for the clergy, and the aisles for the men and women respectively, lay folk not in full communion being admitted only into the *narthex*. The chambers at the west ends of the aisles were either vestries or places reserved for persons of quality.

The pavements of the church appear to have been at the same level throughout, and as there is no sign of any break or division in the nave pavement, it is not easy to determine precisely the arrangements for the clergy. There can be no reasonable doubt that the altar stood upon the panel of fine mosaic in

front of the apse, and that it was at first a wooden table. Some small patches of pink cement upon the surface of the mosaic seem, however, to show that the wooden altar was replaced at a later time by a more substantial one in stone or marble.

It is generally assumed that in a church planned like this, with the altar at the west end instead of the east, the celebrant stood during mass behind the altar and facing eastwards, this eastward position being the essential thing, and not the position of the altar in the building. The clergy were arranged in a semicircle round the apse, behind the celebrant, and the deacons stood in front and on either side. The choir of singers occupied the western part of the nave.

The state here of the red tessellation of the nave and apse raises, however, some unexpected difficulties. In the first place, there is so little room between the mosaic panel and the apse wall, that there cannot have been any seat here for the clergy. In the next place, the floor of the apse, which extends right up to the wall, not only shows no signs of wear, but the edges of the *tesserae* are so sharp that it is quite certain they cannot have been walked on for even a very short period. The mosaic panel is also not worn at all. East of the panel, on the other hand, the red *tesserae* are considerably worn, and those on each side also show signs of wear. The eastern position of the celebrant was so universally the custom of the Church that the floor ought certainly to show traces of wear on the west side of the altar, but this it does not, and the conclusion therefore seems inevitable that the apse floor had been relaid just before the destruction of the building (which is unlikely), or that the *tesserae* were effectually protected by being constantly covered by a mat or carpet.

It has already been pointed out that to the east of the church is a tile foundation about 4 feet square. This is clearly the place of the *labrum* or laver, in which the faithful used to wash their hands and faces before entering the church, and the shallow pit in front was probably covered by a pierced stone, and served to carry off the waste water. The water itself could be obtained from the well west of the church, to which, as there are no other buildings near, it seems to have belonged.

Of the usual *atrium* or court before the church no definite traces were found. It will be seen, however, on reference to the plan of the *insula* (Plate XLI.), that the church stands almost exactly in the centre of an area about 100 feet wide and perhaps some 130 feet long, bounded by streets on three sides. This area, except

round the laver, where some flint pitching remains, was entirely covered with gravel, and along its south and east sides there was uncovered a curious wide and deep depression. It is very possible that, owing to the small size of the church, it stood, so to speak, within an *atrium*, instead of having one before it, and these depressions may then mark the site of some low range of buildings, every fragment of which has been rooted up.

On the north side of the church, but not parallel to it, was found a narrow trench cut in the gravel; close to its southern edge was a row of holes, about 4 feet 6 inches apart from centre to centre, with flints laid round them as if to steady a row of posts. These were traced for a line of about 60 feet. As the line is parallel to neither the church nor the street, and is at some distance from the latter, it probably belongs to a period long subsequent to Roman times.

It is unfortunate that neither in the building nor its surrounding area was anything found of an architectural character to throw light on its date. Had its foundations been found on any other but a Roman site, the buildings would very probably have been claimed as an early-Saxon church. There can, however, be no question, from its tessellated floor alone, that it is a Roman building, and the design of the mosaic panel, which is similar to one found in the north aisle of the great civil *basilica* of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), shows that this little church is of early date.

The ecclesiastical character of the building has been questioned by some from the absence of distinctive Christian symbols in the mosaic or elsewhere; but an absence of symbols in the mosaic floor of a church of the earlier half of the fourth century, as this may have been, would not be surprising or unlikely, and would be an additional proof of early date.* Moreover, if emblems had been used in the building they would have occurred rather in the form of paintings upon the walls than as figures in a mosaic floor.

Despite the scanty evidence of date, the building of the church may safely be assigned to the period between Constantine's Edict of Toleration, issued in 313, and the official withdrawal of the legions about a century later. From the character and workmanship of the mosaic pavement there may nevertheless be claimed for the church an early rather than a late date.

* An example of a Chi-Rho monogram occurs in a mosaic pavement in a villa at Frampton, Dorsetshire, engraved in Lysons's *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, vol. i., but the author thinks it probably "was inserted at a later period" than the age of Constantine.

It can hardly be supposed from the small size of this church that it sufficed for all the Christian inhabitants of *Calleva*; it is therefore presumed that others have yet to be found. The late Professor Freeman, remarking on the discovery at Silchester of the remains of the building called the Round Temple, says, "Two circular foundations, one within the other, may be clearly seen. It did flash across the mind for the moment that these might be the foundations of a Christian church, a British Saint Vital; for it must not be forgotten that a city which formed a part of the Empire of Honorius could hardly have been without Christian buildings. The absence of the projecting sanctuary is not absolutely conclusive against the possibility of its Christian use; still, it is perhaps safer to set it down as a pagan building. It must be remembered that, if it were Christian, the outer circle of foundation would be for a wall, and the inner one for columns; in a pagan building it would be the other way."^a As the excavations to be carried out this year will include the area in which this circular building stands, something more definite as to its uses may then be discovered.

It is to be presumed that in the Christian period of the Roman Empire churches were built in the various cities and towns to meet the growing needs of the newly-recognised Faith. Such an instance may be seen in the Numidian town of Thamugadi. Here was the seat of a bishopric, and in a plan of the town^b may be seen as many as four Christian churches of the basilican type, three of which were scarcely larger than that discovered at Silchester; the fourth, which was probably the cathedral church, was of considerable size. We have here, possibly, something parallel to Silchester, a parallel which encourages the hope that further Christian churches will be found within the walls of *Calleva*. It is interesting to notice that while the early church at Silchester had its apse to the west, the Thamugadi churches, which are probably later, have their apses to the east. Their ecclesiastical character is also shown by their difference of direction from that of the great civil *basilica*, which stands nearly north and south.

For a long distance west of the church at Silchester the excavations revealed practically nothing. Just beyond the well some fragments of a possible wall enclosing the church on that side occur, but for 130 feet westwards there was only open ground. This seems to have been crossed at its further end by a street leading to the south entrance of the *forum*.

^a Freeman, *English Towns and Districts* (London, 1883), 163.

^b See *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 1890, 2nd Trimestre.

Between this street and the main street joining the north and south gates, there was unquestionably a house, but only a few fragments of its floors and hypocausts remain, of so indefinite a character that the plan cannot be recovered.

It will be seen, therefore, that the great *insula* containing the *forum* and *basilica* had also buildings at its four corners, with more or less open ground between them. Two of these open spaces, the southern part of the strip east of the *forum*, and the middle portion on the south, west of the church, appear to have been quite free from buildings. The southern space, which is of considerable area, may well have been the cattle market, and the adjoining external ambulatory of the *forum* would have afforded shelter to the drovers and buyers. The narrower space on the east of the *forum* may have been a place for carts and wagons on market days.

It has already been noted in the beginning of this paper that the excavations on the east side of the large central *insula* were continued as far as the hedge there bounding the pasture land. Besides revealing the lines of the street there, portions of two new *insulae* were uncovered. These *insulae* have been numbered V. and VI. Only a very narrow strip of each lies on the west side of the hedge, and it is therefore impossible until the excavations have been continued in the field beyond to say what is the nature or extent of the buildings there.

The upper part of *Insula* V. appears to show portions of a large house occupying the angle, with corridors lining the streets. Behind the north-west corner were the remains of a hypocaust. On the line of the street, close to the west wall of the house, lay a drain running from the corner southwards for at least 120 feet. It was square in section, and formed entirely of large tiles.

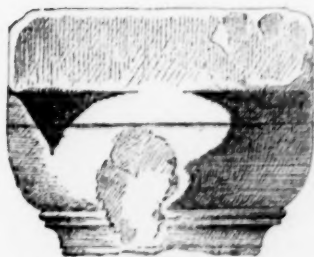


Fig 5. Capital of a small column found in *Insula* V. $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

South of the west corridor is what may be a continuation of the house. In this was found a small capital of a column (fig. 5) singularly Romanesque in its general outline, though evidently of Roman date from its carefully turned necking.

At the lower corner of this *insula* is part of another house, with traces of a corridor running east and west.

The north-west corner of *Insula* VI. contains part of a large house, with corridors lining the street.

Behind the west corridor is a row of four chambers, which once extended further south. These all form part of the older buildings of the city, and run at a different angle from those of more recent date. The fourth chamber has been enlarged westwards to twice its former area, and the destroyed chambers on the south replaced by a range of three large and two small* rooms, set forward on the old line of the street. These open into each other by doors. The two end rooms had oblique openings or drains through the back walls and in the southernmost through the end wall also, which seem to show that some trade was here carried on in which water was used. From the discovery just outside these chambers of a number of fragments of thin veneers of Egyptian red porphyry it is possible that a lapidary or marble-worker may have had his workshops here. South of these chambers, in what must have been an enclosed yard, was a pit or well, the bottom of which appears to have been covered by a board pierced with holes. To the south of the yard are fragments of a house, which it is presumed occupied the south-west angle of the *insula*, but only some traces of walls and part of a large hypocaust remained.

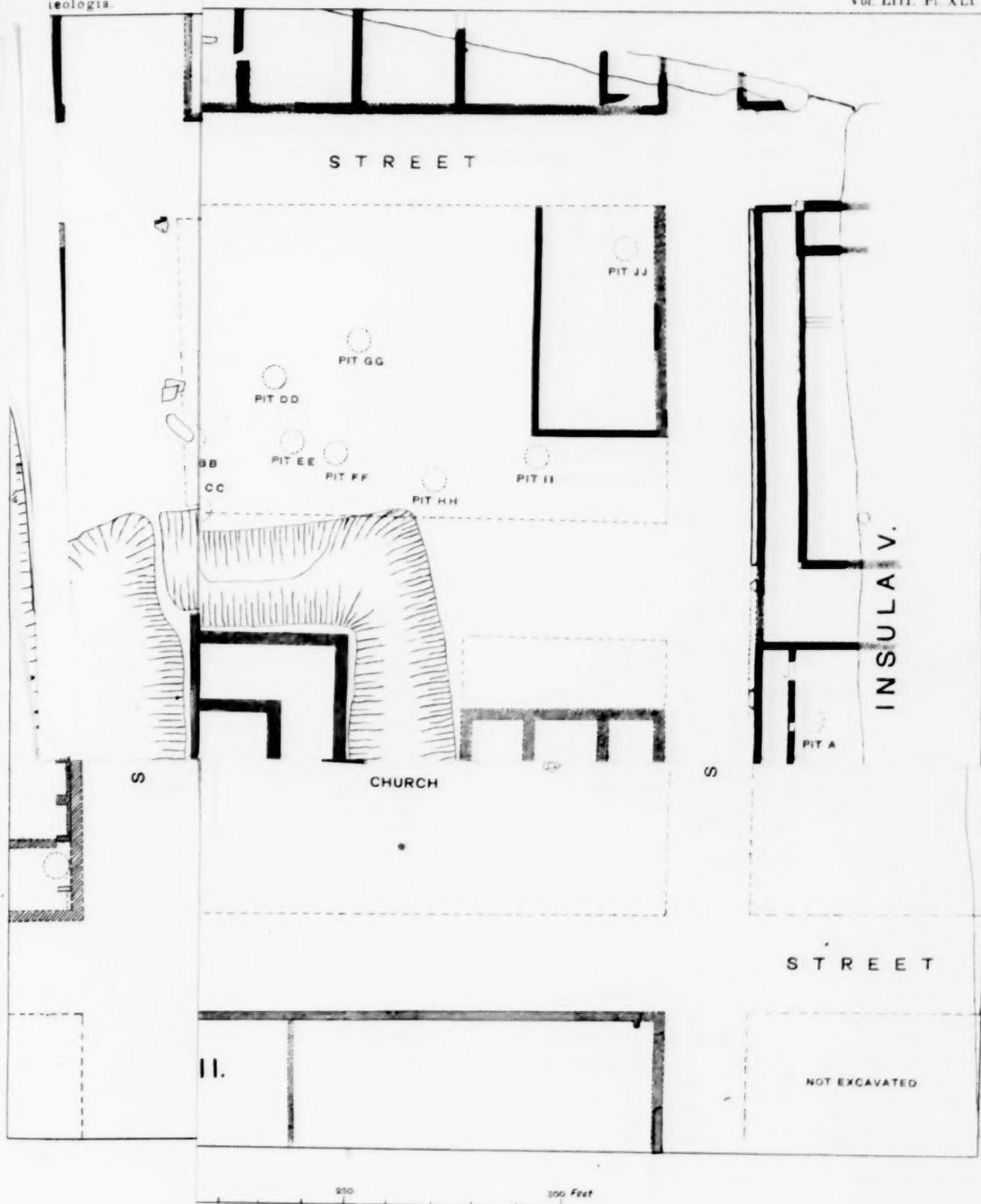
Of the remainder of the year's excavations we do not propose to communicate any account to the Society at present, since the areas examined are not complete in themselves, but belong to *insulae* of considerable size. The strip south of the great central *insula* is, as will be seen from the block-plan (fig. 6), only a part of the *insula* in which stands the well-known circular building. The unexcavated portion of this *insula* has been reserved, together with a strip parallel to it southwards, and here we hope to begin this year's operations in May.

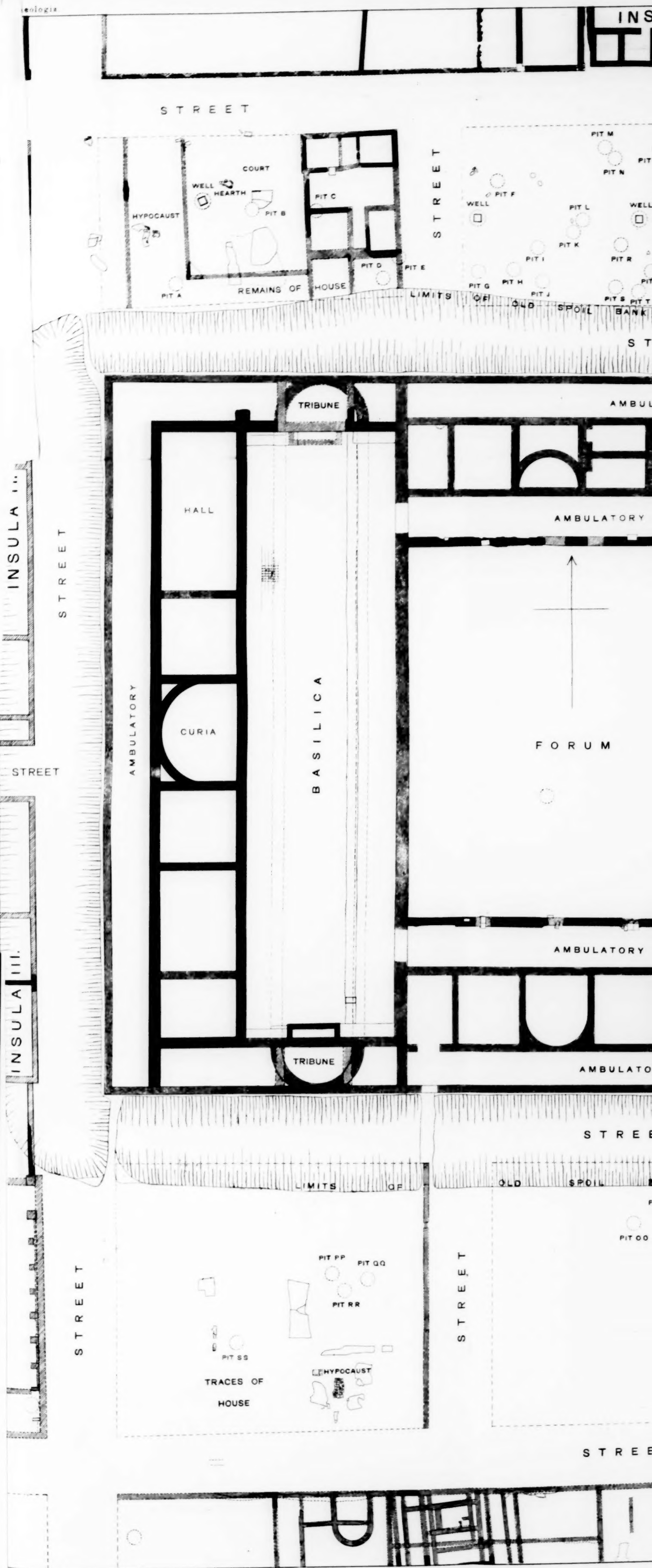
As it is our intention if practicable to continue the excavations after harvest right down to the city wall, an opportunity may occur of partly re-examining the extensive and important building west of the baths, to which they were perhaps attached; and so the account of the drainage of the baths, of the remarkable water-gate in the city wall, and of the land north of the baths will form with the other works one complete and connected record.

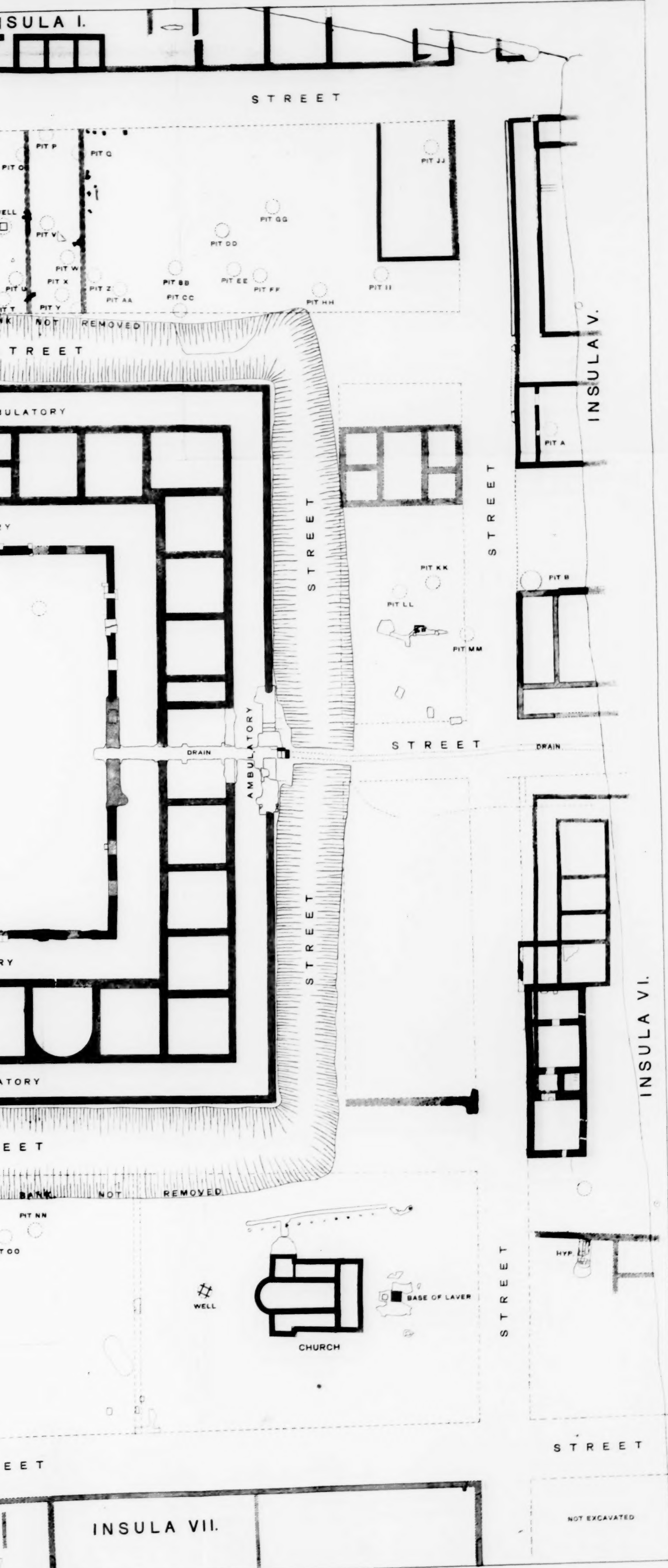
As in previous papers already communicated to the Society, it has not been thought necessary to enter into a detailed account of all the very numerous small objects found during the excavations.

A reference to the block plan (fig. 6) will show how much progress has been made in mapping out the town, but as only about 18 acres, or barely one-fifth of

* Under the eastern of these were the remains of a hypocaust of the earlier building, which also here terminated southwards.







the 100 acres within the walls, has been excavated, there is still much more to be discovered.

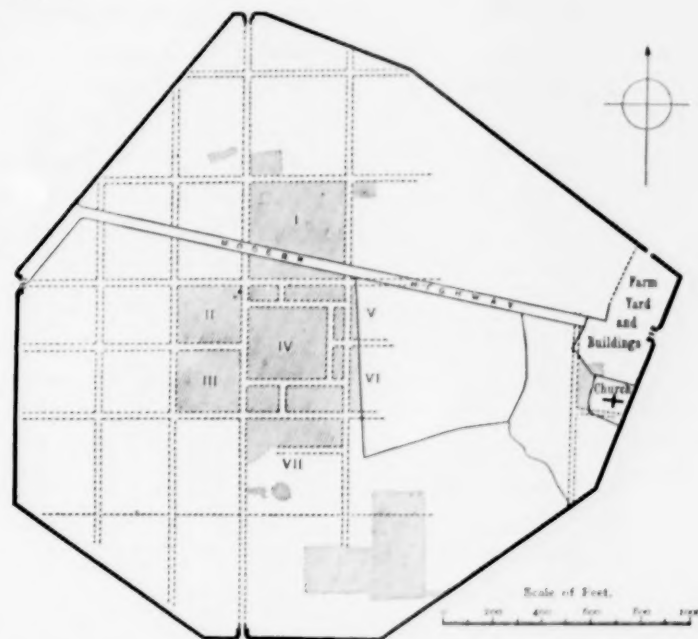


Fig. 6. Block-plan of Silchester, showing portions already excavated up to November, 1892.

It only remains to add that the whole of the antiquities already found at Silchester have been most generously deposited on loan by the Duke of Wellington in a special section of the Reading Museum, where they have been excellently arranged by the curator, Dr. Stevens. The architectural remains are well placed in a room by themselves, where the models and casts belonging to the Excavation Fund are also deposited, and already form a very important feature. In fact, as a group of antiquities of one special period and from one particular place, the Silchester Collection at Reading may already claim to take rank as one of the important Romano-British collections in England.

NOTE ON THE ANIMAL REMAINS FOUND IN 1892.

By HERBERT JONES, F.S.A., F.L.S.

THE excavations of 1892 were not so prolific in animal remains as those of 1891: probably on account of their having been carried out on ground not so thickly covered by houses as *Insulæ* II. and III.; and though many pits were dug

out, their yield in bones was not great. The skulls and bones of dogs especially were far fewer than those recovered from a similar area in former years.

The stags' antlers on the other hand were both larger and more numerous than in 1891; by far the greater number, as well as all the largest, being found in the space immediately east of the *forum*; and not in pits, but on the Roman surface.

To the list of mammals given in the last paper,^a only one addition can be made this year. The presence of the goat, then considered as highly probable, is now clearly proved by the discovery of the frontal bones of two crania with horn-cores, and of footprints on a tile identified as those of a kid or very small goat, being slightly more pointed than any assigned to sheep.

Some fragments of a human skull were found near the south-east angle of the *forum* area, on the upper surface of the gravel, but without any other bones. Parts of two or three skulls, likewise broken into fragments, seem to have been discovered in the *forum* by Mr. Joyce, and are now in the Museum at Silchester. A femur, large but very imperfect, with the distal extremity wanting, found in the ditch outside the walls near the water-gate, and some fragments, probably part of the skeleton of a newly-born child, from a pit north of the *forum*, were the only other human remains met with.

From the drain of the baths near the water-gate a very fine and, with the exception of the jaws, almost complete skull of a young *bos longifrons* was dug up. It appears to be the cranium of an animal just adult, and was probably slaughtered for food.

The frontal bones with horn-cores of *bos* were far fewer than in 1891; but metacarpals and metatarsals were as usual very numerous. Their average length is about 192 and 210 mm. respectively. Detailed measurements of these and the other bones found are being taken, and will, it is hoped, be published with next year's report.

Many bones of the sheep were found, but, as is almost invariably the case, all but the metacarpals, metatarsals, and mandibles were very imperfect. The approximate average length of the metacarpals and metatarsals is 124 and 128 mm. respectively.

The goat has already been mentioned. With the exception of parts of two skulls no bones have been absolutely determined, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish them from those of the sheep.

Bones of the horse were more numerous and better preserved than in 1891,

^a *Ante*, p. 286.

but those of the skull very imperfect. They are all small, one metacarpal of an apparently adult animal remarkably so; but too few have yet come to hand to give a trustworthy average.

No actual remains of the cat were found in 1892, but this is not surprising considering the paucity of houses within the area excavated. Traces of this animal nevertheless were again present in the form of two footprints upon a tile which are almost certainly those of a cat.

Of the dog there is nothing to remark this year.

The bones of the stag are very few; and nearly all the antlers had as usual been shed, and were more or less prepared for manufacture.

There are no new varieties of birds to report this year. The raven and crow, especially the former, seem to have been very plentiful, and gave the largest number of identifiable bones. Very few spurs of cocks were found in the *Insula* excavated.

By far the most interesting discovery of the year, having any bearing upon natural history, was that of the great bed of oyster shells east of the main entrance to the *forum*. This bed was composed of nothing but oyster shells, no others could be found therein; but, as is invariably the case when any considerable number are found together at Silchester, they were those of all varieties and qualities of oyster. The shells, evidently intentionally spread out in an horizontal layer levelled on the top, extended not only under the wide street running east and west but on both sides of it, and it is impossible to form any reliable estimate of their number or weight when deposited.

The remains of a few mussel shells were found in 1892 and traces in 1891. Considering the very fragile nature of these shells it is surprising that any fragments of them should have lasted, and the few remaining probably indicate that the use of this mollusc as food was general at Silchester.

No snails' shells were found, nor any bones or scales of fish.

APPENDIX.

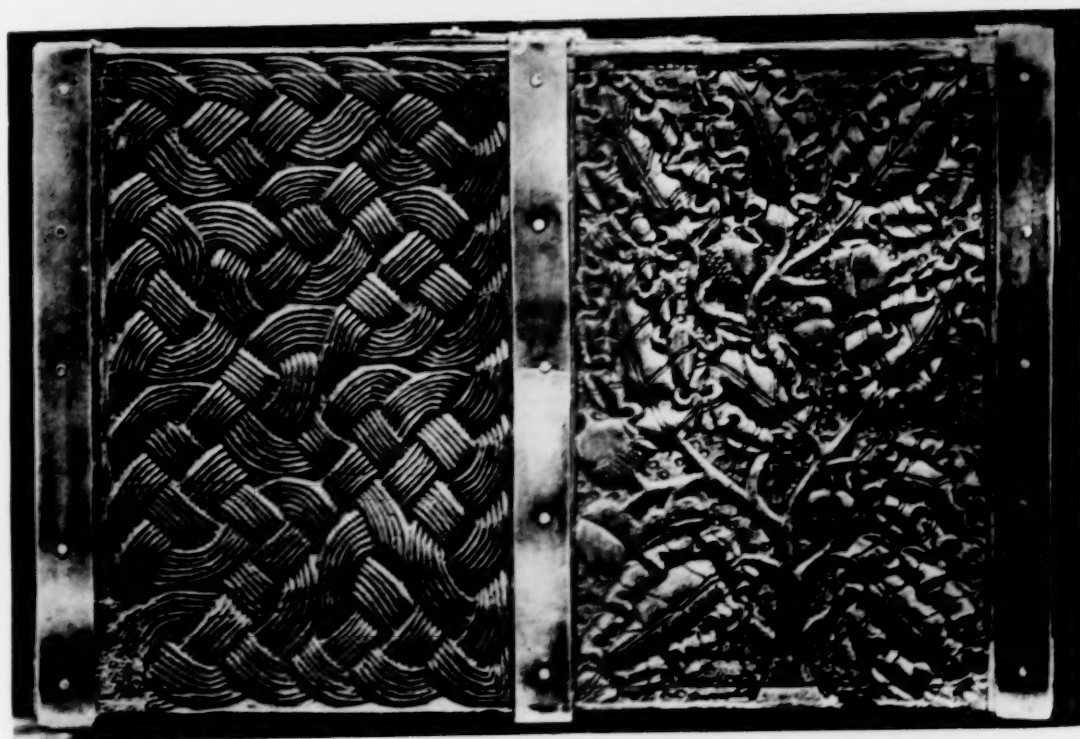
Carved Scottish Casket, belonging to the Earl of Verulam.

January 21st, 1892.—THE EARL OF VERULAM exhibited a carved wooden casket of Scottish workmanship, on which A. W. FRANKS, Esq., V.P., made the following remarks :

"The casket exhibited by the Earl of Verulam, at my special request, is an object of considerable interest. An engraving of it was made some years since, though I have not been able to ascertain where it was published. The representation, at any rate as far as the mounts are concerned, is indifferent. The following inscription appears on the plate: 'This Box, of carved oak, bound around with Silver Bands and a lock of the same, was the property of Mary Queen of Scotland, and came into the possession of Adam Lord Forrester her Chancellor. It passed through the hands of that Family until it ended with Harriet Forrester, married to Edward Walter, Esq^r. and by her request it devolved to her Granddaughter Charlotte Grinston. The marguerite which forms the principal ornament of this Box was the Badge adopted by Margaret Queen of Scotland, eldest daughter of Henry VII., and was frequently borne by her Granddaughter, Mary Queen of Scotland, but there are few (if any) other examples of the Badge having been placed on a Heart as it is here. The allusion is certainly not evident, nor has it yet been accounted for by the Heralds or Antiquarians of this Country.'

This statement contains a number of errors. The casket is not of oak, but of some wood with a fine grain, probably pear, much better suited to the purpose. There was no Adam Lord Forrester, the title having been bestowed in 1633 on George Forrester. There was no Forrester Chancellor to Queen Mary, nor any direct progenitor of the name of Adam excepting Sir Adam Forrester, the founder of the family, who died in 1405, and who was keeper of the Privy Seal, but at a much earlier period. With regard to the *marguerite* I think I shall be able to show that it must be another flower, and I do not know on what evidence Mary Queen of Scots is stated to have used the *marguerite* as a badge.

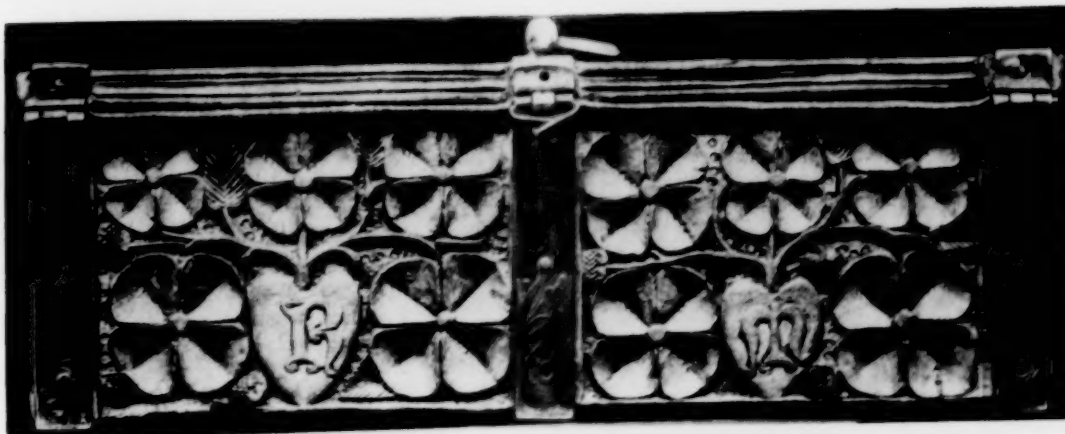
The casket is a very good specimen of carving, apparently of the commencement of the 16th century. On the lid (Plate XLII.) is an interlacing pattern, of what would in former days been called Runic Knots, enclosing the initials R. and M., with the open crowns or coronets that usually surmount the initials of persons, however humble, in medieval times. They seem to read more often R. M., but sometimes M. R., and they are probably the initials of the Christian names of the persons for whom the casket was made. Neither Margaret Tudor nor her granddaughter Mary Stuart would have used R. M. as their initials. On the front (Plate XLIII.) are the initials R. M., and hearts on which are four-petalled flowers. The same decoration appears on the ends, which are alike, and on the back are two hearts enclosing the usual initials, and from them spring five of the four-petalled flowers. (Plate XLII.) The bottom is divided into two panels, one with interlaced strap work of a very Scottish design, the other with a quaint device. (Plate XLIII.)



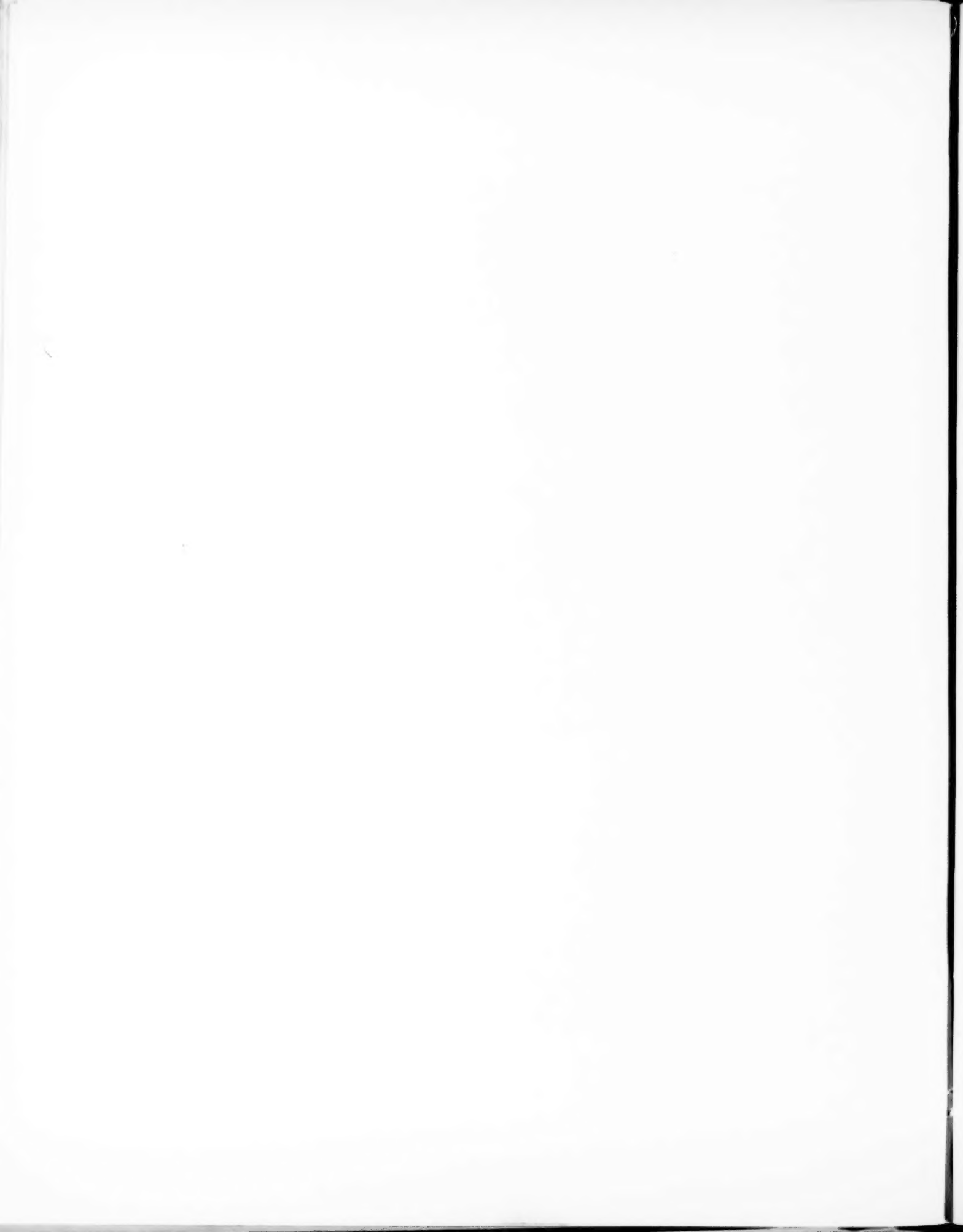
SCOTTISH CASKET BELONGING TO THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Top and Bottom Views. (H. H. H.)





SCOTTISH CASKET BELONGING TO THE EARL OF VERULAM.
Front, Back and End Views. (1/2 linear).



On examining the carvings carefully we shall see that the four-petalled flowers are in many cases accompanied with leaves and fruit, which seem to prove that they are strawberries, and certainly not marguerites. An additional petal would have been better for a strawberry, but many more would have been required for a marguerite.

The strawberry plant, or *fraizier*, was the well-known punning device of the Frazer family, to whom it is likely that R. or M. belonged.

The silver mounts of the caskets consist of bands very nicely engraved, and with occasional *fleur-de-lis* in relief. I doubt, however, whether they are the original mounts of the casket. The lock does not quite fit the space intended for it, and the execution seems later than the carving. They belong to the middle or second half of the 16th century. In the centre of the three bands on the lid are the initials M. R. very well engraved, and these might well have been intended for Queen Mary, into whose possession the casket may have passed, with many other curiosities, though not originally intended for her. It ought to be mentioned that in some of the crevices are fragments of red wax, showing that the casket has at some time been sealed up, on account of its contents.

The reason that I was anxious that this casket should be sent to London for inspection is that there is a duplicate casket of the same kind which formed part of the famous Meyrick collection, and was presented to the British Museum by General Meyrick in 1878.

I feared that our example might be a modern copy, but I feel satisfied that this is not the case, and that both are the work of the same period, made probably by the same artist and for the same persons. Though the designs are similar they are by no means the same. The design of the knotwork on the lid is of a very different pattern, and in all instances the initials are R. M. and not M. R.; on the lid hearts with the usual flowers are introduced between the panels.

The mounts are, however, modern, and probably added by Sir S. R. Meyrick, but without any exactness in copying the details, so that the engraved initials are omitted."

Silver-gilt Chalice and Paten found at Dolgelly.

March 24th, 1892.—W. BOORE, Esq., exhibited a silver-gilt Chalice and Paten, of early thirteenth century date, said to have been discovered about two years ago, concealed beneath a rock by the roadside, near Dolgelly, in North Wales. Another story is that the vessels were found built up in an old wall.

The Chalice and Paten were thus described by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A., Assistant Secretary:

* The chalice is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high,^a and of unusually massive proportions. (Plate XLIV.) The bowl is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches deep, and has the slightly curved lip common to all early chalices. The knot, which is wrought in one piece with the stem, is circular, 3 inches in diameter, and somewhat flattened. It is divided into twelve distinct lobes, alternately beaded and plain; the plain lobes are also beaded on each side of their bases, and have alternately a rounded and a polygonal section. Above and below the knot is a short piece forming the stem, engraved with vertical stiff stalked leaves. The broad-spreading foot is circular, $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has twelve lobes with pointed trefoiled ends, radiating downwards from the knot. Below these appears a second and somewhat larger series of trefoiled lobes, beautifully engraved with characteristic early-English foliage on a hatched ground. Between the points, which extend to the edge of the base, the spread of the foot is similarly engraved with leafwork. The lowest member of the foot is a plain vertical band, resting on a bold roll molding. Inside the foot, which is gilt as well as the outside, is engraved in small capital letters:

NICOLVS · MH | FHCIT Dē h̄R | FORDIē (sic)

Who Nicholas of Hereford was has not yet been ascertained, but his handiwork shows he was a first-rate goldsmith.

The chalice resembles in form much smaller examples found in coffins of bishops at Salisbury and York and Chichester, all of the thirteenth century.

The paten, like the chalice, is of massive make, and the largest English example that has yet come to light, being $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter. (Plate XLV.) It has two depressions, the first plain and circular, the second sexfoil, with engraved spandrels. In the centre is engraved, within an inscribed band, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, a figure of Our Lord, sitting on a seat, with His right hand raised in blessing, while with His left He holds a closed book, which rests upon the left knee. The nimbus is represented by a ring of small circles. The surrounding inscription is:

+ IN NOMINE PATRIS: ET FILII: ET SPIRITVS SANCTI AM

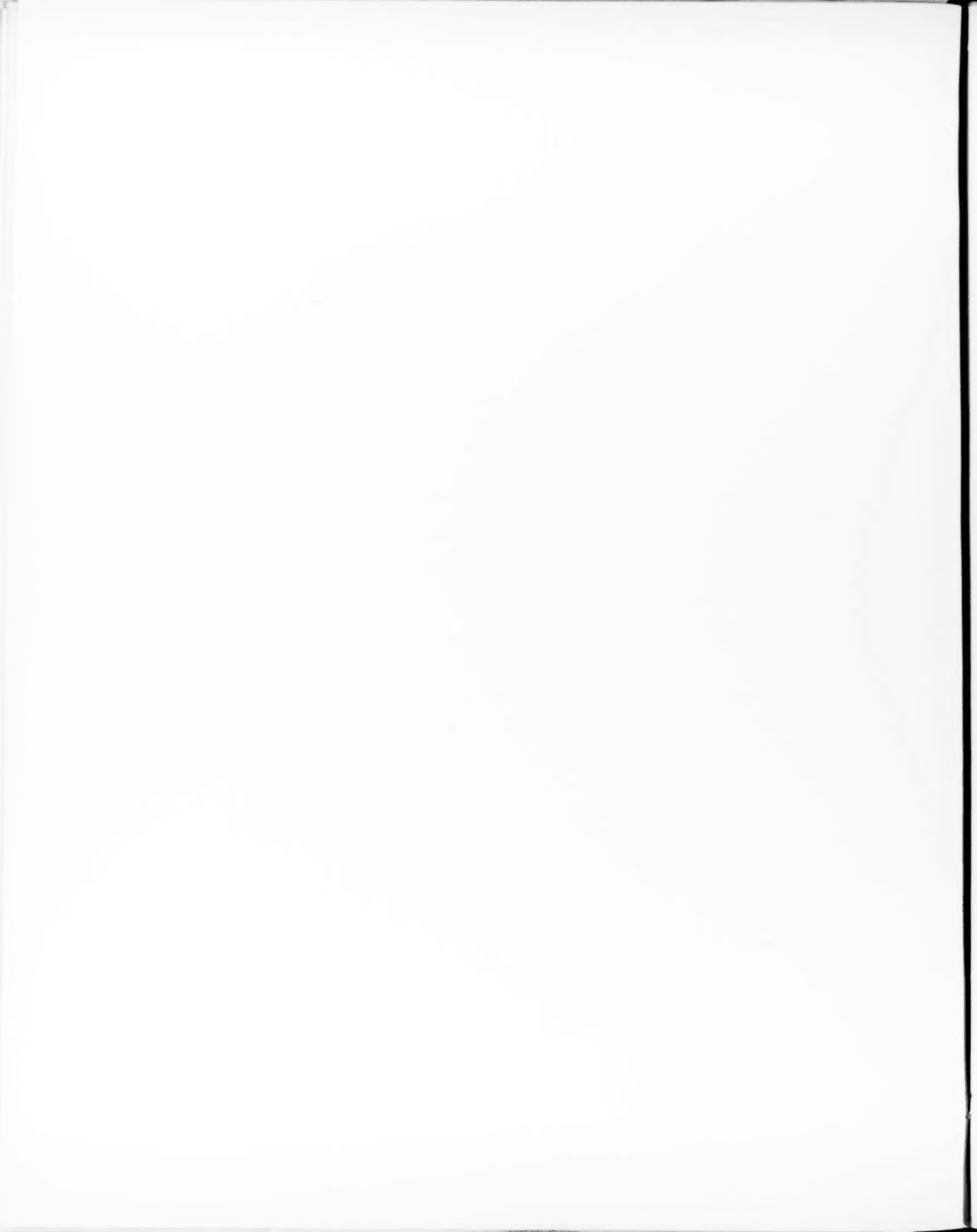
The spandrels on either side the central device are engraved with leafwork, but the other four contain the evangelistic symbols, St. Matthew and St. John in the upper two, and St. Mark and St. Luke in the lower, thus forming, with the central device, a Majesty. The engraving of the paten is apparently not by the same hand as that on the chalice. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the paten was made for the chalice.

The date of the vessels is *circa* 1230, and they are unquestionably the finest English chalice and paten that have yet come to light. They were sold at Christie's on March 4th, 1892, for £710."

^a Only two taller English medieval chalices are known: those at Leominster and Trinity College, Oxford.

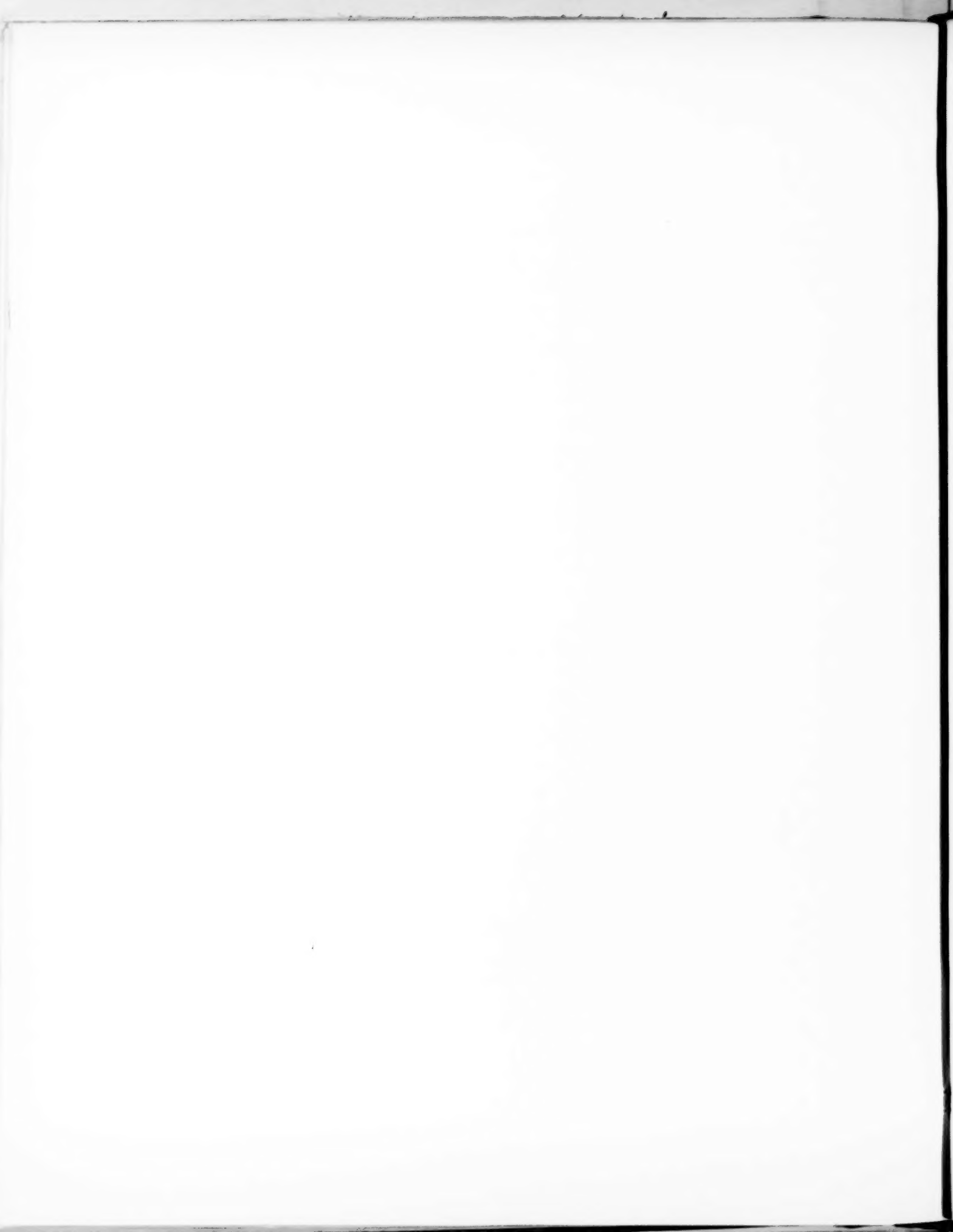


SILVER-GILT CHALICE FOUND AT DOLGELLY.
(full size).





SILVER-GILT PATEN FOUND AT DOLGELLY.
(full size).



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